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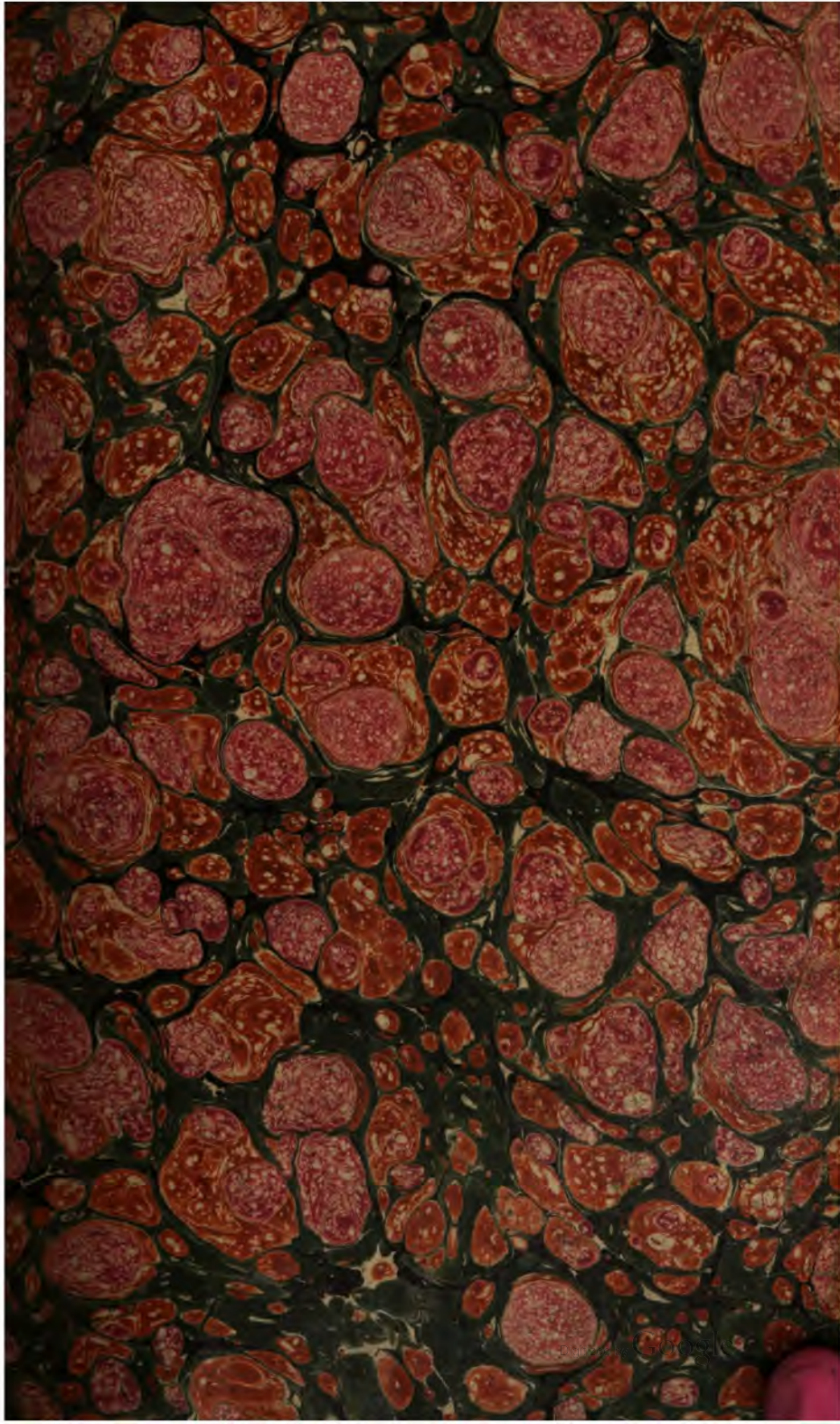
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John Trotter Breckin



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THE
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MARCH, 1822.

ART. I.—NAPLES, POLITICAL AND LITERARY.

1. *Memoires Historiques, Politiques, et Litteraires sur le Royaume de Naples.* Par M. Le Comte Grégoire Orloff, Sénateur de l'Empire de Russie, avec des Notes et Additions, par Amaury Duval, Membre de l'Institut Royal de France. 5 Vols. 8vo. Paris, 1821.
2. *Précis Historique sur les Revolutions de Naples et Piedmont, 1820 et 1821.* Par Comte D****. 8vo. Paris, 1821.
3. *Memoirs of the Secret Societies of the South of Italy, particularly the Carbonari.* Translated from the original MS. London, 1821.

BEFORE we enter into the various topics of Count Orloff's elaborate work, or touch upon the subjects treated in the two other books whose titles are prefixed to our article, we must be allowed to linger a while amidst some of the recollections which the word "Naples" awakens in our minds. Those who have visited the southern metropolis of Italy, and those who are yet strangers to that delightful country, will, perhaps, be equally disposed to accord us the indulgence.

A magnificent chain of hills, forming a semicircular line, encloses a vast expanse of waters. Of this line the eastern and western boundaries are the celebrated promontories of Misenus and Minerva. The whole extent of coast is beautifully indented with bays, while the gigantic heights of Pausilypus boldly project into the gulph, dividing it into two parts nearly equal.

It is scarcely possible not to survey such scenes with the mind as well as the eye: they recall at the same instant the great vicissitudes of polity and empire, and those more awful vicissitudes

which have changed the face of external nature. It was here that the masters of the world erected the luxurious villas, where they respired from the cares of state and the tumults of ambition. These delicious retreats rivalled the magnificence of Rome. Baths, theatres, galleries of sculpture and painting, splendid libraries, combined all that could delight the senses or inform the understanding: nor could a region more adapted for recreation or repose than the shores of Naples have been chosen. A serene climate, a cloudless sky, a landscape where nature seems to stretch herself out in ease and luxuriance, tepid springs ministering alike to health and enjoyment;—such were the seductions that drew the elder Romans from the smoke and din of the metropolis. Down to the sea every hill was decorated with magnificence. Misenum extended itself to Baiæ; Baiæ to Puteoli. By degrees, edifices, both public and private, presented to the eye one continuous city from Misenum to Surrentum. Strabo has preserved the name of the towns which formed this beautiful chain. They were chiefly Misenum, Baiæ, Dicæarchea or Puteoli, Neapolis, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Stabiæ, and Surrentum. Of these places enough subsists even now to attest their former greatness. Separated only by short distances from each other, each of them had its theatre, its circus, its forum, its temples. Every house was decorated with images of bronze and marble, every floor with mosaic pavements, every wall with arabesques and frescoes.

But these splendours were to be soon extinguished. Nature had already given the voluptuous inhabitants of these favoured climes her most terrific warnings. Concussions of the earth were frequent some years before the time of Pliny; but Vesuvius had hitherto indicated no signs of eruption. The surrounding district was fertile; and every part of its circumference, when Strabo saw it, was clothed with vines and olive-trees. It was in the first year of the reign of Titus, the 79th of our era, that this tremendous volcano burst forth, and Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Stabiæ, were buried in its ashes. The calamity, however, did not extend to the western side of the gulph, and Naples remained uninjured. From this period, however, it is evident, that the Romans ceased to frequent this beautiful country. Juvenal speaks of Cumæ as being already deserted. From the same period also, it appears that similar disasters successively happened. In some places, the sea, by a sudden incursion, claimed to its empire many of the proudest monuments of art and opulence, which once embellished the coast. The whole aspect of the country attests a long series of desolations. The Lucrine lake, whose oysters were so much esteemed by the *gourmands* of antiquity, has wholly disappeared.

At present, the space between Misenum and Puteoli presents nothing to the eye but a sterile and uninhabited waste. Mephitic vapours, swamps occasioned by stagnant waters, which have for years escaped from broken aqueducts, communicate infectious taints to an atmosphere which once breathed only health and gladness. "C'est comme un crêpe funebre," says a French traveller, "qui couvre tout la côte, et semble annoncer au voyageur qu'il ne trouvera plus dans ce lieu si vanté, que des debris et des tombeaux." Of the memorable Baïæ, the site is indistinctly indicated by a few scattered reliques. Puteoli is indeed still inhabited by a few fishermen, but owes even this scanty population to its having been built on a point of land, which, jutting out into the sea, resisted the shocks that desolated the rest of the coast.

On leaving Puteoli, the scene assumes a gayer aspect. At some distance rises the western peak of Pausilypus; and the same glance lights upon the small island of Nicida, clad in vivid verdure, and rising serenely above the waters. But no sooner do we pass Pausilypus, than a new creation unfolds itself, and the eye wanders delighted amongst white buildings, half seen through luxuriant foliage, profusely scattered over the landscape. In the bosom of this magnificent scene is NAPLES, with her gilded spires, her fortresses, her palaces, her beautiful bay, beaming with those countless smiles,

ποντις τῇ κίματος
ἀνῆριθμον γέλασμα—

and reflecting from its smooth bosom the magnificence and beauty of the surrounding scenery. In the back ground of this enchanting picture, stands Vesuvius, in stern, but not unpleasing grandeur. The plain beneath is cheered by the playful and desultory windings of the river Sebeto, which refreshes and fructifies a considerable territory. From east to south of the gulph rises a ridge of mountains clothed in green, and covered with villages. The whole prospect is bounded by Cape Minerva, which seems to smile in scorn on the noisy foam at its base. Not far from this promontory is the little island of Caprea, the retreat and brothel of the infamous Tiberius. The air is so fine and transparent, as to invest every object in colours not its own: the soil so fertile, that it scarcely asks the hand of the husbandman. As in the time of Strabo, it still yields three successive harvests, and an abundance of fruit. The scene is thickly interspersed with fig-trees, poplars, and beeches, whose trunks the rambling vine embraces and adorns, and whose arched boughs form a roof of verdure to shield the growing crops from too intense a sun.

We do not affect to pourtray Naples. Ample, indeed, would have been the subjects for the Asmodeus of Le Sage, had he sought them in the various and motley scenes of that various and motley metropolis, with its fantastic population, winding along the streets, and its endless succession of grotesque characters elbowing and jostling each other, all dressed as if to take their parts in the pantomime! The interior of its mansions—what unbounded materials would they not disclose to his satire, as he surveyed from the heights of St. Elmo their uncovered roofs? Decaying beauty, no longer able to attract, yet unwilling to fade, invoking in vain the powers of the toilette to her aid.—The hungry *paliotto* (advocate) conning by heart his long and laboured pleading, which on the morrow is to lull both judges and auditory to their morning slumber.—A famished poet, smoothing and grinding his sonnet, or ottavas, to celebrate, for a few ducats, the nuptials of some shrivelled and puny prince or duke, who is to be compared to Hercules and Theseus.—But with all her changes, moral or political, in a long cycle of years, Naples is still the abode of that ease and indolence, that sacred *far niente*, so dear to the Italians of the south. In this *otiosa Parthenope* all the busy occupations of mankind seem to have stopped, as if the pulse of social and active life had ceased to beat. But poverty, the predestined curse of all who do not work, is scarcely a calamity in this genial region. Here nature spreads a rich banquet, to which she bids alike the high and the low. The eye is feasted with pleasures, and the mere function of breathing in so delicious a clime is in itself a sensual enjoyment.

It would be still greater presumption to attempt a sketch of the Neapolitan character—a race forming an exception to every other people in Europe. We shall endeavour to catch, however, one or two of its more striking lineaments.

Like the ancients, the Neapolitans pass the greater part of the day in the open air; not indeed like them, to discuss the affairs of the forum, or the debates of the senate (of these they take no note), but from the mere want of emotion, from an intolerance of ennui, or to satisfy a vague and gaping curiosity. In the open air, they drink, they eat; and if they work at all, it is in the open air. For this reason it is, that the city has always the aspect of being over peopled. The principal street (Toledo) has the appearance, especially towards the close of the day, of a popular rising. It would seem as if a Massaniello had convened his mob of noisy and factious citizens to overturn the state.

In feature, in taste, in manner, the Neapolitans have obviously an affinity with oriental nations. But there are other characteristics, which are exclusively their own. Mean and proud; superstitious and irreligious; indolent and avaricious; phleg-

matic and irritable; the slaves of habit, but goaded with a feverish restlessness for any thing that is new; eager for change, but made for obedience; affecting independence, and yet idolaters and flatterers of wealth or greatness. At Naples (and only at Naples) is it customary to touch the garment of a grandee with veneration, and then to kiss the hand that has been honoured with the contact. They are nationally proud; not like other nations, of their historical fame or actual greatness, but of the beauty of their climate, the fertility of their soil, the splendour of their capital. As to their government, they hardly understand the word. They seem never to have asked, whether it is monarchical or republican. Such however are the unceasing contrasts of their character, that with an utter insensibility on political subjects, their ears tingle at the word "liberty;" for in their vocabulary, liberty means the right of doing as they please, and of giving unrestrained vent to their appetites. They are, therefore, always ready to join the first demagogue who cries out "liberty." But the political idol of one day will be meanly abandoned on the next. They foam and effervesce, and then lie down with their accustomed apathy, and forget all that has passed. To-day they may be incited to massacre their fellow citizens; to-morrow the blood-fever will subside, and they will be as calm and indolent as before. Without this key to the Neapolitan character, the short-lived revolutions so frequent in their history would be a perplexing problem.

In no country are the three classes into which every people is divisible more strongly marked. Perhaps sufficient justice has never been rendered to the lowest. Their vices lying on the surface, we are too apt to overlook their good qualities. Not that they are a moral race of men: they scarcely know what is meant by morals. But they have a wild and untutored sense of right. They are by no means seriously quarrelsome, their disputes evaporating in noise and clamour. In an instant, they change from intense anger to the calmest indifference. Whoever throws a superficial glance on the character of this people, would suppose them liable to every excess of popular delirium. But the Neapolitan, the slave of every changing sensation, is perpetually varying from himself. Like his own Vesuvius, he seems to menace death and destruction. In an instant he is placid and serene, passing from hatred to love as rapidly, and almost as unconsciously, as the infant passes from tears to gladness. Hence it is that faction has ever found temporary aliment amongst this eccentric people, though the projects conceived in the moments of heat and phrenzy are abandoned with an incon-

stancy far surpassing all that has ever been said or thought of the proverbial levity of the multitude.

The middling classes are upon the whole the most respectable. The *paiietti*, one of the most thriving professions at Naples, the professors at the university, the merchants, and some portion, we wish we could say the larger portion, of the ecclesiastics, belong to this respectable division.*

Of the highest class, the manners are variously shaded. As if to show how extremes meet in national character, many of the nobility resemble in their moral features the despised race of the Lazaroni. In truth, they are equally indolent and superstitious, and in many respects equally ignorant. Educated for the most part in the cloister, or by incompetent preceptors, who hold in the family an inferior rank, and actually receive a less salary than the principal domestics, the Neapolitan noble arrives at mature years wholly unripe in understanding or judgment. Incompetent to the administration of his own affairs, and entirely absorbed in *fêtes* and spectacles, he falls into the hands of some needy lawyer, who fattens at his expense, or surrenders himself to some insinuating abbé, who has stolen into his confidence. His noble *sposa*, transferred from the gloom of a convent to the glitter of public life, without education or accomplishments, is driven to intrigue, as a mere refuge from vacuity. Happily there are exceptions to this remark; but all estimates of popular character must be formed chiefly of its more marked and prominent features.

Upon the whole, indolence is the master vice of Naples. But the Neapolitans have in general much penetration; a lively and fertile fancy; a discourse sparkling with images. They catch almost instinctively the peculiarities and humours of others. Irony is their prevailing figure of speech. The extravagant and hyperbolical flattery which they address to those with whom they converse is frequently so much dissembled satire and latent epigram.

Such are the people who, in different periods of their history, have been seized with periodical fits of revolution. Such are the people whom the French revolutionized in 1799; and who attempted, in 1820, to revolutionize themselves. A compendious

* La conduite du bas clergé a Naples est souvent scandaleuse. C'est la misère, qui fait descendre ces hommes a un tel état de dégradation. Le métier de prêtre ne procure pas de quoi vivre a quiconque n'a pas des archevêchés ou évêchés, ou de gros bénéfices. Aussi voit on dans les rues de Naples, mais sur tout dans les cafés, des prêtres en habits sales et déchirés, s'approcher des étrangers, et otant d'une main leur calotte, demander de l'autre l'aumône. Quelquefois c'est pis encore: ils proposent aux nouveaux débarqués de les conduire dans des maisons de plaisir. — *Tableaux de Naples par Duval.*

and rapid allusion to the principal facts of this last ephemeral revolution may not be uninteresting to our readers. It is a living commentary on the character of which we have attempted a summary sketch—the sudden fury with which it burst into combustion, the instantaneous rapidity with which that fury was extinguished.

It was in the month of July that this revolt, headed by General Pepe, broke out amongst the troops. The cry was for a constitution; and many of them happening to recollect that Murat had promised them a constitution just before his departure, Murat's premised constitution was immediately proclaimed. Unfortunately this constitution was not to be found in any desk, or hole, or corner. In this exigency, another cry was set up for another constitution. To appease these tumultuary demands for constitutions, the king promised another in eight days; not a very unreasonable delay for so momentous a measure, but much too long for Neapolitan impatience. In the mean while some persons seem suddenly to have recollected that the Spaniards had given themselves a constitution, and a cry was immediately raised "for the constitution of the Cortes." Of this constitution there was not, it seems, a copy in Naples. Nobody knew exactly what it was. Yet to this they conceived so miraculous an attachment that during the sitting of their parliament, which was expressly summoned to modify and correct it, a large majority of members were so indisposed to allow any alteration of it, that they came to a decision that no amendment should be adopted but by a majority of two thirds. No amendment of a constitution not distinctly known, not half completed, imagined for another people, in another part of Europe, and under circumstances wholly different!

About this time was exhibited in Sicily an episode to the Neapolitan revolution. On the 15th of July, and the two following days, Palermo was the theatre of a violent and sanguinary insurrection. No sooner had the Palermitans heard what had been transacted at Naples, and that a parliament had been convoked there, than they determined to have a parliament and constitution of their own. Of their taste for liberty, as well as of their fitness for it, they gave an immediate specimen, by letting loose from prison nearly a thousand atrocious malefactors. They assailed the houses of the Neapolitan officers, and threw the Neapolitan soldiers into dungeons. It was necessary, therefore, to send a large force from Naples to put down the rebellion; but when that force approached Palermo, a scene of slaughter and cruelty ensued in that unhappy city, which cannot be adequately described. A militia, chiefly composed of criminals liberated from gaol, were not to be expected to be very moderate

in shedding blood, or plundering property. All who refused to join them were shamefully murdered, then cut into pieces, and their quivering limbs exposed on pikes and bayonets. In the meanwhile, these who led the Neapolitan troops permitted Palermo to surrender on terms of capitulation.

While these things were going on in Sicily, at Naples they continued to amuse themselves with constitutions. They changed the nomenclature of the provinces, and, after the manner of the French school, adopted the names and divisions of antiquity. The Terra di Lavoro was named Campania; the three Abruzzi changed into Pletuteria, Marsia, and Frentania; the island and province of Tremiti into Daunia; Otranto into Salentum; Calabria into Lucania, &c. &c. They adopted also the trial by jury. Of this institution far be it from us to deem irreverently; but are wise institutions capable of being transplanted at will? and will every civil blessing flourish in every soil? Is it not a part of the moral order, against which it is vain to resist, that a people must be antecedently trained to those institutions, and gradually nurtured to those blessings? The almost entire inaptitude of the trial by jury to any other community than that in which it is indigenous, may be a discouraging, but it is an undeniable truth, of which theoretic statesmen are ignorant; and how costly and calamitous, for the most part, is that ignorance!

In the mean time, the allied powers took into their deliberation (we shall presently say a few words concerning their competence to entertain the question) the changes which popular force had thus worked in the political system of the country; and the King of the Two Sicilies was, as is well known, invited to their congress. The residue of the revolutionary story is soon told. The Austrians crossed the Po on the 28th of January, and marched to Naples. The principal opposition to this march seems to have consisted in an empty vote of the representatives, never to make peace with an enemy whilst he occupied their territory. On the 28th, Rieti was in the possession of the Austrians, and the Neapolitan army fell back upon Aquila. The Austrians appeared in sight; General Pepe was almost instantly deserted by his troops, and obliged to escape as well as he could. This dispersion was followed by that of the troops at Mignano, who fired on their officers, and then disbanded. The Austrians entered Naples on the morning of the 29th; and thus ended the revolution of Naples.

Different minds will arrive at different conclusions concerning the competency, we mean the moral competency, of Austria, to interfere with a revolution in the South of the Peninsula; and many may probably doubt the right of foreign powers to inter-

fore at all in similar cases. Our remarks upon this much agitated question shall be short. Perhaps the soundest reasoning is that which keeps at an equal distance from the extreme proposition on either side, neither denying altogether the right of interference in any instance of popular revolution, nor maintaining the right of interfering in all. In political cases, there is an endless gradation of shades and colours. In that before us, it is a question of fact. If, as the Emperor of Austria asserted in his manifesto, the Neapolitan revolution was brought about by obscure fanatics and rebel soldiers, and unnaturally forced upon the people, instead of being the object of their legitimate choice; and if, as it further asserts, that revolution threatened by its contact the peace and independence of neighbouring states; then the law of vicinage was in full vigour, and it became not only an undeniable right, but a sacred duty, to take measures for repressing the mischief. As an Italian prince by birth, as well as by inheritance, whose dominions had been nearly dismembered by similar commotions acting in the north of Italy in avowed sympathy with that of Naples, and generated by the sect of Carbonari, the prolific parent of modern revolutions,—the Emperor of Austria could not have hesitated as to the course which prudence, and policy, and justice, alike suggested.

As to the Carbonari, of whom so much is said, and so little known, it would be visionary perhaps to magnify their projects into that grand simultaneous insurrection, of which their appearance in the south of Italy was to be the signal; though this has been maintained by many sagacious and well-informed writers. We ourselves are of opinion, that these apprehensions were not wholly destitute of foundation; and we are not sufficiently sceptical of the size and extent of the mischief, to consider them merely as

“Fears of the brave, and follies of the wise.”

M. de Beauchamp,* author of a History of the Revolution in Piedmont, considers the Carbonari as a branch of a “gigantic anti-social conspiracy, of which Paris was the centre—the dregs and fæces of the French revolution still lurking, both in France and Italy.” He arraigns, we think unanswerably, the policy of the French government immediately after the restoration, which nursed, as it were, the dying embers of revolution, by heaping favours and condescensions on the remnant of the revolutionary faction. Thus cherished and protected, he adds, the grand democratic or Bonapartist sect extended their ramifications, under different names, to the Alps, the Pyrenees, and

* *Histoire de la Révolution du Piémont*, par M. Alph. de Beauchamp. Paris, 1827.

the Rhine, where the people, averse from a foreign yoke, and nurturing a secret but undefined hope of independence, lent a too willing ear to their delusions. Nor is there an absolute absence of evidence to show that the elements of this great combustion had been actually prepared at Paris, long before it burst forth with so feeble a flame in the southern extremities of Europe.

But though there may not be testimony sufficiently decisive to silence all doubt concerning the alleged extent of the conspiracy; it is certain that through the Neapolitan provinces at the period of the late revolution, the Carbonari, a sect framed in imitation of the free-masons, and avowedly pursuing some plan of political innovation, comprised a very considerable portion of the population. They do not, indeed, appear connected with the French party, of which M. de Beauchamp supposes them to have been a branch; for it is well known that they were equally hostile to the French governments of Joseph Bonaparte, and of Murat. Their existence, however, has for several years been a matter perfectly notorious; and, although they affected great secrecy, their proceedings were far from being concealed. But no sooner did the commotion of 1820 burst forth, than they threw off the mask, and, intoxicated with the success of their projects, published their transactions, and even posted up their proclamations. There is much real, and much affected, obscurity as to this sect, and their origin and purposes are in a great measure inexplicable. They who expect to acquire any information relative to them, from the book whose title is prefixed to our article, will be completely deceived; for a more confused and unintelligible farrago never disgraced the British press.

Yet it is abundantly manifest, that these societies, whose principle is change, and whose compact is secrecy, are phenomena which baffle all reasonings derived from former experience, and essentially differ from every confederation which has heretofore exercised the vigilance, or excited the alarm, of governments. If they are not positively a numerical majority of the Neapolitan nation, they include amongst them that portion of it which has the most decisive influence in political action. In the two extremes of society, the higher nobility, and the lowest of the populace, there are no Carbonari. It is in the middling classes that their strength resides. Amongst these, are the *possidenti* or small landed proprietors; who, in an agricultural country like Naples, must have considerable weight in all projects to which they contribute their influence. But, in addition to these, the rapid changes of property, and transitions of government, during the last twenty-five years, had created a comparatively new class; "the middle men," as they are designated in Ire-

land,—men who, having been agents of the great landed estates, have, by their own industry, and knowledge of rural economy, so profited by the vicissitudes of the times, or the improvidence of their employers, as to have seated themselves in the actual possession of the domains which they once superintended. They bear the general designation of *galantuomini*, or gentlemen. It is from this class that official situations in the provinces are generally supplied; and these persons, almost to a man, were enlisted amongst the Carbonari. What efficient precaution, then, could the Neapolitan government have taken against a sect which contained a large portion of public functionaries? whole districts and provinces being, in fact, completely in the hands of persons, discharging indeed their duties with exactness, but carrying on, at the same time, their occult and mysterious projects. A majority of Carbonari in the *Decurionato*, or public assembly of the village, would ensure the election of Syndics, of the Gabielleri, or excise men, and a variety of subordinate officers.

Amongst the Carbonari, proselytism, it seems, is incredibly rapid. The recommendation of a member already initiated is a sufficient passport to every candidate, unless there are clear and unequivocal objections against him. At the same time, every member is unwearied in his canvass for new members. Nor is an admission into this association without its private advantages. They extend to each other every office of friendship and benevolence. They supply the labourer with tools and implements; in many cases, with money. Every *cousin* is sure of sympathy in sickness, and consolation in death. The rapid diffusion, therefore, of such a sect, is no subject of wonder.

But in no class of the community had its principles taken deeper root than amongst the numerous bodies of provincial militia who are called legionari, civici, and militi; a class of men who had by no means an inconsiderable share in producing the revolution. As every individual of these troops must be assessed at least ten ducats to the land-tax, it is plain, that, exclusively of the power of armed men, they must have great influence as proprietors of the soil. In Capitanata, one of the most extensive and populous of the Neapolitan provinces, 40,000 of these persons, each with forty cartridges in his pouch, and four ducats in his pocket, were for several months in complete readiness for action. It cannot, therefore, excite much surprise that the late revolution broke out. How its duration should have been so short, and that a more heroic and persevering resistance should not have been made to the Austrians, it is somewhat more difficult to explain.

What has been already said concerning the character of this

versatile people, is the best solution of the problem. Their zeal had begun to cool, and they had already regarded its objects as scarcely of sufficient value to call for protracted efforts to defend them. It is evident, however, that the existence of a political society, which has sufficient influence to stir up a nation to rebel, though not, it should seem, to induce them to fight, must be a continual source of apprehension to the government of Naples. It is a perplexing question how to deal with it. What is ordinarily called persecution would, by a principle inherent in human nature, inflame their zeal, and augment their numbers. Rome could, indeed, in one day, and by a single vote of her senate, put down the pestilent sect of Bacchanalians; which, according to Livy, threatened so much mischief to the state. But the full-grown adult mischiefs of a confederacy containing in its bosom the majority of a nation, will not admit of remedies purely coercive.

There are, however, in the Carbonari of Naples, peculiarities which favourably distinguish them from the societies of the same name in other parts of Italy. That, for instance, which was detected at Macerata in the papal dominions in 1817, seemed to have contained the concentrated essence of French democracy,* and to have pursued the most sanguinary and vindictive projects. They were arrested by the police on the eve of a plot which was to have been executed in a few hours, and which would have deluged the streets with blood, and put public and private property at the mercy of a gang of ruffians and assassins. But the Neapolitan Carbonari are chiefly terrific from their numbers; the very circumstance which, if history and experience are to be relied on, diminishes the danger, and assuages the mischief of conspiracy. There is, no doubt, much evil in all secret associations. But an association of a million of men, though united by conventional signs, cannot be secret. In such a multitude, the spirit of the institution will soon be lost; and the control of the leaders, supposing them willing to give an undue direction to that multitude, every day less felt, and less obeyed. There is every reason to suppose, also, that the solemn puerilities and farcical absurdities of their ceremonies are sufficient to absorb the attention, and exercise the faculties, of the greater part. True, they have produced a revolution; but, having fretted its hour upon the stage, it is heard no more. "It vanished at the crowing of the cock;" nor is it likely, after so inauspicious an expe-

* Upon the trial of these wretches at Rome, the following triplet was deposed to, as having been read in a barracca at Ascoli:

Figli di Bruto, il brando omai scuotete,
Poiche spunta nel ciel, di sangue tinta,
Stella, che batte il rio Tiranno il Prete.

rimment, to be soon repeated. Surely, if an illustration of the comparative inefficacy of such institutions were wanted, it would be furnished by that revolution. A few lean and sallow Cassiuses are a more portentous evil in any country, than a million of Neapolitan Carbonari.

Let those then who sympathize with the supposed wrongs of Naples, and who deduce, from the numbers and extension of the Carbonari, a conclusion that the revolution thus suppressed by Austria was the native offspring of the public mind of the country, guided and enlightened by these societies—be at their ease. They furnish no inference whatever of an improved state of national intellect. It is not by the mummery and mysticism of secret clubs, that the mind of a country is to be strengthened and developed: an accelerated and stimulated growth ends in premature decay; the fruit becomes rotten before it is ripe. The health of moral vegetation requires that it should pass through the gradations of progressive increase. The aim of the Carbonari seems to have been that of obtaining an imposing appearance by mere numbers. Is this a fair criterion of the mental advancement of a people?

We have dwelt the longer upon these particulars, because the Carbonari have of late engrossed some space in political speculation; and because the facts we have stated are an ample commentary on the habits and feelings of a people who scarcely assimilate in one point with any other European nation; and of whom, perhaps, what was applied by Tacitus to the ancient Germans, "*sincera gens, et sui tantum similis*," is the truest description. We shall now proceed to offer a few remarks on the literary history of this nation, as far as it is capable of being considered apart from the history of the literature of Italy in general.

Count Orloff's book is divided into three parts: the first being historical only; the second confined to policy and legislation; and the third, to literature. Of such a plan, at least as far as regards the first two divisions, the inconveniences are numerous. As a portion of general history, it fritters and disperses the reader's attention, instead of leading it on by a continuous chain of facts; it rises no higher than to the level of a meagre chronicle, and is without that which is appropriate to a chronicle—order and arrangement. It is an unskilful severance of subjects not susceptible of division. The political condition of nations must be surveyed in parallel lines, as it were, with their historic incidents; because those incidents, whether of revolution, of invasion, of conquest, of migrations, of admixtures of the population, or of change of dynasties, are the causes that influence and indicate that condition. The separation of topics so closely

allied breaks up the connexion of cause and effect, which it is the peculiar province of history to exhibit. Of this disjointed scheme, Dr. Henry's work, though left by its ingenious author in an unfinished state, had proceeded far enough to show the disadvantage.

Distinct dissertations, indeed, on literary history, are not liable to similar objections. Literature, rarely mixing itself with the public transactions of mankind, holds a more secret affinity with national character, and great historical vicissitudes. It is the current which flows in stillness, and pays its tribute to the ocean, without noise or tumult. We are sorry we cannot compliment our author upon the successful execution of this part of his task. His catalogue of literary names and literary works is sufficiently copious; but do these compose the whole of literary history? Much, probably, of our discontent arises from unreasonable expectation: having framed an estimate of those qualities of mind and learning which are requisite for a complete historical disquisition, we are, perhaps, unjustly dissatisfied with performances that fall short of our standard. To be always looking for the rare faculty of intuitively comprehending the leading principles of human action, of embodying and concentrating the diffused spirit of ages into pregnant aphorisms and great practical verities; of making history, in short, what it has in its perfection been said to be, "philosophy teaching by examples," might be too exacting; yet we must be permitted to complain, that the plan adopted by Count Orloff has hurried him along too rapidly to admit of any collateral research, or incidental illustration. Neither is the diction that which the academy in its best days would have tolerated. It is only much better than that of his self-complacent annotator, M. Duval; both the text-writer and his commentator, both master and man, indulge themselves *ad nauseam* in that sentimentality which the modern school of French writers holds to be one of the essential elements of fine writing on all subjects, whether history, philosophy, or romance. Pursuing, however, the line which he has traced, but occasionally filling it with details and observations the absence of which is one of the chief defects of his book, we proceed to a slight historical analysis of the literature of that part of Italy which constitutes the modern kingdom of Naples.

Materials for this purpose are abundant; for the south of Italy is rich in historical learning. Its archives have, indeed, suffered considerably from invasions, and particularly from those of the Vandals; but the greater portion, by a rare felicity, has escaped the ravages of time and barbarism. The monasteries of La Trinità della Cava and Monte Cassino contain inestimable treasures of original documents pertaining to the history of the kingdom.

Foreigners, and more particularly the inhabitants of northern Italy, are apt to smile with incredulity when they are told of the number of Neapolitan historians. Giannone's name is well known; but the sources from which he derived his materials are little known out of the kingdom. The names of Summonte, Costanzo, Pontano, Collenuccio, Carracioli, and Capecelatro, are only a few of them. Besides these, various writers have compiled chronicles, from the provincial archives, which would form a rich collection, independently of the MS. registers of private families. The *Libro del Duca di Montelone* is of the highest authority. It is a series of historical facts, from the time of Joan II., and exhibits most curious pictures of the manners and transactions of the two following reigns. Moreover, every province, and even the smallest provincial town, boasts of its history.

Of the remote antiquity of this country, there are, of course, but scanty documents. The authors who flourished before the schools of Magna Græcia, and who could alone have guided us through the labyrinth, have not left so much as a name behind them. The Greek historians are too intent upon magnifying the importance of their own country, to deserve implicit faith when they treat of the people who were colonized and civilized by Greece. The loss of the early Roman historians is irreparable. Cato the censor* had devoted one entire book of history to inquiries concerning the origin and peopling of the old towns of Italy. Diodorus the Sicilian, Dionysius, and Dio, who explored all the antiquities of Italy, have come down to us in a state deplorably imperfect; and neither Plutarch, Sallust, nor Livy, has supplied the loss. But it is certain that the Greek republics of Italy rose rapidly to prosperity and power. The Brutians, in the fifth century of Rome, made the Greeks tremble for their own safety. Luxury and corruption, however, kept an equal pace with their prosperity. Cuma, Crotona, Tarentum, Rhegium, fell quickly under the Roman domination. In the time of Polybius, the very name of Magna Græcia was disused.

Great names adorned those republics. Zaleucus (whose existence is questioned by Bentley), and Charondas, were the legislators of Locris and of Thurium; but the name of Pythagoras is still greater: he was born at Samos; and having accidentally heard the philosopher Pherecydes discourse upon the immortality of the soul, he abjured the low occupation to which he had been educated, and became himself a philosopher. Having enlarged his mind by travel, and enriched it with all the learning

* *Corn. Nep. in vit. M. P. Cato.*

of his time, he settled at Crotona, and established his celebrated school, which he governed by a peculiar code of ethics. Exemplary abstinence, scrupulous ablutions, and daily exercise, were among its primary duties. At the close of every day, each disciple instituted a rigorous self-examination into the mode in which he had employed it. The silence enjoined this little community was probably an imitation of the reserve and mystery in which the priests of Egypt, in whose doctrines Pythagoras is supposed to have been initiated, locked up their knowledge. Whether the metempsychosis of this philosopher was borrowed from India, or was symbolical merely of the changes and reproductions which prevail through animal and vegetable life; whether it was a part of his religion to worship fire, as the purest emanation from the Supreme Being; or this also was a mere external symbol of some occult doctrine; are matters which must still remain in darkness. But the philosophy of Pythagoras was an era in the civilization of man. The school which survived him continued the parent and nurse of that long succession of philosophers who flourished in the south of Italy during the two following ages.

The Eleatic sect arose soon after in this part of Italy. From this school emanated that false logic which, under the name of dialectics, confounded right and wrong,—the weapon which was afterwards so dexterously wielded by the sophists who overran Athens and the other cities of Greece. From a passage in one of the epistles of Seneca, it should seem that Zeno, who was the leader of this sect, had adopted the hypothesis respecting the non-existence of matter which is so fully developed by Berkeley. Zeno died the death of a patriot; having made an ineffectual effort to recover the liberties of the little republic (Elia or Velia), which were destroyed by the tyrant Nearchus: Leucippus was the successor of Zeno. He invented the celebrated system of atoms, which Democritus and Epicurus adopted after him. Is it not to this philosopher also, that Descartes is indebted for his *vortices*, and the great mechanical axiom of the centrifugal qualities of rotatory bodies?

Of this period, the poetry has perished; but the ancient historians have preserved a few fragments of it. Plato cites some of the verses of Parmenides; and Athenæus has preserved an entire poem (the Meleager) of Cleomones of Rhægium. Tarantum produced three poets—Apollodorus, Leonidas, and Alexis, of whom Brunck, in his *Analecta*, has inserted some interesting remains. Alexis of Thurium was a celebrated writer of what is called the middle comedy. According to Suidas, he was the uncle of Menander, and wrote upwards of two hundred

dramas. Athenæus, Julius Pollux, and Aulus Gellius, have cited them occasionally; and several detached sentences of them are to be found in the valuable collection of Grotius.*

In short, the south of Italy, in this remote period, might boast of a constellation of genius in philosophy and poetry. The cities of Magna Græcia had, for the most part, adopted a species of government which, though aristocratic, preserved enough of the popular form to nurture and encourage the competition of talent. But the glory of these little communities was destined to be extinguished in the overwhelming domination of Rome. They lost indeed their liberties; but the Romans preserved to them their municipal forms and native institutions. The twelve divisions into which Italy was distributed by Augustus, were afterwards changed by Adrian, by whom the whole peninsula was again partitioned into seventeen provinces. Of these, Campania, Samnium, Apulia, and Lucania, comprised the territory which now constitutes the Neapolitan kingdom; an arrangement fatal to the privileges of the free cities. Campania was governed by consuls, Apulia and Lucania by censors, and Samnium by prefects.

These provinces gave birth to Livius Andronicus, Pacuvius, Nævius, Ennius, and Lucilius; but Rome was the theatre of their fame. The former of these may be considered the founder of the Roman stage. He supplanted the barbarous satires which were called Atellan, or Oscan, by something that approached the regular drama. Nævius, a native of Campania, seems to have advanced the dramatic art still further. Cicero speaks in commendation of the purity of his style, and Virgil honoured him by borrowing more than one of his verses. Macrobius† points at the beautiful passage in the first book of the *Æneid*, where Venus complains to Jupiter of the storm that dispersed her beloved Trojans, as entirely taken from Nævius:

——— O qui res hominumque deumque
Æternis regis imperiis, et fulmine terras,
Quid meus Æneas, &c.

If, indeed, Virgil borrowed this noble passage from Nævius, and made use also of entire lines from Ennius, as is also asserted by Macrobius, it is to be lamented that the verses, which that exquisite poet thus polished into brightness, are lost to us. We can discern neither the value of the obligation, nor the amount of the usury with which it was repaid. We have unfortunately too little of Ennius. But what remains of the *Amphora* makes us sigh, with the old woman in Phædrus, for what it once con-

* See also Henry Stephen's *Comicorum Sententia*. Ed. Paris, 1586.

† *Saturnal.* lib. 6.

ained. It is worthy of remark, however, that the old head has left as his own portrait, drawn by his own hand, in a fragment preserved by Aulus Gellius.* If poets can praise themselves honestly, the passage evinces a rough undissembling spirit, congenial to that antique freedom of manners, which permitted men to speak of themselves, as of others, without restraint:

Ingenio quoi nolla malum sententia suadet,
Ut faceret facinus, levis haud malus, doctus, fidelis
Suavis homo, facundus, suo contentus, beatus,
Sceitum, secundum loquens in tempore, commodum, verbum
Paucum, multa tenens antiqua, sepulta, vetusta, &c.

And here it ought to be remarked that, in the time of Ennius, the Latin language was less rude and unpolished than the specimens remaining of that author appear to indicate. It should seem that he affected, like our own Spenser, an antiquated diction to improve the interest of his composition, by removing it farther from ordinary life.

Arpinum, at present part of the province of Terra di Lavoro, produced the greatest orator and philosopher of the ancient world; and Count Orloff has mingled some just and pleasing reflections with a rapid enumeration of the writings of Cicero. We cannot but speak in terms of commendation, also, of his sketch of Sallust the historian, which, though slight, is by no means devoid of that sound critical discernment which shows him competent to appreciate the great masters of antiquity.

"Le royaume de Naples a eu encore la gloire de donner a la littérature latine Salluste, talent du premier ordre. Ce célèbre historien, mort quatre ans avant la guerre d'Actium, trente-un ans avant L. C. naquit a Amiternum, dans le pays des Sabins. Salluste fut élevé a Rome, ou il obtint la charge de questeur, et ensuite celle de tribun du peuple. Ses moeurs etaient tellement depravées, qu'il fut marqué d'infamie et dégradé du rang de sénateur. Etant une fois surpris en adultère par Milon, il reçut une correction corporelle et fut condamné a une amende. Il perdit toute sa fortune par ses débauches et des vices honteux. Jules-César, dont il avoit embrassé le parti, le fit rentrer dans l'ordre des sénateurs, et l'emmena avec lui en Afrique, où il alloit combattre le beau-pere de Pompée. Quand la guerre fut terminée, il fut envoyé au gouvernement de la Numidie où il amassa des richesses immenses a force d'injustices et de vexations. Il fit construire a Rome, du fruit de ses depredations, un palais magnifique; et des jardins dont l'emplacement porte aujourd'hui le nom de jardins de Salluste.

"Salluste a donné une Histoire Romaine dont il ne reste que quelques fragments; un ouvrage sur la conjuration de Catilina, et un autre sur la guerre de Jugurtha. Le style de cet his-

* Noct. Attic. l. 12, c. 4, Edit. Varl, 1772.

celui-ci est remarquable par la précision et l'énergie. Tout ce qu'on dirait de ce grand maître ne pouvait être dit ni plus laconiquement ni avec plus de force. On ne sait ce qu'on doit admettre le plus en substance, de ses descriptions, de ses portraits, ou de ses harangues; car il s'égare également dans toutes ces parties. Son laconisme l'a rendu quelquefois obscur, et ses digressions lui font par-fois aussi perdre de vue l'objet principal de son récit; mais malgré ces défauts, il est à juste titre réputé comme un des meilleurs historiens de toute l'antiquité." (Tom. iv. p. 50, 51.)

Velleius Paterculus, and Vitruvius, are names which dignify southern Italy. The last was born at Fossinæ.* So carefully was he educated, and so diligently did he study, that he was considered as an epitome of all human learning. Julius Cæsar knew and loved him. He was magnificently patronized by Augustus. His treatise on architecture is the only book upon that subject that has descended to us. It is obviously written with great inequality. The didactic parts of it are totally destitute of elegance or polish; but to each book there is a preface, written in a style of purity and elevation worthy of the Augustan age. Horace, notwithstanding his own doubts as to the precise spot of his nativity, belongs also to these provinces: and the unhappy Ovid was born in the Peligni, now the Abruzzo; the Italian translation of whose *Metamorphoses*, by Anguillari, is perhaps the finest version of ancient poetry to be found in any language.

From the time of Ovid, the reign of good taste and simplicity was no more. Words harmoniously balanced, antithesis, point, and an unsound floridness of diction, took their place. Statius was born at Naples, under Domitian, whom he flattered by the dedication of his two heroic poems. Count Orloff has dismissed this poet with a frigid mention: but Statius has been so long the agreeable companion of our lighter hours, and so little justice has, in our opinion, been rendered him by critics and scholars, that we cannot forbear claiming for him a distinguished place amongst the writers of antiquity. Ambition was the sin by which he fell: as he could not reach the *Æneid*, it would have been happy for him if he had not attempted it. Yet the faults of the *Thebaid* are more than redeemed by the exquisite poetry of the *Silvæ*. Every piece of that miscellaneous collection attests the purity of his taste, and the gentleness of his character. He was alike skilled in the graces of the *Epithalamium*,—the tenderness of the *Elegy*,—the dignity, if not the fervour and impetuosity, of the *Ode*. If, however, *feruet immensusque ruit* cannot be said of Statius, his poetry is a playful and sparkling stream, that makes sweet music as it glides. Gray was a great admirer of Statius. It is not generally known, that a passage in the

* Maffei claims him for Verona. Veron. Illustrat.

Genesiliacōn Lucani of this poet supplied him with the image, in his Progress of Poesy, of Nature unveiling her awful face to the infant Shakespeare. But Statius was emphatically the poet of Naples. Its clime, its atmosphere, its shores, were the chief sources of his inspiration. He was yet young, when the eruption of Vesuvius swallowed up Herculaneum and Pompeii. This memorable calamity sunk deep into his mind; and his descriptions of Naples are deeply shaded with the remembrance:

Hæc ego Chalcidicis ad te, Marcelle, sonabam
Littoribus, fractas ubi Vesbius egerit iras,
Æmula Trinacriis volvens incendia flammis.
Mira fides! credetne virum ventura propago,
Cum segetes iterum, cum jam hæc deserta virebunt,
Infra urbes, populosque premi, proavitaque toto
Rura abuisse mari? Necdum letale minari
Cessat apex.—

But the subjoined lines addressed to his wife, inviting her to meet him at Naples, present so lovely a portraiture of that city, that we must be permitted to copy them. We wish that modern Naples corresponded to it alike in every feature.

Hic auspice condita Phœbo
Tecta, Diæarchei portus, et littora mundo
Hospita; et hic magnæ tractus imitantia Romæ,
Quæ Capys advectis implevit moenia Teuctis.
Nostra quoque et propriis tenuis, neo rara colonia
Parthenope; cui mite solum trans æquora vectæ
Ipse Dionæa monstravit Apollo columbâ.
Hæc ego te sedes (nam nec mihi barbara Thræce,
Nec Libye natale solum) transferre laboro:
Quas et mollis hyems, et frigida temperat æstas:
Quas imbelle fretum torpentibus alluit undia.
Pax secure locis, et desidis otia vitæ,
Et nunquam turbata quies, somnique peracti.
Nulla foro rabies, aut strictæ jurgia legis:
Mores jura viris: solum, et sine fascibus, æquum.

The night which so long overshadowed the human mind was now come: yet, in the deepest gloom of the middle ages, some faint glimmerings are to be perceived. The reign of Theodoric is rendered memorable by Boethius and Cassiodorus, who inspired their ferocious master, not indeed with a taste for letters, but with a disposition to protect them. Cassiodorus found a refuge from the distractions and violences of the times in a monastery, which he himself founded in his native province of Calabria. There he dedicated the residue of a blameless life to the instruction of his fraternity, in sacred and profane learning. While he taught them to feel the beauties of the ancient writers, he employed them also in transcribing their works; a pious labour

to which we are indebted for many precious remains, that would otherwise have perished in the general wreck of knowledge.

The stern domination of the Lombards, which commenced at the close of the sixth, and continued to the middle of the eighth century, was in truth the era of the extinction of learning in Italy: for even so late as the fourth century the pure writers of antiquity were admired and copied. Many of the great lights of the Christian church, particularly Lactantius and Chrysostom, enriched their apologies, and embellished their controversies, with illustrations from the poets, the satirists, and orators, of a better age. Nor was the lyre of the ancient muses, though struck by feebler hands, as yet unstrung. Rutilius, Claudian, Ausonius, Sidonius Apollinaris, Prudentius, constitute a school of poetry in which the genius of antiquity still breathed. Aurelius Victor, Eutropius, and Ammianus Marcellinus, also, are by no means despicable as historians; and the Gothic dynasty could boast of Cassiodorus, Boethius, Ennodius, and other gifted individuals, who kept the embers of polite knowledge still alive. The iron sway of the Lombards was death to the whole mind of Italy. Yet, in these days of rapine and ignorance, the religious houses were uniformly hospitable to genius and letters. The Benedictines continued mindful of the precepts, and emulous of the example, of Cassiodorus; although their monastery at Monte Cassino had been wholly destroyed by the Lombards. Charlemagne availed himself of the zeal and talents of the learned churchmen of his age, when he restored the empire of the West; and the eighth century boasts of writers who would not have disgraced the second. Muratori* has collected some valuable historical monuments produced by the learned and industrious monks of Monte Cassino.

The duchy of Benevento, whose territory in the middle ages comprehended the greater part of the Neapolitan provinces, had still preserved its independence; and the princes who governed them were great protectors of learning. This tranquillity, however, was soon to have an end; and after the dismemberment of Benevento, a period of tumultuous anarchy succeeded, which drew down upon that devoted country the Saracens of Sicily; and the arms both of the eastern and western empires. A handful of Norman adventurers took advantage of the feebleness and confusion incident to such a state of things, and laid the first foundations of a monarchy, which in later times powerfully influenced the destinies of Italy.

At Salerno, where Robert Guiscard had established his court,

* *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum*, vol. i, ii

a celebrated school of medicine had already been instituted. In the eleventh century it arose to the summit of its reputation; and the Leonine verses, which registered the lucubrations of that period in the art of medicine, contain aphorisms which retain their authority in the present advanced state of the science. It has been strangely supposed that this work was dedicated to Charlemagne; but that prince had been dead nearly three hundred years, when this compilation first made its appearance. In fact, it was dedicated to a king of England, as it should seem from the first line of the poem. Tiraboschi supposes it to have been Robert, Duke of Normandy, son of William the Conqueror, who had been entertained at Salerno, on his return from the first crusade, by Roger then Duke of Sicily.

If the medical school of Salerno distinguished the eleventh century, the succeeding age was still more illustrated by the study and advancement of jurisprudence. We cannot enter into the much agitated question of the discovery of the Pandects at Amalfi. From this accident, however, may be dated the most beneficial revolution in the science of law. The schools of Milan, Bologna, Padua, and Naples, produced, in rapid succession, the great jurists of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Count Orloff has given an exact chronological nomenclature of the various historians who flourished at this period in the provinces of Naples. Monte Cassino had the honour of producing the greatest amongst them. In these learned retreats also flourished, not only the celebrated Albericus, the great theologian, who so ably defended his dogmas before two several councils to which he was cited by Gregory VII.; but another ecclesiastic of the same name, one of whose *visions*, lately discovered amongst the archives of that monastery, is supposed, on very weak grounds, to have been the exemplar from which Dante borrowed the idea of his *Divina Comedia*.

But the south of Italy passed under the mild rule of the Suabian princes, and the land of literature began to teem with a new produce. Frederic II. laid the foundations of an university at Naples, revived the medical school of Salerno, and himself cultivated the learning which he protected. His court was frequented by men of talent. It was under his patronage that the harp of Italy preluded its first sounds, and the Sicilian Muses contested the laurel with the Troubadours of Provence. Of the merits and misfortunes of the celebrated minister of that prince, Peter de Vineis, we quote Count Orloff's summary in his own words:

“ Un prince tel que Frédéric devait naturellement donner une puissante impulsion au génie des Italiens. Il fut assisté par Pierre Desvignes, homme d'un vaste savoir, profond dans les affaires, philosophe,

jurisconsulte, orateur, et poëte. Né à Capoue dans un état obscur, malgré la médiocrité de sa fortune, il se rendit à Bologne pour y cultiver les sciences. Sa fortune et le hasard l'y firent rencontrer par Frédéric, qui lui accorda son estime et son amitié. Chaque jour il se rendait plus digne des faveurs dont il jouissait. Mais, enfin, la fortune se lassa de répandre sur lui ses bienfaits. Envoyé au concile de Lyon, il ne réussit point à arrêter les foudres que Innocent IV. lança contre Frédéric et son trône. Dès ce moment tout changea pour Pierre, la haine et l'envie des courtisans se manifestèrent sans retenue; profitant de l'insuccès de la négociation, ils le perdirent dans l'esprit du prince par des fausses délations et des suggestions perfides. Tout-à-coup, le chancelier se vit dépouillé de ses dignités, et pour comble d'infortune, privé de la lumière par les mains des bourreaux. Jeté dans un cachot, il attenda lui-même, à ses jours pour mettre une terme à ses souffrances; et mourut sans accuser de cruauté ni d'ingratitude son souverain. Les lettres qu'il écrivit, sont des monuments du xiii. siècle aussi précieux qu'interessants. On y trouve plutôt les recits des évènements de la vie de ce prince, que l'élégance du style et la pureté de la langue.

"Quelques auteurs lui ont attribué un livre sur la puissance impériale, et un autre, *De Consolatione*" à l'imitation de Boëce, avec lequel la vie du chancelier Neapolitain avait eu d'autres rapports. Il s'occupa aussi de poésie. Allacci et Crescimbeni ont conservé quelques-unes de ses productions en ce genre. Elles prouvent du moins la flexibilité de son génie, et sont monumens des premières tentatives de l'Italie dans l'art poétique. Une de ses compositions mérite par sa forme ou sa texture quelque attention. On y trouve le mécanisme du sonnet dont elle a pu être le type, mécanisme encore ignoré dans ce temps, des poëtes provençaux. M. Ginguené n'a pu se dispenser de faire cette observation, malgré le zèle et l'admiration, qu'il a toujours témoignés pour la gloire des Troubadours." (Vol. iv. p. 116.)

A much greater name arose shortly after him. Thomas Aquinas was educated at Naples. The writings of this theologian, which are still extant, if what no one reads can be said to be extant, fill eighteen large folio volumes; and the ordinary duration of man's life could hardly suffice for the study of them. Fashions pass away, and the study of the angelic doctor has ceased to be the business of the schools, or the occupation of the closet. Yet he was held in high reverence by the sect who adhered to the scholastic philosophy, and who were long known by the name of Thomists. Nor was this estimation unmerited; his great Abridgment of Theology bespeaks a gigantic genius. To estimate such a writer, indeed, without reference to the time at which he lived, would be gross injustice; but it is a vulgar error to suppose that he was the blind and servile adherent of Aristotle. In some respects he was his antagonist; for he attached himself to the Alexandrian school, and adopted the tenets of St. Augustin, Proclus, and the Arabian peripatetics.

That he entangled himself in the formularies of the Scholastics, or at least in those which the schools attributed to that philosopher, and that he should have occasionally lost himself in the obscure labyrinths of scholastic distinctions, was the fault, not of Aquinas, but of the age. Even now the sway of Aristotle in the schools is not wholly extinct. Let not Thomas Aquinas be condemned for submitting in the thirteenth century to a yoke from which the nineteenth does not seek to be absolutely free.

The obscure question of the origin and formation of the Italian language, Count Orloff has passed by. We must be allowed to touch, however, upon a subject which belongs to the period at which we have arrived, and is closely connected with the rise and progress of Italian literature in general.

The use of a vulgar dialect, contradistinguished from the Latin, commenced sooner in France than in Italy, where the Latin not only continued to be the language of law and polity, but that of wit and gaiety. The Troubadours had, even as early as the twelfth century, amused, with their romances and *fabliaux*, princes at their courts, noblemen in their castles, and warriors on their crusades: but it was in the next age that the Italian idiom acquired shape and consistence. It leaped as it were full grown from its birth, and outstripping the tardy developments of time, attained, in the hands of Dante, to that copiousness and harmony which successive centuries have rather impaired than improved. Ginguené* attributes, we think erroneously, this rapid perfection to the Provençaux; and derivatively through them to the more distant sources of Arabian literature. But what similitudes of thought, or analogies of diction, can be traced between the grave and austere style of Dante, and the playful and often unmeaning levities of those amorous minstrels, Bernard de Ventadours, Peyrol, Peter Vidal, and the other professors of the *science gaie*? In fact, the gay and brilliant court of Provence expired in the beginning of the thirteenth century, to the latter part of which Dante belongs. The obscure sonneteers and *cansoniers*, who preceded the Father of Tuscan song in point of time, might have been vintured with their style and manner; nor can it be denied that the songs of Provence, rapid as they may seem to our refined apprehensions, were the source whence the poetry of Europe, and particularly that of Spain, derived its habitual language. Dante, however, is of another order. To the speech, which he reared to sudden perfection, not an approach was made before his time. We repose upon Muratori's hypothesis. The Italian language was neither borrowed from the Provençaux, nor was it originally of Provençal origin. It was a new language, which arose from the union of the Latin and the vulgar dialects of the north.

as, *adignus* we gave with the ancient Romans, that strange port-
dok of Leonard Aretin, which was afterwards adopted by
Bembo. It is, in short, the Latin, staggering under the blows
given it by successive invasions of barbarous conquerors, but
never supplanted by their idioms, receiving from time to time
their inflexions and terminations, and gradually declining into a
jargon assuming the form of a distinct language. Such was the
state in which it waited only for a creative genius, like that of
Homer, to impart to it the beautiful and harmonious symme-
tries, which it has since retained; and in this state Dante found
and completed it. It is observable that each of these dialects, as
it approaches the line of separation, partakes of the characteris-
tics of the other, the Latin being full of Italian expressions, and
the Italian abounding in Latinisms, which gradually wear away
as we descend to Petrarch and Boccaccio. In truth, all the Italian
dialects, as well as those of France and Spain, conspire to refute
the common opinion respecting the influence of the Northern
invasions upon the language of those countries by inoculating it
with barbarous idioms.

Robert of Anjou was the friend and patron of learning in
the fourteenth century. During his reign, poetry and the study
of Greek were prevailing occupations at Naples. Barlaam,
under whose tuition Petrarch made his slender proficiency in
that language, was a native of Calabria. Leontius Pilatus also
was his pupil. This eminent individual was invited by Boccaccio
to Florence, and it was his example and his labours that made
the cultivation of ancient letters general through Europe. His-
torical science indeed appears to have advanced but little at this
period in the South of Italy; though Gravina's chronicle, which
is inserted in Muratori's collection, is an exception. But in the
succeeding century, Italy had wholly shaken off the slumber
into which, with the other nations of the West, she had so long
sunk; and, under the house of Arragon, Naples became the seat
of taste and literature. Antony Beccadilli, surnamed from the
place of his birth Panormita, aided by Joxianus Pontanus,
founded an academy in that city, which enrolled in its numbers
the most accomplished scholars of the age.

Amongst these was Sannazarius, no ignoble name in poetry
and polite learning. We extract Count Orloff's remarks upon
this celebrated man.

Il passa son enfance, occupé d'études agréables, et il fit de plus
grand progrès. Ses premiers essais poétiques obtinrent l'approbation
de Pontanus, qui lui accorda son estime et son amitié. Cette maison
lui ouvrit un accès facile à la cour; il y fut bien accueilli par le roi
Ferdinand I^{er}. Sannazar s'attacha à Frédéric le cadet avec lequel il
fit la guerre en Toscane, et qu'il suivit ensuite, en France lorsqu'il fut

dépouillé de ses États. Associé à son bonheur lorsque la fortune lui souriait, il voulut partager ses disgrâces, et vendit son héritage pour le secourir. Après avoir recueilli le dernier soupir d'un malheureux monarque, il revint de son exil-volontaire, et ne cessa de manifester sa haine envers ses nouveaux maîtres, auteurs de la ruine des Arragonais.

"Sannazar cultiva à-la-fois la poésie latine et italienne, et brilla également dans l'une et l'autre, par la beauté des images, et la pureté du style. Son *Arcadie* est un modèle de ce goût dont Virgile seul avait hérité des Grecs, et que malheureusement il n'avait point jusqu' alors transmis à d'autres. Sannazar ne fut pas le premier qui mêla dans ses écrits des vers et de la prose, et qui employa les vers que les Italiens appellent *sdrucchioli* : ce genre était connu avant lui ; mais nul auteur de son temps n'a mis plus de sentiments et d'images dans ses poésies. Il n'est donc pas étonnant que son *Arcadie* se soit reproduite dès sa première apparition dans plus de soixante éditions, et qu'elle ait été imitée par le célèbre Garcilasso de la Vega, le plus brillant poète de la langue Castillane.

"Sannazar chanta les Mystères de l' Incarnation avec autant de pompe que Virgil en mit à peindre l'origine de Rome. Le poème de *Partu Virginis* est réputé l'ouvrage le plus beau d'un siècle, qui cependant fut embelli par plus d'un trophée littéraire, et vit briller sur tout d'un nouvel éclat les muses latines. Il est vrai que les rêves du paganisme s'y trouvent associés aux mystères de la religion chrétienne ; mais dans ce temps, on ne se doutait pas que l'on pût composer un poème sans l'aide de la mythologie, dont les prestiges semblaient devoir relever la simplicité des sujets. Si dans ce poème, Sannazar s'est quelquefois approché des beautés épiques de Virgile ; si dans son *Arcadie*, il avait aussi quelquefois rappelé les admirables bucoliques du poète latin dans ses *Eclogæ Piscatoriæ*, il montra un génie aussi fécond qu'original, et ouvrit une carrière inconnue aux Latins et aux Grecs." (Tom. iv. p. 153—155.)

To this notice we shall subjoin a few remarks. Sannazarius arrived at high excellence both in Latin and Italian poetry. A sort of conflict was at this time going on between those languages. That of Italy was by no means in general use among the learned ; and Cardinal Bembo attempted, even at a later period, to dissuade Ariosto from adopting it. But Sannazarius wrote with equal grace and facility in either. If his poem "de Partu Virginis" earned him the approbation of the Pope, and the distinction of being called the "Christian Virgil," his "*Arcadia*" shows to great advantage the elegance, and softness, and melody, of the Italian diction.

Sannazarius, as well as Statius, is the poet of Naples. He dwells with delight on its smiling landscapes and majestic scenery ; and his religious poem closes with an exquisite painting of the spot to which his fancy clings with affection and rapture.

* Hactenus, ô Supani, partus testasse verandos
 Sit satis : optatum poscit me dulcis ad umbram
 Pausilypus, poscunt Neptunia litora et udi
 Tritones, Nereusque senex, Panopenque Ephyranque,
 Et Melite ; quæque in primis grata ministrat
 Otia, Musarumque cavae per saxa latebrae,
 Mergellina ; novos fundunt ubi citria flores,
 Citria Medorum sacros referentia lucos ;
 Et mihi non solita nectit de fronde coronam."

In his eclogues and elegies also, Pausilypus, the adjacent islands of Nicida, Procida, and Ischia, are scenes in which he delights to revel. This enthusiasm is strictly Neapolitan. Every inhabitant of that favoured region is an idolater of the local beauties of his country. His patriotism belongs more to what he sees than what he feels. It is more physical than moral.

In Italian, the *chef d'œuvre* of Sannazarius is indisputably his *Arcadia*. It is a series of eclogues in verse, and the scene is laid in *Arcadia*. Each of them is prefaced by an exordium, in prose; an alternation which, being of regular recurrence, is too apt to fatigue. But if the merit of human productions is measured by duration of esteem, the *Arcadia* stands high, for it has been a favourite with the Italians for more than 900 years.

We pass by many other cultivators of poetry and letters in this celebrated academy. Nor were poetry and polite literature its only subjects of glory. Galateo (Antony of Ferrara) was the friend of Pontanus and Sannazarius, and he excelled equally in natural philosophy, medicine, geography, and elegant letters. Jerome Tagliava, a Calabrian, disputed with Copernicus the discovery of the earth's revolution round the sun. The science of history began also to make considerable advances under the Arragon princes. Laurentius Valla was munificently patronized at the court of Alphonso. Campano, Carraccioli, Albino, Pontanius Lætus, adorned the academy towards the close of the 15th century. At this time archæology was the universal passion; and to such an excess was it carried, that every thing modern was in low esteem. Literary men even quarrelled with their own names, of modern, and therefore of barbarous sound, and assumed the classic and sonorous appellations of ancient history—such as Julius Pontanus, Callimachus Experiens, Pomponius Lætus, &c.

The national literature suffered from this enthusiasm; and the Italian poetry and eloquence fell rapidly from the height to which Dante, and Petrarcha, and Boccaccio, had carried them. The poetry of Nottarno, and the homilies of Carraccioli, are proofs of the declension of taste and simplicity.

A brighter and more ethereal day now dawned upon Italy; and literature, as if impatient of its protracted infancy, advanced in the sixteenth century to sudden maturity and vigour. It seemed to have sunk into repose, exhausted by its efforts at the period of Dante and his contemporaries. It was, however, a renovating interval. The mind of man was undergoing a revolution the most interesting which history records;—a mighty change, which vibrated through Europe. Various causes contributed to it. The exhumation of the great models of antiquity from the sepulchre of ages was not the least. They furnished new standards of ideal beauty in the arts, which at once exercised emulation and awakened genius. The age of Leo brought back that of Augustus, and Rome was once more the centre from which taste and learning radiated through the world. Talent of every kind was encouraged by that liberal pontiff. The Medicis at Florence, and the princes of the house D'Este at Ferrara were also patrons of literature. But Naples lingered in this march of intellect. Her Spanish viceroys persecuted merit with as much zeal as the Suabian, Anjou, and Arragonese princes had cherished and protected it. They endeavoured, ineffectually indeed, to plant the inquisition in the Neapolitan provinces, and shed the purest and best blood upon the scaffolds. The universities were deserted, and liberal and ingenious writers were punished by torture and exile.

When the tide of human knowledge has begun to flow it is not easily checked. Private munificence supplied the place of public patronage. The Marquis de Pescara, the Marquis del Vasto, and the illustrious Colonna, were the Mæcenases of the age. It was a private individual, Ferranta, Duke of Salerno, who protected the father of the celebrated Tasso. This ornament of the sixteenth century, to whom Italian poesy owes its last polish and highest refinement, was born at Sorrento. He is too well known to require a more specific notice; and even if our space permitted us to enter into details concerning the great author of *Jerusalem Delivered*, the able summary and elegant criticism of Ginguené would render it superfluous. It may not be known, however, to all our readers, that Tasso was not only a poet, but a metaphysician and philosopher, and the author of several treatises, written with great precision, on morality and ethics. Nor is the full extent of his poetical labours familiar to all. His sonnets, of which there are an incredible number, have met with the same fate as those of Shakspeare. Like Shakspeare's, also, they are interesting portraits of the vicissitudes of his life. We present one of them, which is about to lose much of its elegance and vigour in our translation.

FIDELITY.

"There is a virtue, which to Fortune's height
Follows us not;—but in the vale below,
Where dwell the ills of life, disease and woe,
Holds on its gentle course, serenely bright,
So some lone star, whose softly-beaming light
We mark not in the blaze of solar day,
Comes forth with pure and ever constant ray,
Cheerful and beauteous in the gloom of night.
Thou art that star! so beauteous and so lone,
That virtue of distress, Fidelity!
And thou, when every joy and hope are flown,
Clingst to the relics of humanity,
Making my sad and sorrowing life still dear,
And death, with all its horrors, void of fear."

Tansillo, a contemporary poet, exhibits neither the taste nor dignity of Tasso. His poems abound with the conceits and antithesis too frequent in the Neapolitan school. But the poem called the Nurse, which has been translated by Mr. Roscoe, a tender exhortation to mothers upon the nurture of their children, is exempt from these vices. The obscene poem called Il Vendemiatore, was expiated, before his death, by the Tears of St. Peter, a religious piece, which the French poet Malherbe plagiarized and deformed. For a catalogue of the jurists and philosophers of the south of Italy, in the sixteenth century, we must refer our readers to the work of Count Orsini. The state of its literature, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, was by no means auspicious. The Neapolitan kingdom was scourged at once by tyranny and famine. The ministers of Philip III. and Charles II. who governed it as viceroys, were intent only upon squeezing from that impoverished kingdom new supplies for their rapacious and needy masters. Commerce was fettered by exactions, industry disheartened, the arts and sciences discouraged. Rebellions were the natural fruit of this crooked policy. Thomas Campanella headed an insurrection in Calabria; and the famous Masaniello was, for some time, master of the kingdom. But the zeal of private individuals, animated by the example of their predecessors in the preceding century, effected much during these iron times. Manni, the friend of Milton, Tasso, and Marini, established a literary society, called the Otiosi. Other societies were framed, and learning was preserved from extinction. The Neapolitan jurists of this period are mentioned with respect in the excellent work of Francesco d'Andrea, *Ragionamento a sui Nepoti*, himself the ornament of the bar, and called the Cicero of Naples. Unimpressed with the false taste, and superior to the chicane, of the Neapolitan pleaders, he was equally distinguished by his talents and integrity.

P. Mabillon, who heard him, says, that he spoke *magno cum eloquentia flumine et fulmine*. Andrea died in 1698. Gravina, another eminent lawyer, was a native of Cosenza, in Calabria. He was versed in the ancient languages, and addicted himself to the philosophy of Descartes. Having fixed his residence at Rome, he was one of the founders of the academy in that metropolis. For this academy, he composed a series of laws, in imitation of the twelve tables; but ambition and discord soon found their way into it; and Crescimbeni, by an unworthy intrigue, obtained a vote of expulsion against Gravina and his party. The first scholars of the age were his pupils, and amongst these Peter Metastasio.

The fame of this jurist rests chiefly upon his work *De Originibus*. He was the first lawyer who called down philosophy to the aid of jurisprudence. His interpretations of the Roman code, and of the fragments of the twelve tables, breathe a liberal and enlightened spirit; and his masterly and comprehensive mind brings together the whole history of human legislation, the progressive growth of natural and positive laws, and all the analogies and discordancies in the codes of nations. It is remarkable that two writers, diametrically opposite in genius and character, have been much indebted to Gravina. The world probably owes the great work of Montesquieu to his writings, and Rousseau borrowed from them his theory of the Social Contract. Himself a poet, he fostered and protected the expanding powers of Metastasio, left him an ample inheritance, and expired in his arms.

Julius Caesar Vanini was equally celebrated for his talents and misfortunes. He was born at Otranto, and studied at Naples. He travelled over Europe, and gave offence in every country which he visited, by the boldness of his opinions, and the freedom of his discourse. Constant to no theory, at one time a fervent Catholic, at another a licentious Latitudinarian, his life was passed in a storm of disputation. The doctors of the Sorbonne burned his work *De Admirandis Naturæ Reginis*. At Thoulouse, he was accused of atheism; and condemned, by the same parliament which afterwards passed sentence upon the unhappy Calas, to have his tongue cut out, and to be burned alive. This infamous judgment was executed on the 19th of February, 1619, and in the thirty-fourth year of his age.

But in no country has archaeology been carried to a greater extent than in Naples. And what country, in spite of barbarous invasions, and the dreadful visitations of earthquakes and volcanoes, presents a wider field for antiquarian research, or abounds more in those interesting remains which connect the ancient with the modern world? So prevalent was this science, that there

is scarcely a province, a town, a church, or a monument, which has not had its antiquary and its historian. Of these writers, the number is too considerable for distinct specification. Amongst the writers of general history we have already mentioned Summonte. It is, however, in literary history, that Naples abounds even to effluence. Manni bequeathed to posterity the *Life of Tasso*, whom he had befriended and consoled in the last years of his existence: Francesco Andrea compiled the biographies of the celebrated lawyers of his day: Chioccarelli, those of Neapolitan authors, from the earliest times to 1646: Toppi, Nicodemi, and many others, illustrated the same department.

Poetry, however, and the sister art of rhetoric, degenerated into fustian and conceit. Simplicity of thought and expression was supplanted by metaphysical subtlety; and an unnatural elevation of style but ill concealed the laborious indigence of the writer. The austere and terrible graces of Dante; the harmonious, but vigorous versification of Petrarch, were succeeded by florid exaggeration, by tumid and gaudy imagery. Naples led the way in this departure from truth and nature. Tassillo, and even Tasso himself, not unfrequently committed these offences against taste; and their example, imitable only in its vices, engendered a tribe of poets, the founders of a new school, the school of Marini. But although Marini had the ambiguous honour of giving name to the sect, his genius was of a higher order. He was born at Naples, and nature had gifted him with an ardent imagination, perpetually excited, as he grew up, by the glories of a cloudless heaven, the varied beauties of the scenery, the rich magnificence of earth and ocean, with which he was surrounded. His first poetical attempts were remarkable for the brilliancy of their colouring. They were applauded, but in contradiction to the established decrees of good sense and correct taste. Simplicity and nature had already been exiled from poesy. A genius like that of Marini was alone sufficient to confirm the false direction which had been given it, and to sanction its vices. Literary honours were heaped upon him, and he was highly distinguished by the patronage of the great, both in Italy and France.

His *Slaughter of the Innocents*, a poem, is the most finished of his numerous pieces. It was translated by Crashaw, and Pope has not disdained to borrow several passages from the translation. The *Adonis* is replete with every variety of descriptive beauty: but it sparkles with the false glitter of the style which was then prevalent. It rose, however, into rapid popularity. Though put into the *Index Expurgatorius* of the Vatican, its admirers and its readers were multiplied by the prohibition. A countless tribe of imitators arose. It is the in-

felicity of imitation to catch only the faults of its original. They did not inherit a remnant of Marini's genius.

It is, perhaps, in the infancy of man's intellect, that the poetical faculty is most vigorous. Invention then ranges with a more unfettered pace. Homer's was the vernal season of poetry. Philosophy, by bringing every thing to the test of reason, dissipates its creations. Our own metaphysical poets, Donne, Cowley, Crashawe, and Denham, displayed less what they felt than what they knew. Perhaps the revolution of taste in Italy was not precisely of the same kind; it arose out of the exaggeration of beauty into deformity; from that luxuriance of flowers, and profusion of colours, which, in their excess, torture rather than delight the senses. To this fault, which is chiefly the abuse of something intrinsically excellent, the Italian writers seem to have had at all times an innate tendency. Erasmus ridicules the Ciceronians of his day—a sect of rhetoricians who imitated to a vicious excess the style of Cicero; and Italy, at the revival of letters, abounded with Ciceronians. The Petrarchists, as they were called, acquired the appellation from exalting into hyperbole and conceit the purity and tenderness of Petrarca. But Guarini first, and after him Marini, seemed determined to show how far poetic affectation could be carried. They halted, however, on the confines of absurdity, leaving to their disciples at Naples, Stigliani, Bruno, and others, the disgrace of breaking all reserve, and rioting in absolute nonsense.

Occasionally, indeed, Marini reminds us of the conceits of Cowley; but the resemblance is rare. One instance of such a resemblance is in our recollection, and we are tempted to quote it. In the *Testamento d'Amore*, a lover receives from his mistress a letter written with her blood. This circumstance gives birth to endless conceits and extravagancies. He wishes to be converted into ashes, that, by being pulverized, he might dry up the lines traced by her hand—

“Cosi pur potess' io
Tra le mie flamme incenerire ardendo,
Indi il cinere mio
Sparger, di polve in vece,
Sù le tue belle, e sanguinose righe!
Che non si puo con altra ricompensa
Pagar dono di sangue
Che con cambio di morte;

and concludes by calling her a pelican of love, who tears out her heart to administer life to others—

“Pelicano d'amore
Che per dar vita altrui ti squarci il core.”

There were few satirical poets in Italy during the seventeenth

country, *Intendente*. Rocco, *campiaccio*, another most distinguished amongst them; he was a native of Naples; his satires have the bitterness and sternness of Juvenal. He writes also with the flowing eloquence of that poet; but he abuses his own fertility, and knows not how to stop. His great fault is saying too much. In the drama, Porta arrived at great excellence; his genius was indeed universal. His tragedies of *Il Giorgio*, and *l'Ulisse*, still maintain their reputation. But in the pastoral drama, a Neapolitan barber, Gian Battista Bragagnano, shone nearly without a rival. The comedies of Porta also were deservedly admired in his day. Count Orloff observes of this extraordinary being,

"C'est vraiment une chose très remarquable, qu'un million d'études sérieuses, et de travaux d'un genre si différent, Porta ait pu composer un si grand nombre de pièces dramatiques. Dans ses comédies, on trouve le sel de Plaute, et tout l'art de l'Arioste. Et peut-être se montre-t-il supérieur à l'un comme à l'autre, dans le choix de ses sujets, dans l'emploi des incidents, dont il se sert pour renouer et soutenir l'action."—(Tom. iv. p. 381.)

In a language so easily wedded to music, the opera is almost of indigenous growth; and in the age in which we have been occupied, it rose to great perfection. Antonio Basso, Sorrentino, the author of *Ciro*, and others, whose names alone would extend our article to an unreasonable length, prepared the way for Zeno and Metastasio, from whose hands the Italian opera received its last touches.

The eighteenth century was the age of the severe sciences, rather than of poetry. Count Orloff has only strung together a barren nomenclature of the Neapolitan poets of this period; names too obscure for commemoration, and scarcely heard of beyond the limits of their own country. Nor is this silence a matter of condolence; the times are gone when cities were built by the sound of a lyre, or armies inflamed by the strains of a Tyrtæus. The spirit of imitation has so long subsisted in Italy, that we may reasonably despair of seeing again the sublimity of Dante, the pencillings of Tasso, the opulence of Ariosto. On the other hand, sonnets, madrigals, elegies, *canzoni*, were every day starting into sickly existence, and then disappearing for ever.

"Versus inopes rerum, nugæque canoræ."

It is in this age, nevertheless, that we contemplate the human faculties in their grander movements. A sounder logic, and more rational philosophy, were cultivated in Europe. The kingdom of Naples had been transferred to Austria, but the policy of the Spanish administration was still continued. Financial disorders, vexatious imposts, harassed and afflicted this

devoted country. But in spite of her arbitrary and oppressive governments, Naples could boast of many establishments friendly to science and letters.

In Giannone, jurisprudence found one of its greatest ornaments, who was born in the province of Capitanata, and studied at Naples. He began his celebrated *Civil History of Naples* at an early period of his life. He was a zealous, not to say virulent, opponent of the usurpations of Rome; a circumstance to which he owes much of his reputation, and almost all his misfortunes. His work, on which he had bestowed twenty years of unremitted labour, appeared in 1723. But the liberality of its tenets soon earned it the honour of a place in the Index expurgatorius of Rome. He was, moreover, excommunicated by the archiepiscopal court of Naples, and exiled from his country. The principal events of his life are compendiously stated by Count Orloff.

“ Il alla chercher un asyle et la paix a Vienne, ou il trouva un appui dans le prince Eugene, qui savoit allier la philosophie à la plus grande gloire militaire. Ce prince et quelques savants qui le protégèrent, parvinrent a lui faire obtenir une pension de l'empereur Charles VI. Ce fut alors que Giannone se crut assez puissant pour se venger de l'injustice dont il étoit victime. Il fit circuler, pour sa defense, quelques opuscules manuscrits, dans lesquels il ne put contenir son humeur satirique. Le même sentiment lui dicta l'ouvrage très curieux qui avoit pour titre : ‘ Triregno, ossia del regno del Cielo, della Terra et del Papa.’ La cour de Rome s'empessa d'en faire acheter toutes les copies manuscrites qui circulaient, afin d'en empêcher la publicité; elle parvint a les faire entièrement disparaître.

“ Lorsque Charles VI. perdit le royaume de Naples, Giannone perdit aussi sa pension. Dans cette circonstance, il fut assez imprudent pour retourner en Italie. Accueilli d'abord a Venise, il en fut peu après chassé, traversa l'Italie, déguisé, et se refugia à Genève. Là, cédant aux instances perfides d'un officier Piedmontais, il se laissa entraîner hors du territoire de cette petite république. Son lâche guide le fit arrêter par des sbirres, et conduire dans la forteresse de Miolens; on le sépara de son fils unique, le compagnon de ses malheurs et de ses voyages. Après quelque temps, il fut transféré à la citadelle de Turin. Dans sa triste prison, le malheureux Giannone chercha consolation dans les lettres, commenta des auteurs classiques, écrivit des mémoires, traduisit des livres; il en fit même un pour soutenir les droits du roi de Sardaigne qui pour recompense l'oublia dans sa prison. Accablé de misère et de chagrins, il se résigna, enfin, à abjurer, à réfuter lui-même les maximes qu'il avoit avancées dans sa belle et savante histoire. Après douze années d'emprisonnement, il mourut âgé de 72 ans, en 1748.”—(Tom. iv. p. 393, 394.)

John Baptista Vico was a man of universal talent. Philosophy, politics, poetry, the belles lettres in general, he cultivated with equal diligence. Left in a destitute condition, his genius

was nursed in solitude, and quickened by misfortune. All his writings breathe an air of originality: his imagination was ardent and active, and derived its aliment from vast and profound reading. Plato and Bacon were a species of household divinities to this indefatigable student. The celebrated work of the *Scienza Nuova* dintorno Alla Commune Natura delle Nazioni, is a lasting monument of philosophical powers of generalization which have been rarely equalled. Its obscurity is apparent, rather than real. It requires, indeed, to be read diligently, and even laboriously; and the author himself deprecates the judgment of those who may presume to criticise it on a slight and careless perusal.

The reign of Charles III. was the proudest political era that Naples had yet witnessed. The judicious measures of Tannucci, his minister, and the actual presence of the monarch himself, inspired life and activity into the state, and the Neapolitan people might for the first time be called a nation. The discipline of the university was restored; the magnificent building which it now occupies appropriated for its reception, and the Farnese library consecrated to its use. To this auspicious period belongs Antonio Genovesi, a proselyte from scholastic theology, the study to which he was originally destined, to the pursuits of a liberal and enlightened philosophy. We contemplate in him, perhaps, the most extraordinary man that ever arose in Italy. He was a disciple of Vico, whose doctrines he elucidated, by a commentary which completely cleared them of the perplexities in which his master had intentionally enveloped them. What Bacon was to Europe in general, Genovesi was to Italy. The spirit of philosophy, almost at his bidding, pervaded every science, and the principles of right reasoning diffused a steady light over the labours of succeeding students, for whom he had first opened a way disentangled from mysticism and error. He was in truth the founder of a school in philosophy, which had all that was great or eminent in Italy among its students. He combined the theories of Locke and Leibnitz, extracting from each that which was most consonant to the interests of man, and the improvement of his mind. If he wandered occasionally into the wilds of a boundless speculation, he was led astray by his unlimited confidence in the perfectibility of the human mind; an error that bespeaks generous and enlarged, though not accurate habits of thinking.

Genovesi filled the moral chair at the university. His talents attracted a numerous class; and truths to which they had been heretofore indifferent or inattentive, came mended from his tongue. He was an unsuccessful candidate for the theological professorship; but a munificent individual, Bartolomeo Intieri,

having founded a lectureship on political economy, upon the express condition that Genovesi should be the Professor, it was in his lectures upon that branch of philosophy that he employed the vast resources of his genius, and displayed the great depth of his acquirements. But his greatest work is his *Treatise upon Metaphysics*: nor is it the least of its merits, that it is divested of the learned nomenclature generally used in metaphysical dissertations, and completely adapted, by its elementary form, to popular use. Exhausted by his labours, this eminent man died in 1769, at the early age of 55.

Emulous of his example, and disciplined by his precepts, several accomplished scholars followed in the same department. But our limits admonish us that inasmuch as our mention of them would necessarily be confined to the barren enumeration of their names, it would be better to pass them by, and content ourselves with the selection only of the most prominent and conspicuous merit that belongs to the period under our examination. We conclude, therefore, our slight view of Neapolitan literature during the reign of Charles III. by remarking, that with the exception of poetry and eloquence, every branch of human knowledge made rapid advances.

The long and eventful reign of his son, Ferdinand IV. brings us to our own times, and involves the actual state of knowledge and letters, in this part of Italy, which partook, in due proportion, of the general amelioration of Europe. In Naples, however, Genovesi left no equal. His plan of instruction was followed, his maxims paraphrased; but his disciples fell far short, in knowledge and genius, of their illustrious master. Naples, a city of lawyers, remained stationary in jurisprudence. The gothic and fendal edifice, with all its anomalies and errors, was still unshaken. Disorder, despotism, and anarchy, prevailed through that shapeless chaos, to which every dynasty and successive monarch had added something to augment its disproportions and multiply its deformities. But, among the theoretic writers who laboured to reform the civil and criminal codes, Francisco Mario Pagano holds a conspicuous place. The bar was then the great theatre of talent. Pagano, a disciple of Genovesi, soon left, however, that stormy occupation for the peaceful retirements of philosophy and study. In 1783, he published his *Saggi Politici*, a treatise which ranks him with the first writers upon public law; and in his smaller work, entitled *Considerazioni sul Processo Criminale*, he unfolded the true principles of penal jurisprudence, and urged those mitigations and amendments of retributive law, which had indeed been already recommended by Beccaria in a style more diffuse, but less forcible and impressive. Pagano, having accepted an office from

the French usurpation of 1799, was sacrificed, on the restoration of Ferdinand, to the vindictive policy of the times, and publicly executed, with numerous other victims of that calamitous period.

Filangieri may be styled the Montesquieu of Naples. From his early youth, he addicted himself to the diligent study of the mathematics, philosophy, the ancient languages, and the principles of morality and policy. His book upon the Science of Legislation appeared in 1780, when he was scarcely twenty-eight years of age. In glancing at this elaborate work, we are led to ask by what miracle a young man, of high birth and splendid connexions, and of whose life no inconsiderable portion must have been passed in the pleasures of youth and the frivolous pursuits of the Neapolitan nobility, should have amassed such a store of solid information, and acquired so severe and profound a logic? Filangieri attempted, in this work, what was never attempted before in the same department—to introduce, into moral and political, the exactness and precision of demonstrative science. His plan seems to be as unbounded as his genius. Montesquieu exhibits, as in a mirror, all that had theretofore been done by systems of law and codes of jurisprudence; but Filangieri was not content with mere historical induction. Reasoning from man's capacities and nature, he examines what still remains to be done, by civil institutions and political systems, for his moral amelioration and social happiness. Having laid down the general rules of legislative science, and unfolded the principles of law, civil, economical, and penal, he enters into clear and copious disquisitions concerning education, property, and the reciprocal rights and duties of the parental and filial relations. A mind free from the perturbations and mists of vulgar prejudice, an ardent philanthropy, a style admirably suited by its simple gravity to the subject, are the qualities displayed by this young philosopher, whose early death will be long registered in the affectionate regrets of his country.

In political economy, the Neapolitans have made considerable advances from the time of Genovesi, who first raised it from the mere skill of the merchant or tradesman, to a rank amongst the liberal sciences. Galiani, so well known at Paris, in the circles of French literati,* for the vivacity of his wit and the smartness of his repartee, was the author of various treatises in this branch of knowledge, in which he attacked, with great success, the principles of the French economists. On his return from the Neapolitan embassy, at Paris, during his residence in which situation he had lived in familiar intercourse with the wits and belles-esprits of the court of Louis XV. and those of the first

* See his *Correspondance avec Mad. d'Epiny*. Paris, 1821.

years of the reign of Louis XVI. he was placed in a financial office at Naples; and, amongst other projects, he had brought to maturity the restoration of the port of Baiæ; a work which was abandoned at his death.

We might enlarge our catalogue; but we have executed, imperfectly indeed, but to the utmost practicable extent allowed us, our picture of the ancient and present state of Neapolitan literature. We have followed the track, but not the footsteps, of Count Orloff; and have supplied, from other sources within our reach, the unavoidable imperfections of his plan, by selecting the most conspicuous figures, the *ductores Danatim*, the *prima delecta virorum*; not seeking to disturb the oblivious repose of a whole host of literateurs, whose reputation is so exclusively the property of their own country, that it is by no means likely to migrate beyond its limits; the

————— fortetque Gyan, fortetque Cloanthum;

names praised, indeed, to the utmost height of panegyric, in their own circle, and owing no small part of their celebrity to that commerce of flattery, with which savans and academicians amuse and abuse each other.

ART. II.—*Two Sermons, occasioned by the death of the Rev. Thomas Scott, late Rector of Aston Sandford, Bucks; preached at St. John's, Bedford Row, 29th April, 1821. By Daniel Wilson, A.M. 8vo. London, 1821.*

In an earlier period of our literature, the biography of eminent men, and especially of persons distinguished by their exalted piety, was ordinarily confined to such notices of their characters and labours as occurred in their funeral sermons; and the absence of these obituary records was often a substantial subject of regret, since, with all their imperfections, they are at least valuable as the conduits for conveying to us, in numerous instances, (as the biographical frequenters of the invaluable library of the British Museum can testify,) the only memorials of piety and talent which a less literary age was accustomed to put upon record for the benefit of a succeeding generation. If these "antidotes to oblivion" were deficient in particular details, they still seized upon the principal lineaments of the character, and presented such an outline for the imitation of those who should come after as might enable them to transfuse into their own lives, if they were so minded—those graces and virtues of the Christian character, which men of like passions with themselves

had been enabled to exhibit in their progress through the same pilgrimage; while it was not less instructive, nor less animating, to observe in how many of these instances the influence of true religion appeared throughout in the seasons of sickness and decay, and in the still more appalling hour of conflict with "the last enemy that shall be destroyed."

In the present case, as in that of Mr. Richardson, noticed in the last number, we find that not only the funeral flowers of "a sermon" are strewed over the grave, but that a regular memoir is to stand, like the stately cypress, beside the tomb of the departed.

The expectation of a "life" of the late Mr. Scott, from the pen of his son, may account for the scanty notice which is taken by the preacher of the personal history of the deceased; a single note serves to supply the following series of dates:—Mr. Scott was born near Spilsby, in 1747, and ordained deacon in 1772. He became curate of Olney in 1780; chaplain of the Locke Hospital, (of which he was the entire founder,) in 1785; and rector of the humble preferment of Aston Sandford, in Bucks, in 1801, at which place he died, April 16, 1821, in the 75th year of his age. In treating the text of 2 Tim. iv. 6—8, Mr. Wilson considers that the words with which the apostle there exhorts and animates his son Timothy to redoubled ardour in the ministerial charge, from a consideration of his own approaching departure, and of the eternal reward which awaited the faithful pastor, admit of a fair and legitimate application to the case of the individual who has been so recently discharged from his long and honourable services, and to those labourers who are yet toiling in the same vineyard, in order to their encouragement to renewed exertions in the ministerial office. The object therefore which the preacher chiefly proposes to himself is to stir up his clerical brethren, by a brief review of the living labours, and dying consolations of the deceased, to "do the work of an evangelist;" to "preach the word," and to "be instant in season, and out of season."—In reference to the nature of the reward thus proposed to all faithful stewards of the divine mysteries, we find the following judicious observations *in limine*:

"This crown 'the Lord the righteous judge' will award; for 'God is not unrighteous to forget our work and labour of love.' The reward is not indeed one of desert—our only foundation in respect of merit is the free justification which is by faith of Jesus Christ; for as sinners we are not only unprofitable servants, but deserve condemnation; but it is a gift of grace, and as believers in Christ we humbly expect, for his sake, a heavenly recompense, in proportion to our services and sufferings in his cause."

And, in proof of the harmonious consistency between the divine

mercy and the Christian reward, we find the following quotation from Calvin himself:

“The free justification which is conferred on us by faith, is not inconsistent with the reward of works. Yea, rather these two things rightly agree, that a man is justified freely by the benefit of Christ, and yet that he will receive the reward of his works before God. For as soon as God receives us into grace, he accounts our works acceptable; and thus deigns to bestow on them a reward, though an undeserved one.”

As the above distinction is not always attended to, and the natural tendency of our nature, even as Protestants, is to exalt human merit at the expense of divine grace, Mr. Wilson, in proposing to our view “the recompense of the reward,” to which even Moses himself “had respect,” appears to have judged well, in thus laying his foundation, on the chief corner stone of the church in every age. Mr. Wilson first notices the well-known work of Mr. Scott, called “The Force of Truth,” of which he speaks in the following terms:

“The manner in which he was called to the spiritual combat was remarkable. His narrative of this event, we may venture to assert, will be classed in future ages with those of which the process has been recorded by the most sincere and candid avowals of the individuals themselves. ‘The Force of Truth’ cannot indeed be equalled with ‘The Confessions of St. Augustine,’ or the early life of Luther; but the main features of conversion, and the illustration of the grace of God in it, are of the same character. The church has seen few examples so minutely and satisfactorily detailed of the efficacy of the doctrine of Christ, as in the instance before us. We there behold a man of strong natural powers, intrenched in the sophistries of human pride, and a determined opponent of the chief truths of the Gospel, gradually convinced and subdued. We see him engaging in a laborious study of the Scripture, with preconceived opinions firmly fixed, and reluctant to admit a humiliating scheme of theology: yet borne on, contrary to his expectations, and wishes, and worldly interests, by the simple energy of truth. We view him arriving, to his own dismay, at one doctrine after another. We behold him making every step sure, as he advances, till he at length works out, by his own diligent investigation of the sacred volume, all the parts of divine truth, which he afterwards discovered to be the common faith of the church of Christ, to be the foundation of all the reformed communities, and to be essentially connected with every part of divine Revelation. He thus learns the apostolical doctrines of the deep fall of man—his impotency to any thing spiritually good—the proper atonement and satisfaction of Christ—the trinity of persons in the godhead—the regeneration and sanctification of the Holy Spirit—justification by faith only—salvation by grace—the necessity of repentance unto life—separation from the sinful customs and spirit of the world—self-denial, and the bearing of reproach for Christ’s sake—holy love to God and

man—activity in every good word and work—dependence upon Christ for the supply of needful grace—humble trust in his promises for final victory, and an unreserved ascription of all blessings to the secret and merciful purpose and will of God. The whole narrative is so honest, and so evidently free from any suspicion of enthusiasm, as to constitute a most striking testimony of the power of divine grace.

“It was first published in 1779: at the close of twenty years he prefixed to the fifth edition a solemn declaration that every thing he had experienced, observed, heard, and read, since the first publication of it, had concurred in establishing his most assured confidence, that the doctrines recommended in it were the grand and distinguishing peculiarities of genuine Christianity. This declaration was repeated in each subsequent edition, till the time of his death.”

We may here observe that, since the publication of this Funeral Sermon, a very interesting memoir has appeared, of the latter years and death of Dr. Bateman, the physician, which contains the following remarkable testimony in favour of another work of Mr. Scott, his *Essays on the most important Subjects in Religion*:

“I read to him” (says his biographer) “the first of Scott’s *Essays*, which treats of the ‘Divine Inspiration of the Scriptures.’ He listened with intense earnestness; and, when it was concluded, exclaimed, ‘This is demonstration! complete demonstration!’”

Again:—

“He preceded his revered, though unknown instructor, Mr. Scott, only one week. He never ceased to remember, with the deepest gratitude, his obligations to that excellent man. It was only the evening before his death, that he recommended, with great earnestness, to a young friend, whose mother, under affliction, was first beginning to inquire after religious truth, to engage her to read Scott’s *Essays*; acknowledging, with fervent gratitude, the benefit he had himself received from that work, and concluding an animated eulogium, by saying, ‘How have I prayed for that man!’”

In describing the writings of Mr. Scott, consisting of six volumes quarto and nine or ten volumes octavo, Mr. Wilson says—

“He ‘kept the faith,’ not only in the main characters of his theology, but in the use which he found the sacred writers made of each doctrine; and in the order, the proportion, the manner, the occasion, the spirit, the end of stating and enforcing all they taught. In this view, the way in which he had been led to study the Scriptures for himself, and diligently to compare all the parts of them with each other, was of essential service. He was not a man to receive the impression of his age, but to give it. The humble submission to every part of divine revelation, the abstinence from metaphysical subtleties, the entire reliance on the inspired doctrine, in all its bearings and con-

sequences, the candour on points really doubtful, or of less vital importance, which are the characteristics of his writings, give them extraordinary value. Thus, together with the commanding truths above enumerated, he held as firmly the accountableness of man, the perpetual obligation of the holy law, the necessity of addressing the conscience and hearts of sinners, and of using, without reserve, the commands, cautions, and threatenings which the inspired books employ, and employ so copiously; the importance of entering into the detail of the Christian temper, and of all relative duties; of distinguishing the plausible deceits by which a false religion is concealed, and of following out the grand branches of Scripture morals into their proper fruits in the family and the life. In a word, he entered as fully into the great system of means and duties, on the one hand, as into the commanding doctrines of divine grace, on the other. He united the Epistles of St. Paul and St. James."

Adverting to Mr. Scott's Answer to the Bishop of Lincoln's "Refutation of Calvinism," Mr. Wilson observes,—

"The prejudices inseparable from any living controversialist must, of course, be allowed to subside, before a calm judgment can be formed of his character; but, when that period shall arrive, I doubt not that his laborious productions, more especially his masterly Reply to the work entitled the "Refutation of Calvinism," will be admitted to rank amongst the soundest writings of the age."

Mr. Wilson afterwards calls this Reply "incomparable for the acute and masterly defence of truth," and further observes of it,—

"I consider this work (second edition) to be one of the first theological treatises of the day. It is pregnant with valuable matter, not merely on the direct questions discussed, but almost on every topic of doctrinal and practical divinity."

In adverting to the most celebrated of Mr. Scott's works—his Commentary on the Holy Scriptures, Mr. Wilson thus expresses himself:

"It is difficult to form a just estimate of a work which cost its author the labour of thirty-three years. Its capital excellency consists in its following more closely, than perhaps any other, the fair and adequate meaning of every part of Scripture, without regard to the niceties of human systems; it is a scriptural comment. Its originality is likewise a strong recommendation of it. Every part of it is thought out by the author for himself, not borrowed from others. It is not a compilation; it is an original work, in which you have the deliberate judgment of a masculine and independent mind, on all the parts of Holy Scripture. Every student will understand the value of such a production. Further, it is the comment of our own age; furnishing the last interpretations which history throws on prophecy, giving the substance of the remarks which sound criticism has accumulated from the different branches of sacred literature; obviating the chief objections

which modern annotators have advanced against the doctrines of the Gospel, and adapting the instructions of Scripture to the particular circumstances of the times in which we live. It is, again, the work of one who was at home in what he did. The faults of method and style, which considerably detract from some of his other writings, are less apparent here, where he had only to follow the order of thought in the sacred book itself; whilst all his powers and attainments had their full scope. It was the very undertaking which required, less than any other work, what he did not possess, and demanded more than any other, what he did—it required *matured knowledge* of Scripture, skill as a textuary, *sterling honesty*, a *firm grasp* of truth, *unfeigned submission* of mind to every part of the inspired records, *unparalleled diligence* and *perseverance*; and these were the very characteristics of the man. When to these particulars it is added that he lived to superintend four editions, each enriched with much new and important matter, and had been engaged above three years in a new one, in which, for the fifth time, he had nearly completed a most laborious revision of the whole work, we must, at least, allow its extraordinary importance. Accordingly, the success of it has been rapidly and steadily increasing from the first; not only in our own country, but wherever the English language is known. It will soon be in the hands of all careful students of the holy volume; whether, in the first instance, they agree with him in his chief sentiments or not. Nor will the time be distant, when, the passing controversies of the day having been forgotten, this prodigious work will be almost universally confessed, in the protestant churches, to be one of the most sound and instructive comments of our own or any other age. It should be part of a student's constant reading; to turn to a few controversial passages, can afford no fair criterion of its merit. I can safely say that, after regularly consulting it for above five-and-twenty years, it rises continually in my esteem."

In reference to Mr. Scott's private character, we find the following remarks on his extraordinary diligence :

"He was always at work, always busy, always redeeming time; yet never in a hurry. His heart was given up to his pursuits; he was naturally of a studious turn; and his labour was his delight. He gradually acquired the habit of abstracting his mind from sensible objects, and concentrating all his thoughts on the particular topic before him; so that he lived, in fact, twice the time that most other students do, in the same number of years. He had an iron-strength of constitution to support this. And, for five or six-and-forty years, he studied eight or ten hours a-day, and frequently twelve or fourteen, except when interrupted by sickness. His relaxations of mind were often equal to the diligence of most other persons. But it was not merely incessant labour which distinguished this remarkable man; but incessant labour directed to what was useful and important. He was always bent on his proper work. He was not merely studious, but studious of what was immediately useful. He was not a desultory reader, attracted by every novelty, and wasting his time on inferior topics, or authors of less moment: but a reader of what was solid and appropriate, and

directly subservient to the great subject in hand. He was, from an early age, almost entirely self-taught. He had little aid from masters, small means for the purchase of books, and scarcely any access to great collections. A few first-rate works formed his library, and these he thoroughly mastered. He never remitted his exertions in improving his works. After thirty-three years bestowed on his Comment, he was as assiduous in revising it, as when he first began. The marginal references cost him seven years of labour.

"In his domestic circle, his character was most exemplary. No blot ever stained his name. A disinterestedness and unbending integrity, in the midst of many difficulties, so raised him in the esteem of all who knew him, as greatly to honour and commend the Gospel he professed. He was also an excellent father of a family. What he appeared in his preaching and writings, that he was amongst his children and servants. He did not neglect his private duties on the ground of public engagements; but he carried his religion into his house, and placed before his family the doctrines he taught, embodied in his own evident uprightness of conduct. This determination and consistency in personal religion instructed his children better than a thousand set lessons. He did not inculcate certain doctrines merely, or talk against covetousness, and the love of the world, or insist on the public duties of the Sabbath, or support family prayer, whilst the bent of his conversation was worldly, his temper selfish, his own habits indulgent, and his vanity or ambition manifest under the thin guise of a religious phraseology—but he exhibited to his household a holy and amiable pattern of true piety—he was a man of God: imperfect indeed, but consistent and sincere. Accordingly, all his children became, by the Divine Mercy, his comfort and honour during life, and now remain to call him blessed, and hand down his example to another generation."

A note of Mr. Wilson's, on this part of Mr. Scott's character, evinces a just conception of the superiority of *practice* over *precept*.

"I believe," says he, "it will be commonly found that the general behaviour and conversation of parents more impress the minds of the young, than formal instructions do. When you address children directly, their minds recoil; but their own shrewd observations on what they see done, or hear said, by you to others—on the estimate you form of things—on the governing principles of your conduct—sink deep into their memories, and constitute the far most effective part of education."

"A spirit of prayer and devotion was, further, a conspicuous ornament of his character. He lived 'near to God.' Intercessory prayer was his delight. He was accustomed in his family devotions to intercede earnestly for the whole church, for the government of his country,* for the ministers of religion, for those preparing for the

* Among the works of Mr. Scott which more particularly proved his affectionate attachment to the British constitution in church and state, were his "Answer to Paine;" his "Rights of God;" and his "Doctrine of civil Government."

secret office, for schools and universities, for the different nations of Christendom, for the Heathen and Jews, and for all religious institutions; varying his supplications as circumstances seemed to dictate. On these occasions his deep humility of mind, and his zeal for the glory of his Saviour were very affecting and edifying to those who were present. He seemed like the aged saint filled with the love of God and man, and supplicating for the whole human race. More especially, he had for thirty years been constantly imploring of God that he would open some way for the conversion of the world, and the revival of genuine Christianity at home, before he saw any apparent means for the accomplishment of his desires; and when the Bible and Missionary institutions were begun, his thanksgivings abounded."

"I close," says Mr. Wilson, "this review of his character by noticing the gradual but regular advances which he made in every branch of real godliness, and especially in overcoming his constitutional failings. This is, after all, the best test of Christian sincerity. A man may profess almost any principles, or hold any kind of conduct, for a time; but to continue a holy self-denying course of consistent and growing piety, to extend this honestly to every branch of our duty, to resist and struggle against the tempers and dispositions to which we are naturally most prone—this marks a divine change of heart, and stamps the genuine believer in the Gospel of Christ. And such was the individual whom we are considering. His failings lay on the side of roughness and severity of temper, pride of intellect, and confidence in his own powers: but from the time when he first obeyed the truth of the Gospel, he set himself to struggle against these and every other evil tendency; he studied self-control; he aimed at those graces which were most difficult to nature; he employed all the motives of the Gospel to assist him in the contest; and he gradually so increased in habitual mildness, humility, and tenderness for others, as to become exemplary for these virtues, as he had long been for the opposite ones of religious courage, firmness, and determination. I can most truly say, that, during an acquaintance which afterwards ripened into a filial affection of about twenty-five years, I scarcely ever saw an instance of more evident growth in real obedience, real love to God and man, real victory over natural infirmities, in a word, real Christian holiness. In the latter years of his life he was obviously ripening for heaven. 'He had fought a good fight, he had finished his course, he had kept the faith;' and now in 'a full age,' his genuine humility before God, his joy in Christ Jesus, his holy zeal for the diffusion of the Gospel, his tender affection to his family and all around, his resignation to the will of his Heavenly Father, and his exclusive trust in the merits and grace of his Saviour, seemed to leave nothing to be done, but for the stroke of death to bring him 'to his grave, like as a shock of corn cometh in its season.'"

Mr. Wilson's second sermon relates chiefly to the closing scene of Mr. Scott's life.

"For several years preceding the event itself, his bodily infirmities

had been gradually increasing. His strength and natural spirits at times sensibly failed. He had an impression on his own mind that his departure was approaching, and he contemplated it with calmness and tranquillity. The nearer he came to his dismissal, he became the more earnest in prayer, that God would uphold him during the scenes of suffering and trial which might await him before his last hour, and expressed the deepest conviction of his own weakness and unworthiness, and his constant need of Divine mercy. He had been particularly anxious during his entire ministry to be preserved from dishonouring his holy profession; and now, as life wore away, he became more and more fervent in prayer for grace that he might not say or do any thing that should lessen the weight of what he had previously taught and written.

"His last discourse was on March 4th, from 'He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not with him also freely give us all things?' In the evening of the same day he expounded, as usual, to several of his parishioners assembled in his rectory, from the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican, Luke xviii. He entered, with much animation, into both these subjects; and in the evening he applied to himself, in a very affecting manner, the words of the penitent Publican, 'God be merciful to me a sinner.' 'I am a sinner,' said the venerable man; 'nay, more, not merely a sinner, but *the* sinner: and if God do but save me, all the glory and praise shall be his.'"

We are here naturally reminded of the wish of the great Archbishop Usher, that he might die with the prayer of the penitent Publican in his mouth, "God be merciful to me a sinner:" a desire in which he was remarkably indulged. His last breath carried the petition to Heaven.

"On the 10th March," proceeds Mr. Wilson, "he was seized with inflammatory fever, a disease which had frequently endangered his life before, and which, now being aggravated by an internal malady, terminated his long and useful course, after an illness of five weeks. Faith and patience, however, had their perfect work, and no period of his life exhibited more striking exercises of the holy habits and gracious principles by which he had so long been governed, than these last scenes of conflict and sorrow.

"Before I proceed to give some particulars of his most instructive and affecting departure, I must observe that I lay no stress on them as to the evidence of his state before God. It is the tenour of the life, not the few morbid and suffering days which precede dissolution, that fix the character. We are not authorized by Scripture to place any weight on the last periods of sinking nature through which the Christian may be called to pass to his eternal reward. But though no importance is to be attached to these hours of fainting mortality, as to the acceptance and final triumph of the dying Christian, yet where it pleases God to afford his departing servant, as in the instance before us, such a measure of faith and self-possession as to close a holy and most consistent life with a testimony which sealed, amidst the pains of

acute disease, and in the most impressive manner, all his doctrines and instructions during forty-five preceding years, we are called on, as I think, to record, with gratitude, the divine benefit, and to use it with humility for the confirmation of our own faith and joy."

Our limits will only permit us to refer to the ten pages (probably the most valuable and edifying of this little volume) in which the preacher records the mingled expressions of triumphant confidence, and profound humility, with which his departed friend waited the approach of death. In the midst of much of that well-founded hope, and strong consolation, which might be expected in such a case, there is yet observable such a holy and chastened solemnity of mind, arising from a deep sense of the evil of sin, and the terrors of the Lord, as irresistibly recal to our minds that passage of Scripture, "If the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly and the sinner appear?" We are no friends to the exhibition of an undue elevation of spirit, under such awful circumstances as the approach of death, though it be even the death of the believer; and feel more or less of doubt and distrust when persons, however fair or decent their previous carriage may have been, hardly evince a single fear at the contemplation of a conflict which, after all, must be terrible to flesh and sense. We remember to have heard that, when a member of a certain congregation was once boasting to his minister that he had not felt a doubt or a fear for thirty years, his pastor replied, "Then, sir, give me leave to doubt and fear for you."—We read and hear occasionally of convicts going to their execution with what we must consider the excess of effrontery, rather than the exhibition of a penitent and Christian spirit; and knowing how easy a thing it is to excite the animal affections, where the heart has never been softened, and much less changed, we cannot but recommend to those worthy persons who, from the purest motives, and with the best designs, undertake the task of attending convicted criminals, that they would teach the Gospel through the medium of the law, and seek to excite a salutary fear rather than a delirious joy; that they would foster the feelings of sorrow and self-abasement, rather than the secure expectation of mercy; and that they would humble the sinner, before they exalt the Saviour. We believe that, for want of attention to these fundamental particulars, many unhappy men have been sent out of the world with Psalms in their mouths, but without grace in their hearts. Their instructors appear to have begun at the wrong end of the Christian economy; and their disciples have been rather buoyed up with unwarranted hopes of future happiness, than soberly and savingly taught that one tear of real contrition is worth

more than all the unsafe and unhallowed excitements of mere enthusiasm.

In these cautionary remarks, we by no means intend to cast a doubt upon all, or even a majority of those cases of late repentance which are continually presented to our attention; much less to depreciate, in the remotest degree, either the fulness or freeness of that provision of mercy which is laid up in the Saviour, even for the chief of sinners. But we are still of opinion, that too much care can hardly be taken in matters of this nature, where a mistake, once made, is a mistake for eternity; and we think that more hope may fairly be indulged, upon Christian principles, of those cases where the heart is renovated by a searching conviction of sin, than where the unskilful administration of spiritual cordials, produces a temporary and seeming relief, without touching the seat of the disease.

In deducing the practical uses from this life and death, we find the following judicious address to the professors of religion in general:

"You may possibly agree, in general, in the commendations bestowed on the labours of an apostle; on his tranquil faith—his unwearied sufferings—his holy triumph. You may even acquiesce in much of what I have said on the Christian virtues of the eminent person whose departure we have been considering: and yet, in your own habitual character, you may be almost the exact reverse of both. Permit me then to speak to you with affectionate boldness. You are, in fact, not repenting truly of sin, nor turning with your whole heart to God in Christ Jesus. You have never asked, seriously, the great question, 'What must I do to be saved?' You have never felt yourselves as sinners condemned by the holy law, nor have you come to the promises of the Gospel to 'receive the reconciliation.' In other words, you have never entered on the Christian combat, nor begun the Christian race. Let me then urge you to this momentous duty: Awake, I entreat you, from the lethargy of a merely external Christianity, or the dream of a worldly-trifling self-indulgent life, and call upon your God for the blessings of his grace. 'Now is the accepted time, now is the day of salvation.' Jesus Christ is 'the way, the truth, and the life.' 'He is able to save to the uttermost all who come unto God by him.' Implore of him the gift of his Holy Spirit, to teach, enlighten, strengthen, and sanctify you. It is not in your own wisdom or power, but in His, that you can succeed in this vast undertaking. 'Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling,' remembering that 'it is God' who alone can 'work in you to will and to do of his good pleasure.' Begin the good fight of faith, and enter the heavenly race, by deep contrition for sin, and humble trust in the merits of the sacrifice of Christ, by a holy determination to renounce the service of Satan and the world, and to wage war with them all your future life. Go on afterwards by constant prayer,

jealous watchfulness; diligent study of the Scriptures, determined resistance to temptation, a holy use of the word and sacraments, sincere love to God and man, and activity in every good word and work. But, to this end, keep the faith once delivered to the saints, place all your hopes on the atonement of your Saviour, do every thing in dependence on his Holy Spirit, ascribe all your salvation to his mercy and grace: and, oh, let the animating language of the apostle in the text, and the example of our late venerated friend, invite, yea, urge you to comply with this exhortation. We must all repent, or perish. We must fight against our spiritual enemies, or be vanquished. We must win the crown of righteousness, or have our portion with the lost. There is no middle course. Religion is not an incidental matter, which may be done at any listless moment. It is the first of all concerns. It is a combat, it is a race, which demands all our attention, all our earnestness, all our exertions, all our powers and efforts of body and soul. Hear, as it were, the voice of the blessed saint, now departed, exciting you from the grave to enter on the warfare which he has accomplished, and pursue that prize which he has obtained; and may God grant that not one of us may decline the animating call, but that we may all, with one consent, yield ourselves now at length to the voice of conscience and the authority of truth!"

We shall now introduce our last extract from these Sermons, which we are unwilling to abbreviate, as we consider that such a man as Mr. Wilson may fairly claim to be heard, in his own way, upon the particular point to which he there adverts:

"The charge of Calvinism has, strange to say, become, within these last few years, a favourite topic of declamation. How far the term is rightly understood, and justly applied, I leave those to determine who are best read in the history of the Reformation. The mere assertions of fleeting and uninformed prejudice it is in vain to repel: but if any one, solicitous for truth, has been harassed by the accusation, let such an one be assured, that the revered person who has been the subject of this discourse, as well as the far greater number of those who are termed Calvinists, or Evangelical ministers, in the church of England in the present day, by no means lay any considerable stress, in their public instructions, on the deep and mysterious points which respect the purposes of God. The weight and burden of their doctrine rests on the vital and plain and undoubted verities which are essential to man's salvation, and which I have so often adverted to in this discourse. The inspired statements which are found in Holy Scripture on other topics, are held by them indeed, but held humbly and cautiously, as they have ever been in all preceding ages of the church; they are not made prominent; they are not so represented as to conceal or weaken, much less oppose, the more clear and express and copious instructions of the same revealed records; they are found in their discourses, as they are found in the holy volume, surrounded and guarded by a sacred reverence, a preponderating caution, devout uses and effects, silent adoration, fearful awe. This abstinence arises, not from a distrust of their truth, but from submis-

sion to the book which contains them; a submission of which the very first dictate is a silent adherence to the spirit, bearing, proportion, and use of all the parts of revelation, as well as to each doctrine in itself. Since, therefore, we find only a very few thinly-scattered texts on the subject of the secret will of God; but almost innumerable series of texts, yea, whole books of Scripture on other topics—on the fall and corruption of man, repentance, faith, the grace and mercy of God, the person and sacrifice of Christ, humility, love, peace, forgiveness of injuries, &c. we endeavour to follow this order of instruction in our ministry. But then we cannot, we dare not wholly conceal any part of Scripture, or allow it to be, in its place, either useless or dangerous; nor can we soften or explain away the express and continually recurring truths of salvation, in order to avoid that humiliating doctrine of the divine grace, into which, no doubt, they ultimately flow. With regard to any individual reformer, the question has really no difficulty. The excellent man, whose death we are considering, and who was at the head of what is termed the modern Calvinists, decidedly protested, in all his writings, against many important particulars to be found in the theology of Calvin; in short, against the very points which make the tenets of Calvin at all objectionable, and in which he differed from the other reformers.”

After referring to those points, in a note Mr. Wilson adds:

“Whatever opinion may be formed of the doctrines termed Calvinistic, I trust every reader will allow that they were, in the revered individual before us, the motive and source of all holiness of life; not merely consistent with holiness, but productive of it, and directly leading to it: and that, in particular, they were united in his mind with such personal humility, that when he was agitated, as we have seen, by fever in his last sickness, he had doubts of his own safety; and that he overcame these doubts, not by any reference to the supposed purposes of God, but by the plain promises of the Gospel, and the general encouragements of fervent prayer. Let me assure the reader that these are the feelings, and this the conduct of the clergy, generally, who hold these sentiments, of which they conceive them to be the proper fruit.”

This statement appears to require some few observations:—In the first place, it appears to be no mean admission on the part of Mr. Wilson, in reference to the Calvinistic system, that “many important particulars are to be found in the theology of Calvin, in which he differed from the other reformers, and against which Mr. Scott decidedly protested.” Mr. Wilson also, himself, in like manner protests against following this otherwise distinguished reformer throughout his whole system; and, we think, such an honest avowal should teach a little caution to many of the determined disciples of Calvin, who have neither enjoyed the opportunities possessed by Mr. Scott, and his biographer, for considering the sacred volume in all its parts, nor yet possessed their polemical talents in disinterring and dis-

entangling truth; while it may also teach them a little charity for those persons whom they are in the habit of summarily designating as Arminians, and then considering that there is an end of the argument. On the other hand, we agree with Mr. Wilson, that all the concessions should not be on one side; and that, since "the odium of all Calvin's system is cast, not only on Mr. Scott, but on numbers who stop far short of him on the Calvinistic points, nay, who entirely disapprove of them," there should be at least an equal exercise of candour and charity on the part of many who have never yet learned to distinguish between those who hold so much of Calvin's system as perhaps even the church of England herself maintains, and those who are willing to run all lengths with that reformer, no matter where they may carry them. The judicious advice of Bishop Horsley to the mere railers against Calvinism, will naturally occur to every reader who has met with it; while we are persuaded that they, to whom it is new, will thank us for the extract:

"Take heed," says he, "before you aim your shafts at Calvinism, that you know what is Calvinism, and what is not: that in that mass of doctrine, which it is of late become the fashion to abuse, under the name of Calvinism, you can distinguish with certainty between that part of it which is nothing better than Calvinism, and that which belongs to our common Christianity, and the general faith of the reformed churches; lest, when you mean only to fall foul of Calvinism, you should, unwarily, attack something more sacred, and of higher origin. I must say, that I have found great want of this discrimination in some late controversial writings on the side of the Church, (as they were meant to be,) against the Methodists; the authors of which have acquired much applause and reputation, but with so little real knowledge of the subject, that, give me the principles upon which these writers agree, and I will undertake to convict, I will not say Arminians only, and Archbishop Laud; but, upon these principles, I will undertake to convict the Fathers of the Council of Trent of Calvinism; so clearly is a great part of that, which is now ignorantly called Calvinism, interwoven with the very rudiments of Christianity. Better were it for the church, if such apologists would withhold their services."

In conclusion, we think that if there be one part of this little volume likely to be more useful than another, it is, perhaps, that in which Mr. Wilson shows that he has no desire to claim too much for Calvinism, nor to call any man master on earth, farther than he can be shown to have followed our common Master which is in heaven. We think this concession of Mr. Wilson likely to be attended with beneficial results, in proportion as the sacred cause of truth is above the petty interests of a party, and is independent of the adventitious support of even the most

splendid names; because, while no reproach is avoided, or sought to be avoided, by him, which the ignorant, or the ill-disposed may still choose to cast upon Calvinists, as Christians; there is yet a candid abandonment of those parts of the system of Calvin, which are not to be defended, and of course an invitation is thus virtually held out to all really honest brethren of different sentiments in the same household, who have not, perhaps, as yet, adverted to the intrinsic merits of the question at issue, nor attentively considered the actual points in difference, to judge for themselves, how very little, after all, good men are really differing with each other upon points of fundamental importance. We cannot but hail this trumpet for a parley, as likely to prove the herald of peace; and whatever tends to the promotion of union and harmony in the present conflict of sentiments, even in the same church, must surely be desirable. Let ultra-calvinists renounce their extravagancies, and rigid Arminians their prejudices, and much may yet be effected for our common happiness. In the mean time, let us rather strive to discover in what particulars we can agree, than define too nicely, or dwell too much upon, the points on which we differ; so that the golden and almost apostolic desire of one of the ancient fathers may yet be realized in our experience. "Let there be unity in things essential, liberty in non-essentials, and charity in all things."

ART. III.—*Memoirs of a Life chiefly passed in Pennsylvania, within the last sixty Years.* 1 Vol. 8vo. P. 431. Cadell. London, 1822.

OF the birth, parentage, and introduction into society of this entertaining and well-written volume, all that we are informed is, that it was composed by a gentleman of Pennsylvania, and printed at Harrisburgh, in that State, in 1811; and that Mr. Galt, of Edinburgh, having discovered its merit, has just given it to the British public, with a dedication to Mr. Rush, the American ambassador at our court, who had devoted some attention to the satisfaction of Mr. Galt's inquiries respecting the author, but with what result is not stated.

The first chapter presents us with an account of the author's family and education; and with anecdotes of the "masters and ushers" of the academy at Philadelphia. His father, it seems, was an Irishman, who went to America in the year 1730, where he married the author's mother, who had been imported from Barbadoes at the age of seven years. The author,

in his youth, had occasion to consort with an amusing variety of characters, of so many sects and countries, that we imagined, at the commencement of the volume, the whole narrative was fictitious; and even now we cannot but suspect that for a part of our entertainment we are indebted to a lively imagination. The general tenor, however, leaves no room to doubt that it is a real history, abounding with numerous memoranda of persons and events, some of great note, and others of no note except what they derive from the graphical skill of the delineator. The author condescends, through several chapters, to gossip about his youthful companions and their pursuits, without very nicely considering whether all his notices are worthy of being recorded: his very gossip, however, is that of a man of intelligence and literature. A few of these gossiping paragraphs we shall now venture to extract; premising that the writer has purposely chosen the style of a desultory personal narrative, in order to weave in, with facility, the incongruous mass of materials laid up in his tenacious memory during a period of no ordinary interest in the annals of his native country.

"My recollections of the village of Bristol, in which I was born on the 10th of April, N. S. in the year 1752, cannot be supposed to go farther back than to the year 1756 or 1757. There are few towns, perhaps, in Pennsylvania, which, in the same space of time, have been so little improved, or undergone less alteration. Then, as now, the great road leading from Philadelphia to New York, first skirting the inlet, at the head of which stand the mills, and then turning short to the left along the banks of the Delaware, formed the principal, and, indeed, only street, marked by any thing like a continuity of building. A few places for streets were opened from this main one, on which, here and there, stood an humble, solitary dwelling. At a corner of two of these lanes was a Quaker meeting-house; and on a still more retired spot stood a small Episcopal church, whose lonely grave yard, with its surrounding woody scenery, might have furnished an appropriate theme for such a muse as Gray's. These, together with an old brick jail, (Bristol having once been the county town of Bucks,) constituted all the public edifices in this my native town." (P. 4.)

"The tongue of my grandfather, who was a German, faithfully retained the character of its original dialect; that of his spouse, though in a less degree, bore testimony also to the country of her extraction (Scotland;) and while he, a determined Episcopalian, had his pew in Christ's Church, she, a strict Presbyterian, was a constant attendant at Buttonwood meeting-house. No feuds, however, were engendered by this want of religious conformity; and if my grandfather sometimes consented to hear a sermon at the meeting-house, it might be considered as a concession on his part for a sermon of Archbishop Tillotson, which was regularly read aloud by one of the family on Sunday evening." (P. 9.)

"There being no traces in my memory of any incidents worthy of remark, during the period of my infancy, I pass on to the era of my removal to Philadelphia, for the sake of my education. This I suppose to have been between my sixth and seventh year. I recollect little or nothing of going to school at Bristol, farther than that there was one, and the master's name Pinkerton, a kind, good humoured Irishman, from whom I might have learned, that as one thing was *cruel* big, so another might be *cruel* little. In the city I lived with, and was under the care of, my grandfather. The school he first put me to was that of David James Dove, an Englishman, and much celebrated in his day, as a teacher, and no less as a dealer in the minor kind of satirical poetry. To him were attributed some political effusions in this way, which were thought highly of by his party, and made a good deal of noise. He had also made some figure, it seems, in the old world, being spoken of, as I have heard, though in what way I know not, having never seen the work, in a book, entitled, *The Life and Adventures of the Chevalier Taylor*. As the story went, some one reading this performance to Mr. Dove on its first appearance, with the mischievous design of amusing himself at his expence, as he knew what the book contained, he (Dove) bore testimony to the truth of the contents, with which, he said, he was perfectly acquainted, exclaiming, as the reader went along, True, true as the gospel! But when the part was reached, in which he himself is introduced in a situation somewhat ridiculous, he cried out, It was a lie, a most abominable lie, and that there was not a syllable of truth in the story. At any rate, Dove was a humourist, and a person not unlikely to be engaged in ludicrous scenes. It was his practice in his school to substitute disgrace for corporal punishment. His birch was rarely used in canonical method, but was generally stuck into the back part of the collar of the unfortunate culprit, who, with this badge of disgrace towering from his nape like a broom at the mast-head of a vessel for sale, was compelled to take his stand upon the top of the form for such a period of time as his offence was thought to deserve. He had another contrivance for boys who were late in their morning attendance. This was to dispatch a committee of five or six scholars for them, with a bell and lighted lantern, and in this "odd equipage," in broad day-light, the bell all the while tingling, were they escorted through the streets to school. As Dove affected a strict regard to justice in his dispensations of punishment, and always professed a willingness to have an equal measure of it meted out to himself, in case of his transgressing, the boys took him at his word; and one morning, when he had overstaid his time, either through laziness, inattention, or design, he found himself waited on in the usual form. He immediately admitted the justice of the procedure, and putting himself behind the lantern and bell, marched with great solemnity to school, to the no small gratification of the boys, and entertainment of the spectators. But this incident took place before I became a scholar. It was once my lot to be attended in this manner, but what had been sport to my tutor, was to me a serious punishment." (P. 13—15.)

At eight years of age the author entered the academy, which,

under the name of a university, was then, as it is now, the principal seminary of Pennsylvania. He had a short time before, namely, in March, 1761, had the unhappiness to lose his father; after whose death his mother maintained herself and her son in reputable circumstances by keeping a lodging-house, first, for the boys of the academy, and afterwards in a large old mansion for temporary visitants of Philadelphia. The second chapter contains sundry anecdotes of the personages who domesticated themselves with this lady, among whom was Sir William Draper, best known as the antagonist of Junius. He was, it seems, a literal as well as political and literary "racket-player."

"From Philadelphia, Sir William passed on to New York, where, if I mistake not, he married. During his residence in that city, he frequently amused himself with a game of rackets, which he played with some address; and he set no small value on the talent. There was a mechanic in the place, the hero of the tennis court, who was so astonishingly superior to other men, that there were few whom he could not beat with one hand attached to the handle of a wheelbarrow. Sir William wished to play with him, and was gratified; the New Yorker having urbanity enough to cede the splendid stranger some advantages, and even in conquering, to put on the appearance of doing it with difficulty: Yet, apart, he declared that he could have done the same with the incumbrance of the wheelbarrow. These are hearsay facts: They come, however, from persons of credit, in the way of being acquainted with them.

"But what imports it the reader to know, that Sir William Draper was a racket-player? Nothing, certainly, unless we reflect, that he was a conspicuous character, the conqueror of Manilla, and still more, the literary opponent of Junius. Without granting something to celebrity of this latter sort, what possible interest could we take in learning that Dr. Johnson liked a leg of pork, or that he could swallow twelve or more cups of tea at a sitting?" (P. 62, 63.)

Some of the most troublesome guests in Pennsylvania, at this period, were the British officers stationed in that town; and who appear to have indulged in a variety of freaks, to which the title of unlucky, mischievous, or disgraceful, is currently applied, according to the taste and principles of the narrator. The most troublesome of these strangers were the duumvirate Ogle and Friend, whose names were coupled together as closely as Castor and Pollux, or Pylades and Orestes. Ogle seems, from the following anecdote, to have mixed some degree of humour with his mischief:

"This same coffeehouse, the only one, indeed, in the city, was also the scene of another affray by Ogle and Friend in conjunction. I know not what particular acts of mischief they had been guilty of, but they were very drunk, and their conduct so extremely disquieting and insulting to the peaceable citizens there assembled, that, being no longer

able to endure it, it was judged expedient to commit them; and Mr. Chew happening to be there, undertook, in virtue probably of his office of recorder, to write their commitment. But Ogle, facetiously jogging his elbow, and interrupting him with a repetition of the pitiful interjection of 'Ah now, Mr. Chew!' he was driven from his gravity, and obliged to throw away the pen. It was then taken up by Alderman M—n, with a determination to go through with the business, when the culprits reeling round him, and Ogle in particular, hanging over his shoulder and reading after him as he wrote, at length, with irresistible effect, hit upon an unfortunate oversight of the alderman. "Ah," says he, "my father was a justice of peace too, but he did not spell that word as you do. I remember perfectly well, that, instead of an S, he always used to spell CIRCUMSTANCE with a C." This sarcastic thrust at the scribe entirely turned the tide in favour of the rioters, and the company being disarmed of their resentment, the alderman had no disposition to provoke further criticism by going on with the *mittimus*. (P. 45, 46.)

The author being destined for the profession of the law was removed, in 1773, to the village of Yorktown, where it was hoped he might not only study in tranquillity, under Mr. prothonotary Johnson, but also recover his health, which had been somewhat impaired by an "irregular course of life;" in plain English, according to *our* notions of virtue and of English, a life of vicious idleness. We are happy, however, to add, that the author takes no pride in his early dissipation. He very freely styles himself "puppy," when the occasion makes the term appropriate; and never speaks of his early habits but in terms of implied disapprobation, though not perhaps always so decided as was necessary to guard the youthful reader against the danger of imitation. His companions and pursuits at Yorktown do not seem to have been of a much more edifying character than at Philadelphia, if we may judge from the following specimen:

"Besides my fellow-boarders there were several young men in the town, whose company served to relieve the dreariness of my solitude; for such it was, compared with the scene from which I had removed. These, for the most part, are yet living, generally known and respected. There was also in the place an oddity, who, though not to be classed with its young men, I sometimes fell in with. This was Mr. James Smith, the lawyer, then in considerable practice. He was, probably, between forty and fifty years of age, fond of his bottle and young company, and possessed of an original species of drollery. This, as may, perhaps, be said of all persons in his way, consisted more in the manner than the matter; for which reason it is scarcely possible to convey a just notion of it to the reader. In him it much depended on an uncouthness of gesture, a certain ludicrous cast of countenance, and a drawling mode of utterance, which, taken in conjunction with his eccentric ideas, produced an effect irresistibly comical; though, on an analysis, it would be difficult to decide whether the man or the

saying most constituted the jest. The most trivial incident from his mouth was stamped with his originality, and in relating one evening how he had been disturbed in his office by a cow, he gave inconceivable zest to his narration, by his manner of telling how she thrust her nose into the door, and *there roared like a Numidian lion*. Like the picture of Garrick between Tragedy and Comedy, his phiz exhibited a struggle between tragedy and farce; in which the latter seemed on the eve of predominating. With a sufficiency of various reading to furnish him with materials for ridiculous allusions and incongruous combinations, he was never so successful as when he could find a learned pedant to play upon; and of all men, Judge Stedman, when mellow, was best calculated for his butt. The judge was a Scotchman, a map of reading and erudition, though extremely magisterial and dogmatical in his cups. This it was which gave point to the humour of Smith, who, as if desirous of coming in for his share of the glory, while Stedman was in full display of his historical knowledge, never failed to set him raving by some monstrous anachronism, such, for instance, as "Don't you remember, Mr. Stedman, that terrible bloody battle which Alexander the Great fought with the Russians, near the Straits of Babelmandel?"—"What, Sir!" said Stedman, repeating, with the most ineffable contempt, "which Alexander the Great fought with the Russians! Where, mon, did you get your chronology?"—"I think you will find it recorded, Mr. Stedman, in Thucydides or Herodotus."—On another occasion, being asked for his authority for some enormous assertion, in which both space and time were fairly annihilated, with unshaken gravity, he replied, "I am pretty sure I have seen an account of it, Mr. Stedman, in a High Dutch almanack, printed at *Aleppo*," his drawing way of pronouncing Aleppo. While every one at table was holding his sides at the expence of the Judge, he, on his part had no doubt that Smith was the object of laughter, as he was of his own unutterable disdain. Thus every thing was as it should be, all parties were pleased; the laughers were highly tickled, the self-complacency of the real dupe was flattered, and the sarcastic vein of the pretended one gratified; and this, without the smallest suspicion on the part of Stedman, who, residing in Philadelphia, was ignorant of Smith's character, and destitute of penetration to develope it." (P. 102—104.)

On his return to Philadelphia the author became clerk to Mr. Allen, another prothonotary; in which situation he appears to have annihilated a large portion of his time in the strenuous prosecution of trifling objects, till the rising disturbances with Great Britain summoned him to far different scenes. He thus introduces himself at the commencement of the fifth chapter:

"In the spring of 1775 Congress assembled in Philadelphia. It was in every respect a venerable assembly; and although Pennsylvania had delegated to it some of her most distinguished characters, they were supposed to be eclipsed by the superior talents which came from the southward and eastward. New England had sent her Adamses, and

Virginia her Lees and Henrys; all of whom were spoken of as men of the first rate abilities. Not long after the organization of this body, their president, Peyton Randolph, of Virginia, died, and John Hancock, of Boston, was selected to supply his place. Towards the close of the year, they passed a resolution for levying some continental battalions, four of which were to be raised in Pennsylvania. One had already been raised and officered by the province; but as the applicants for commissions in this were not of my set of acquaintance, I did not apply. Upon the promulgation, however, of this resolution of congress, I signified to the committee of safety, in whom the power of appointment was lodged, and of which body my uncle was a member, my wish to be employed. The appointments were made, and in a list of thirty-two captains, I ranked the sixteenth, and accordingly received my commission from Congress, dated January the 6th, 1776. Upon this nomination of the committee of safety, which also extended to all the inferior commissioned officers, the field officers, who had already been assigned to particular battalions, had a meeting for the purpose of selecting their captains and subalterns. In this arrangement, it fell to my lot to be attached to the third battalion, under the command of Colonel John Shæe, and of which Mr. Lambert Cadwalader, the younger brother of Mr. John Cadwalader, already mentioned, was lieutenant-colonel." (P. 126, 126.)

From this period the volume becomes highly interesting, on account of the familiarity of the writer with a variety of scenes and persons worthy of record in the memorable contest between Great Britain and her refractory daughter. The author commenced his military and political career as a friend to the liberties of his country; but by no means to the violent party spirit which began to actuate so many of her professed patriots. Though opposed in arms to Great Britain, he is not backward in acknowledging the merits of many of her officers, or in frankly stating what he considered exceptionable in the conduct of his own party.

The author having thus entered the patriotic, or, as it was then termed, the *rebel* army, joined his regiment, and proceeded from Philadelphia to New York, in the neighbourhood of which it was encamped. The place chosen for the entrenchments was a post afterwards known by the name of Fort Washington, on the eastern bank of the Hudson, and commanding that river. In a few weeks the spade, that ancient ally of the sword, had produced immense mounds of earth, assuming a pentagonal form, and finally issuing in the aforesaid fort of five bastions. On the opposite side of the river, Fort Mifflin was soon afterwards erected, nodding, in conscious pride, to its opposite neighbour Washington; and these precautions, with a few hulks sunk in the river, it was hoped would effectually defend the passage against the invaders.—But it is time that we should inform our

readers of the character of the soldiery in the insurgent army, whom our author by no means spares in his good-humoured sketches.

"A considerable portion of our motley army had already assembled in New York and its vicinity. The troops were chiefly from the eastern provinces; those from the southern, with the exception of Hand's, Magaw's, and our regiment, had not yet come on. The appearance of things was not much calculated to excite sanguine expectations in the mind of a sober observer. Great numbers of people were invited to be seen, and those who are not accustomed to the sight of bodies under arms are always prone to exaggerate them. But this propensity to swell the mass had not an equal tendency to convert it into soldiery; and the irregularity, want of discipline, bad arms, and defective equipment in all respects, of this multitudinous assemblage, gave no favourable impression of its prowess. The materials of which the eastern battalions were composed were apparently the same as those of which I had seen so unpromising a specimen at lake George. I speak particularly of the officers, who were in no single respect distinguishable from their men, other than in the coloured cockades, which, for this very purpose, had been prescribed in general orders, a different colour being assigned to the officers of each grade. So far from aiming at a deportment which might raise them above their privates, and thence prompt them to due respect and obedience to their commands, the object was, by humility, to preserve the existing blessing of equality; an illustrious instance of which was given by Colonel Putnam, the chief engineer of the army, and no less a personage than the nephew of the major-general of that name. "What," says a person meeting him one day with a piece of meat in his hand, "carrying home your rations yourself, colonel!"—"Yes," says he, "and I do it to set the officers a good example." But if any aristocratic tendencies had been really discovered by the Colonel among his countrymen, requiring this wholesome example, they must have been of recent origin, and the effect of southern contamination, since I have been credibly informed, that it was no unusual thing in the army before Boston, for a colonel to make drummers and fifers of his sons, thereby not only being enabled to form a very snug economical meal, but to aid also considerably the revenue of the family chest. In short, it appeared, that the sordid spirit of gain was the vital principle of the greater part of the army. (P. 145, 146.)

The character of insurgent armies is every where pretty much the same; and it reflected no discredit upon General Washington, or the infant Congress, that honest labourers and mechanics could not in a moment be transmuted to well-disciplined soldiers; or that in the hurry of the exigence, and with but very limited financial resources, their habiliments and material should not have been altogether adjusted to the pride, pomp, and circumstance of war. It was, however, somewhat to the discredit of the forces that very few persons in the rank of gen-

lemen were at this period to be found among them: a circumstance which may perhaps account, in some measure, for the extreme contempt in which they were held by the British army and people.

The sixth and seventh chapters contain an account of the arrival of the British troops, under General Howe, at Long Island; followed by some skirmishes and actions, which ended in the expulsion of the Americans from that post, and also their abandonment of New York, and retreat within their lines at Fort Washington, where they were shortly afterwards attacked and obliged to retire, leaving the British troops in full possession of the post and neighbourhood. The description of the storming and capture of Fort Washington is sketched with great spirit.

In this engagement our gallant author was taken prisoner, and, being considered as a rebel, received no very courteous treatment from some of the conquerors: but we shall leave him to narrate his own tale.

"The officer who commanded the guard, in whose custody we now were, was an ill-looking, low-bred fellow, of this dashing corps of light infantry. Had dates accorded, he might have been supposed the identical scoundrel that had sat for the portrait of Northerton, in Fielding's Tom Jones. As I stood as near as possible to the door, for the sake of air, the enclosure in which we were being extremely crowded and unpleasant, I was particularly exposed to his brutality; and repelling with some severity one of his attacks, for I was becoming desperate and careless of safety, the ruffian exclaimed, *Not a word, Sir, or I'll give you my butt*, at the same time clubbing his fusée, and drawing it back as if to give the blow. I fully expected it, but he contented himself with the threat. I observed to him, that I was in his power, and disposed to submit to it, though not proof against every provocation.

"As to see the prisoners was a matter of some curiosity, we were complimented with a continual succession of visitants, consisting of officers of the British army. There were several of these present, when a serjeant-major came to take an account of us; and, particularly, a list of such of us as were officers. This serjeant, though not uncivil, had all that animated, degagee-impudence of air, which belongs to a self-complacent non-commissioned officer of the most arrogant army in the world; and with his pen in his hand and his paper on his knee, applied to each of us, in turn, for his rank. He had just set mine down, when he came to a little squat militia officer from York county, who, somewhat to the deterioration of his appearance, had substituted the dirty crown of an old hat, for a plunder-worthy beaver that had been taken from him by a Hessian. He was known to be an officer from having been assembled among us for the purpose of enumeration. *You are an officer, Sir?* said the serjeant. *Yes*, was the answer. *Your rank, Sir?* with a significant smile. *I am a kappun*, replied the little man in a chuff firm tone. Upon this, there

was an immoderate roar of laughter among the officers about the door, who were attending to the process; and I am not sure I did not laugh myself. When it had subsided, one of them, addressing himself to me, observed, with a compliment that had much more of sour than sweet in it, that he was really astonished that I should have taken any thing less than a regiment. To remove as much as possible the sting of this sarcastic thrust at our service, for, I must confess, I was not sufficiently republican to be insensible of its force, I told him, that the person who had produced their merriment belonged to the militia, and that, in his line, as a farmer, he was no doubt honest and respectable. "Although the day was seasonably cool, yet, from the number crowded in the barn, the air within was oppressive and suffocating, which, in addition to the agitations of the day, had produced an excessive thirst; and there was a continual cry for water. I cannot say that this want was unattended to: the soldiers were continually administering to it by bringing water in a bucket. But, though we, who were about the door, did well enough, the supply was very inadequate to such a number of mouths; and many must have suffered much. Our situation brought to my recollection that of Captain Holwell and his party in the Black Hole at Calcutta; and had the weather been equally hot, we should not have been much better off. The fellow who had menaced me with his butt stood with his fusée across the door, and kept us closely immured. I did not choose to ask favours of him; but addressing myself to the officers without the door, who had been put in good humour by their laugh at our poor militia captain, I asked them, if they made no distinction between officers and privates. Most certainly we do, said one of them. I then observed, that it would be very agreeable to us to be somewhat separated from them now, and to receive a little fresh air. Upon this the sentinels were withdrawn to the distance of about ten or twelve feet from the building; and we were told, that such of us as were officers might walk before the door. This was a great relief to us, as well as to the men in giving them more room." (P. 210—213.)

The candid author is not less forward to record the good than the ill offices he received; and the following characteristic portrait of a British officer, with the writer's remarks upon the humane attentions paid to the comforts of the privates of our army, furnish a very gratifying and honourable counterpart to the preceding statements.

"In the evening, a most advantageous change took place, and, from the custody of a low ruffian, we were transferred to that of a gentleman.

"This was Lieutenant Becket, to the best of my recollection of the 37th or 38th regiment. Upon taking the guard in the evening, he expressed concern about our lodging, and proposed to us to accompany him into the barn-loft to see whether that would do. He was also attended by some of his brother officers. We ascended by a very good step ladder, and found a spacious room, well roofed and floored, and clear of lumber. This, gentlemen, I think, may do, said he; I dare say,

you have sometimes lodged, in a worse place. That we had, we told him, and that this was as comfortable as we could desire. I will send you, if I can, said he, at going away, a bottle of wine; but, at any rate, a bottle of spirits, and as to the latter, he was as good as his word; a soldier, in about a quarter of an hour, brought it to us, and this was our substitute for supper as well as dinner. In the morning, a little after sunrise, a soldier brought me Mr. Becket's compliments, with a request that I would come down and breakfast with him, bringing two of my friends with me, as he had not the means of entertaining more. I thankfully accepted his invitation, and took with me Forrest and Tudor. He was seated on a bench before the door, with a good fire before him, and the soldiers of the guard in a semicircle about him. Besides the bench, we were accommodated with a chair or two, and he gave us a dish of very good coffee, with plenty of excellent toast, which was the only morsel we had eaten for the last twenty-four hours; more fortunate, in this than our fellow-sufferers, who got nothing until the next morning, when the first provisions were drawn. The soldiers were chatting and cracking their jokes on each other while we breakfasted; and I was surprised at the easy familiarity which seemed to prevail between them and their officer. But it appeared to be perfectly understood between them, that their coteries, though so near each other as that every word from either might be heard by both, were yet entirely distinct, and that each had an exclusive right to its own conversation; still they did not interrupt ours, being silent when we talked. The fact was, that Mr. Becket was the darling of his soldiers; and one of them told us, that we should find few men like him. I had here an opportunity to observe the striking difference between their appointments and ours. While our poor fellows were some of them already ragged, and even the best of them clad in flimsy thread-bare clothes, with worse stockings and shoes, these were tight and comfortable in body and limbs; and every soldier was accommodated with a woollen night-cap, which most of them had yet on. A sad contrast for the contemplation of the American soldier! Wisdom is no less attributable to nations than to individuals; and the British army, if I may so express myself, is a sensible establishment, in which every possible regard is had to both comfort and safety. Though, in extremities, it may be the business of the soldier to die, it is not forgotten that he is to live if he can, consistent with his duty; and to this consideration, it appears to me, much attention was paid by General Howe in his operations against our post. He could not have had a doubt that his attack would be successful, yet this was not enough: it must be conducted with an eye to the saving of men, and the purchasing it as cheap as possible. Had he immediately advanced against our lines on the south, the loss of the British troops would, in all probability, have been heavy; whereas, in making his principal effort by Harlem river under cover of his batteries, it was comparatively small; and when he had gained the high grounds in this quarter, he was at once master of the field." (P. 216—218.)

The prisoners being marched to New York, the author was

allowed to take lodgings in the city, on parole. Here he amused himself with his captive companions as well as their uneasy circumstances admitted, till removed by a new location to a miserable place called Flatbush, in Long Island; a very unwelcome exchange to the whole party, though not accompanied with any measures of severity or unnecessary restriction. The character of a singular Dutch family on whom the author was billeted in this retreat, is delineated as follows :

“ Mr. Forrest and myself were billeted on a Mr. Jacob Suydam. His house was pretty large, consisting of buildings which appeared to have been erected at different times; the front and better part of which was in the occupation of Mr. Theophilact Bache and his family from New York. Though we were in general civilly enough received, it cannot be supposed that we were very welcome to our Low Dutch hosts, whose habits of living were extremely parsimonious, and whose winter provision was barely sufficient for themselves. Had they been sure of receiving the two dollars a week, it might have reconciled them to the measure; but payment appeared to them to depend on the success of our cause, (Congress or ourselves being looked upon as the paymasters,) and its failure, in their eyes, would in both cases induce a stoppage of payment. They were, however, a people who seemed thoroughly disposed to submit to any power which might be set over them; and whatever might have been their propensities or demonstrations at an earlier stage of the contest, they were now the dutiful and loyal subjects of his Majesty George the Third; and entirely obedient to the behests of their military masters in New York. As it was at the instance of these that we were saddled upon them, they received us with the best grace they could put on. Their houses and beds we found clean; but their living extremely poor, and well calculated to teach the luxurious, how infinitely less than their pampered appetites require, is essential to the sustentation of life. A sorry wash, made up of a sprinkling of bohea, and the darkest sugar on the verge of fluidity, with half baked bread, fuel being among the scarcest articles at Flatbush, and a little stale butter, constituted our breakfast. At our first coming, a small piece of pickled beef was occasionally boiled for dinner, but, to the beef, which was soon consumed, succeeded *clippers* or clams, and our unvaried supper was *supon* or mash, sometimes with skimmed milk, but more generally with buttermilk blended with molasses, which was kept for weeks in a churn, as swill is saved for hogs. I found it, however, after a little use, very eatable; and supper soon became my best meal. The table company consisted of the master of the house, Mr. Jacob Suydam, an old bachelor, a young man, a shoemaker of the name of Rem Hagerman, married to Jacob's niece, who, with a mewling infant in her arms, never failed to appear. A black boy too was generally in the room; not as a waiter, but as a kind of *enfant de maison*, who walked about, or took post in the chimney corner with his hat on, and occasionally joined in the conversation. It is probable, that, but for us, he would have been placed at the table, and that it had been the custom before we came. Certain it is, that

the idea of equality was more fully and fairly acted upon in this house of a British subject, than ever I have seen it practised by the most vehement declaimers for the rights of man among ourselves. It is but fair, however, to mention, that I have never been among our transcendent republicans of Virginia and her dependencies. But notwithstanding some unpleasant circumstances in our establishment, every member of the family, the black fellow, to whom we had been the cause of some privations, excepted, was exceedingly courteous and accommodating. Rem Hagerman, and *Yonichy* his wife, gave themselves no airs; nor was our harmony with uncle Jacob ever interrupted, but on a single occasion, when, soured a little by I know not what provocation, he made a show of knocking down Forrest with a pair of yarn stockings he had just drawn from his legs, as he sat in the chimney corner one evening preparing for bed. But moments of peevishness were allowable to our host: since, though we had for sometime been consuming his provisions, he had never seen a penny of our money, and it was somewhat doubtful, to say the truth, whether he ever would; for, considering the contractors for our boarding liable for it, we never thought of paying it ourselves. As the Low Dutch are a people little known in Pennsylvania, and more especially, as it is my avowed intention to advert to the character of the time, this sketch of their domestic economy and manners may not be thought impertinent. In a word, from what I saw of them on Long Island, I was led to consider them as a people, quiet and inoffensive beyond any I had seen; such, from whom no enthusiastic efforts, either of good or evil tendency, were to be looked for; who were neither prolific of Catos nor Catilines; and who, had they been the sole occupants of this great continent of ours, would still have been colonists, and never known what it was to be independent republicans. Their religious, like their other habits, were unostentatious and plain; and a silent grace before meat prevailed at the table of Jacob Suydam." (P. 257—261.)

From this state of durance, the young republican was at length emancipated by the affectionate and intrepid exertions of his mother, who appears to have been a gentlewoman of peculiarly dignified and agreeable manners. She contrived to obtain an interview with General Howe, and by her rhetoric and representations, prevailed upon that officer to allow her son to return home, upon condition of not appearing in arms till an exchange of prisoners should be effected. There seems to be some degree of mystery in this part of the narrative, which we cannot fully comprehend. It does not appear probable that a British commander would have allowed himself to compromise his official duties by the release of a prisoner, at the mere solicitation of his parent. We could almost suspect, notwithstanding the author's intimation to the contrary, that the mother, who had always been very British in her connexions and conduct, was induced to represent her son as a foolish inexperienced young man, who had been seduced by the rebels to join their party,

but who would no doubt return to better counsels if restored to his maternal mansion. It is at least certain that from this period the author never joined the army, even after the exchange of prisoners; a fact, however, which he states to have arisen from the circumstance of his regiment having been broken up after the capture at Washington, and from the disgust which he felt at the injustice displayed in the army promotions, new officers being advanced to the higher posts, while the old ones were forgotten. He seems to have considered himself as dead, in a military view, from the moment of his captivity; on emerging from which he found his juniors advanced above him, so that he determined to lay down his sword; a resolution which he so tenaciously kept, that though upon resigning his commission his fellow citizens took care to enrol him in the militia, he refused to discharge its duties, for which he was amerced in a considerable fine. Let the admirers of revolutions, and the advocates of republican justice and democratical virtue weigh the following statements:

“Pelf, it now appeared, was a better goal than liberty; and at no period in my recollection was the worship of Mammon more widely spread, or more sordid and disgusting. Those who had fought the battles of the country, at least in the humbler grades, had, as yet, earned nothing but poverty and contempt; while their wiser fellow-citizens, who had attended to their interests, were the men of mark and consideration. As to military rank, no man seemed to be without it who had an inclination for it; and the title of Major was the very lowest that a dasher of any figure would accept of. Nothing more was wanting for its attainment than to clap on a uniform and pair of epaulets, and scamper about with some militia general for a day or two; and thus the real soldier was superseded, even in the career of glory. Never having been good at a scramble, as already observed, whether honour or profit were the meed, I did not press into the field of pretension; and being in a state of apathy as to the political parties, I declined enlisting with either.” (P. 350, 351.)

From this period our author seems to have had somewhat of a surfeit of the boasted “*sovereignty* of the people;” a circumstance not to be wondered at when we read the following description of the state of affairs as they presented themselves to his view on his return to Philadelphia, after his captivity.

“One of the first things which struck us, on getting within our own territory, was the high price of wine and other liquors. We attributed this to their growing scarcity, though equally owing, probably, to the incipient depreciation of the paper currency, of which we had then no idea. We saw, to our great surprise, no military parade upon our journey, nor any indication of martial vigour on the part of the country. General Washington, with the little remnant of his army at Morristown, seemed left to scuffle for liberty, like another Cato at Utica. Here and there we saw a militia man with his contrasted

coloured caps and facings; and we found, besides, that captains, majors, and colonels, had become "dog-cheap" in the land. But, unfortunately, these war-functionaries were not found at the head of their men. They, more generally, figured as bar-keepers, condescendingly serving out small measures of liquor to their less dignified customers. Still were they brimful of patriotism, the prevailing feature of which was, to be no less ardent in their pursuit, than fervent in their hatred of Tories." (P. 298.)

"I soon discovered that a material change had taken place during my absence from Pennsylvania; and that the pulses of many that, at the time of my leaving it, had beaten high in the cause of Whiggism and liberty, were considerably lowered. Power, to use a language which had already ceased to be orthodox, and could therefore only be whispered, had fallen into low hands. The better sort were disgusted and weary of the war. Congress, indeed, had given out that they had counted the cost of the contest; but it was but too apparent that very many of their adherents had made false calculations on the subject, having neither allowed enough for disasters in the field, nor domestic chagrins, the inevitable consequence of a dissolution of old power and the assumption of new. It was, in fact, just beginning to be perceived, that the ardour of the inflamed multitude is not to be tempered; and that the instigators of revolutions are rarely those who are destined to conclude them, or profit by them. The great cause of schism among the Whigs had been the declaration of independence. Its adoption had, of course, rendered numbers malcontent; and thence, by a very natural transition, consigned them to the Tory ranks. Unfortunately for me, this was the predicament in which I found my nearest and best friend, whose example had, no doubt, contributed to the formation of my political opinions, and whose advice, concurring with my own sense of duty, had placed me in the army. I now discovered, that we no longer thought or felt alike; and though no rupture took place, some coldness ensued; and I have to regret a few words of asperity which passed between us, on occasion of the French alliance. But this was but a momentary blast; as neither of us was infected with that hateful bigotry which, too generally, actuated Whigs and Tories, and led to mutual persecution, as one or other had the ascendancy. As to the Whigs, the very cause for which they contended was essentially that of freedom; and yet all the freedom it granted was, at the peril of tar and feathers, to think and act like themselves; the extent, indeed, of all toleration proceeding from the multitude, whether advocating the divine right of a king—the divine sovereignty of the people—or of the idol it may be pleased to constitute its unerring plenipotentiary. Toleration is only to be looked for upon points in which men are indifferent; or where they are duly checked and restrained by a salutary authority." (P. 299—301.)

Our readers will by this time have perceived that the author, though a republican, is by no means an anarchist. His chief aim, in the latter half of his volume, seems to have been to stem the torrent of Gallican principles, which at the period when he

wrote (1811) was making great progress in America. We shall present our readers with two or three passages connected with these topics, which are not less interesting in Great Britain than in the United States of America.

"Mrs. Macauley was not the only person of her nation, who had found the republicanism of the New World lagging shamefully behind that of the Old. Experience is the best of schools; and, in the philanthropic science of levelling, as in others, we may truly say;

Here, shallow draughts intoxicate the brain,
And drinking largely sobers us again.

One of the strongest cases in point, and which has been strangely overlooked, is that of the poet Milton, against whom the great Samuel Johnson is supposed to be even more than usually intolerant. He certainly could not have been aware, nor Mr. Boswell either, (or from his profusion, we should have heard of it,) of the following passage in the *Paradise Regained*, the last work, and, therefore, to be presumed to contain the last and most solemn opinion of its author.

And what the people, but a herd confus'd,
A miscellaneous rabble, who extol
Things vulgar, and well weigh'd, scarce worth the praise!
They praise and they admire they know not what;
And know not whom, but as one leads the other;
And what delight to be by such extoll'd,
To live upon their tongues, and be their talk,
Of whom to be despised were no small praise.

It would be difficult to conceive sentiments more at variance with the republican maxim of *Vox populi vox Dei*; and yet they are the sentiments of the sublime poet John Milton, the democrat, the regicide, the secretary and parasite of Oliver Cromwell. From this one man we may learn the character of his sect, the immaculate, people-adoring republicans of the present hour. For the love of liberty, they will kill a king, yet fawn upon a usurper, clothed with a power infinitely less accountable, infinitely more oppressive and tremendous. The crime, then, is not in 'one proud man's lording it over the rest,' but that he should lord it in opposition to our particular interests and prejudices: In the direction of these, he cannot be too high-handed." (P. 347, 348.)

"To see the heart of man in that most unfavourable point of view, in which the milk of human kindness is turned to gall and bitterness, he should behold it when elate with a 'republican triumph.' It has twice been my lot to smart under the hand of oppression. I have been exposed to the fury both of royal and republican vengeance; and, unless I may be misled by the greater recency of the latter, I am compelled to say, that the first, though bad, was most mitigated by instances of generosity. If it produced the enormities the reader has been made acquainted with, the other was ruthless enough to rejoice at the sight of helpless families, at once reduced to indigence, stripped of their subsistence, driven from their homes, and sent to seek their

bread by toiling in a wilderness. This is no exaggerated picture; I saw the reality, and felt it too." (P. 417.)

From an author who can write in this truly philosophical manner, it cannot but be instructive to learn in what way persons and things in our own country presented themselves to his perspicacious glance. We on this side of the Atlantic have thought and conversed so long on our Burkes, and Pitts, and Foxes, and on our national character and constitution, that our opinions may be supposed to partake of somewhat of mannerism, if not of party spirit. But how do these topics strike an intelligent foreigner, perfectly familiar with our language and customs, but far removed from our local prejudices, and professing political principles widely different from our own? The following is his brief estimate of the character of Mr. Fox.

"Many, I am well aware, are partial to Mr. Fox as a statesman. His abilities might have been very great, but he can hardly be called a candid, principled, and virtuous citizen. If, when he became minister, he pursued the same policy that Mr. Pitt had done, it is evident that his opposition to him proceeded from factious and interested motives, under the influence of which, he acted the part of a wild and disorganizing Jacobin. He is said to have been a pleasing companion, and what is called a good natured man, which is generally, by the by, an unprincipled one. Refined virtue is indignant and somewhat austere. Estimating him, however, from his historical fragment of the reign of James II., one would suppose him to have been a humane, just, and generous man." (P. 355.)

Of Mr. Burke, or rather of his memorable book, which is the best comment on his opinions and character, the author makes a few passing, but not superficial, reflections, which we transcribe, not only on account of their intrinsic value, but for the curious circumstances under which they were elicited, and the still more curious circumstance of their coming from the pen of an American and strenuous republican.

"I happened to be at Reading, where Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution*, with Paine's *Rights of Man*, both of which had just come out, were the general topic of conversation. I had seen neither; and when they were given me to read, I was apprised of the delight I should receive from the perusal of Paine's pamphlet. As to Burke, I was told it was heavy and tedious, but that it was necessary to condemn myself to a wading through it first, for the sake of better understanding and relishing Paine's, which was in answer to it. I read them; but, to my great misfortune, and contrary to all expectation, I became so firm an adherent to Burke, that his opponent made not the smallest impression. I have already made confessions which cautious men may start at. But this is worse than all. The stolen Ribbon of Rousseau was nothing to it; nor, although events have proved me right, is that of any consequence. Many other things have

turned out right too; but that does not lessen the odium of their early advocates. It is the essence of sound civism to think with one's fellow-citizens; on no account to anticipate them; and I ought to have thought wrong, because it was the fashion. Republican morality, like republican other things, being made by general suffrage, will not always take the trouble to ferret truth from her well; and as it is manufactured *pro re nata*, on the spur of the occasion, it is liable, of course, to gentle fluctuations—but infinitely safer, by the bye, in practice, than that of the old school. I here speak from woeful experience. (P. 375, 376.)

It will be anticipated that a man who thinks thus sensibly and fairly could not see much to admire in the conduct of the French revolution, which it was so much the fashion to panegyrize in his own country at the period when this volume was written. Mr. Jefferson, with his admirers, and his administration, are the theme of many an indignant page in the volume before us. The author's philippics on these topics break out beyond that sober pitch of gentleness in which his sentiments are accustomed to be uttered, and frequently bear an apparent stamp of personal hostility and irritation. Still his anger is evidently honest. He holds in just displeasure the Gallican or Anti-Anglican spirit, which had infected so many of his countrymen, and which was no less opposed to sound policy, than to the charity which should spring out of our natural affinities and common parentage. But let us hear his own apology.

"I am aware of the offence which may be given by these observations: but I will not now begin to cajole, when I have foregone beyond redemption what might once have been gained by it. Having spoken truth so long, I will persevere to the end; nor, though fully admitting that, by a virtuous use of the government we possess, we may become the most happy people upon earth, am I at all disposed to conceal, that, by the nefarious policy in fashion, we are in a fair way of rendering ourselves the most miserable. One of its fundamental maxims, and, to all appearance, its most favourite one, is, that Britain must be destroyed;—a power which is evidently the world's last hope against the desolating scene of universal slavery:—a country, too, which, in the language of a native American, who tells us he had entertained the common prejudices against her, presents 'the most beautiful and perfect model of public and private prosperity, the most magnificent, and, at the same time, most solid fabric of social happiness and national grandeur.' And yet all this is to be demolished, because, some thirty years ago, we were engaged with her in a contest, which, so far as independence is implicated, appears now to have been a truly 'unprofitable one.' But God forbid that the long-lived malice of Mr. Jefferson should be gratified! And the deprecation is equally extended to his successor, should he unhappily harbour the same pitiable rancour. If these gentlemen, during the war, have had their nerves too rudely shocked by the invader, to be able to recover their propriety,

or to adhere to the assurance given in the declaration of independence, of considering the English as 'friends in peace, and only enemies in war,' they ought to reflect, that it is not strictly patriotic, to risk the ruin of their country, to obtain revenge. Or if they are only unluckily committed, through a prodigality of stipulation, for the sake of dear Louisiana—God * send them a good deliverance; or, at least, their country an happy riddance, both of the vendor and vendees.

"That England has long been, and still is, fighting the battle of the civilized world, I hold to be an incontrovertible truth. The observation I know to be trite, but I am not a servile follower in the use of it. So long ago as the year 1797, I was the author of the following sentiment in Mr. Fenno's Gazette: 'As to Great Britain, with all her errors and vices, and little, perhaps, as America may owe her, considering the situation in which she has been fortuitously placed by the dreadful convulsions of Europe, so far from wishing her downfall, I consider her preservation as of real importance to mankind; and have long looked upon her as the barrier betwixt the world and anarchy.'—The sentiment was then in me an original conception; I had never heard it before, if ever it had been uttered. It has unceasingly been among my strongest convictions, with the modification, that she is now our protection from despotism." (P. 425—427.)

We shall present to our readers only one passage more, which is rendered striking by its spirit, and caustic irony. It eloquently ridicules the cant of democracy, in every age and country, so that the reader has only to exchange Genet for Hunt or Cobbett, and Mr. Jefferson's "mouth of labour" for our own radical gibberish of "operatives" and "the useful classes," to render it as pungent in England as in America.

"The enlightened self-interest which prompted Mr. Jefferson to cast an eye upon the presidency, has most edifyingly identified with the interest of the 'mouth of labour,' if not the whole, at least a very essential part, of the public. This *mouth of labour*, by the bye, is one of the fine figures of speech, by means of which this gentleman has been enabled to triumph over the popularity even of Washington; although it is sacrilegiously thought by some, to savour a little of that jargon, which the same Mr. Burke somewhat harshly denominates 'the *patois* of fraud, the cant and gibberish of hypocrisy.' But we, on this side of the water, ought to have more indulgence for a trade growing out of our institutions. As the people give power, and power promotes thrift, the people may certainly be complimented a little: and hence, intolerance towards demagogues may fairly be ranked among the anti-republican tendencies. No censure, therefore, is aimed at one who is the quintessence of good republicanism, and too pure to take a stain though fondling with imperialism. For my own part, I am elated with the opportunity of recording my veneration for a patriot

* Our author's sentiments would have lost none of their force, and would have gained in their Christianity, if they had been less interlarded with these irreverent interjections.

who has so rapidly advanced the morals of this new world, and whose scrupulous observance of truth pre-eminently entitles him to the motto of *nam impendere vero*.

"The French revolution then, from the attachment now shown by the Jeffersonians to the absolute despotism that has been produced by it, it is fair to conclude, was less beloved by them for any philanthropic disposition it manifested, than from its being an engine wherewith to assail their adversaries in power; and it was so much the better adapted to this purpose as it was in conflict with Britain, that accursed island, which, in the opinion of all sound Jacobins, ought, long since, to have been sunk in the sea. To declare a neutrality, therefore, with respect to the belligerents, as was done by the administration, what was it but a base dereliction of the cause of republicanism—a most enormous act of ingratitude to those liberty-loving men who had benevolently taken off the head of Louis XVI. our late generous ally and 'protector of the rights of man?' and who, by so doing, had made themselves the undoubted heirs of the immense debt of gratitude we had contracted with the murdered monarch? On the score of this gratitude transferred, can it ever be forgotten, what a racket was made with the citizen Genet? The most enthusiastic homage was too cold to welcome his arrival; and his being the first minister of the infant republic, 'fruit of her throes and first born of her loves,' was dwelt upon as a most endearing circumstance. What hugging and tugging! What addressing and caressing! What mountebanking and chaunting! with liberty-caps and the other wretched trumpery of *sans culotte* foolery! 'Give me an ounce of civet, good apothecary, to sweeten my imagination!' In short, it was evident that the government was, if possible, to be forced from its neutrality: and that nothing less than a common cause with France, a war of extermination with England, and the other monarchies of Europe, would satisfy the men who are now so outrageously pacific as to divest themselves of the means of annoyance and defence, and to place their glory in imitating the shrinking policy of a reptile." (P. 380—382.)

We now lay aside this piece of auto-biography, with our best thanks to the unknown author for the amusement and information he has afforded us. He has spoken some truths, which, though not likely to be very popular among his countrymen, are not on that account the less useful. His candid spirit towards this country deserves our acknowledgments. Happily, circumstances have so greatly changed since his volume was first published that we would hope some of his remarks will soon become obsolete. The despot of Europe is no more; England and France are no longer embattled in arms, and even their policy is, or ought to be, scarcely at variance. The same pacific relation exists between us and our transmarine descendants in the new world. May nothing shake this mutual amity! Let the United States be content with their own peace and prosperity; let them wisely concentrate their union, and extend their commerce, and

promote their rising agriculture and manufactures, without mixing in the affray of European contests, or increasing their already too-widely stretched territories by an ill-advised ambition. If they are ambitious, let their ambition take a nobler range; let them exhibit to Europe a pattern of virtuous dignity and unperturbed peace; let them aspire above the artifices of foreign or intestine faction; let them expend their energies in promoting the morals, and education, and piety of every hamlet in the Union; and, not content even with this, let them stretch northward and westward a friendly hand, not to destroy, or melt away, the pacific aborigines of their territories, but to extend among them the arts of civilized life, and the blessings of that holy religion which their own ancestors carried with them from these happy shores!

ART. IV.—*Sardanapalus, a Tragedy. The Two Foscari, a Tragedy. Cain, a Mystery.* By Lord Byron. 8vo. Murray. London, 1821.

OF these three performances the two first stand widely separated from the last, which will call for a special consideration. *Sardanapalus* and the *Two Foscari*, distant as they are from each other in their subjects, have one bond of affinity,—they meet at the same point of deterioration,—they are equally feeble and puerile. To say this gives us no pleasure, but, on the contrary, disappointment. No works by the same hand contain so many decorous sentiments, and so little to shock the wise and virtuous. They exhibit, to be sure, some clumsy efforts to be good, and some blundering about holiness and duty; but first attempts are entitled to great allowance, and considering the importance of any indications of improvement in the character of Lord Byron's poetry, we are willing sometimes to accept what he tenders for virtue, though short of the standard of legal currency.

Whimsical as it may be to receive lectures on social morality from the mouth of the effeminate King of Assyria, we are content to take upon any terms what is good in this way from Lord Byron, protesting only against the probable union of such manners as history attributes to *Sardanapalus*, with such dispositions as are in this tragedy assigned to him by the poet. It is the regular tendency of a long course of vicious excess and effeminate self-indulgence, to harden the heart; and we take upon ourselves to say, that nothing is less common than for that commiserating philanthropy, which the poet has made the distinguish-

ing feature of his voluptuous hero, to be found the inhabitant of a bosom abandoned to the pleasures of sense, and mere animal gratification. If the character of Sardanapalus had a real historical right to these attributes, we could have imputed no blame to the author for exhibiting him such as he found him. There are men, indeed, of whom Lord Byron may entertain but a contemptuous opinion, who would feel it a duty to society to abstain from the representation of characters in poetry, whether feigned or real, by which vice, in alliance with virtue, and borrowing a portion of its lustre, might appear with an attractiveness foreign to its nature. But we will submit it to our reflecting readers to say, whether the best interests of society are not betrayed by him, who incorporates in a character of his own creation such an artificial mixture of sensuality and sentiment, selfishness and humanity, amiableness of feeling and profligacy of conduct, as is calculated to confound the authentic distinctions between vice and virtue, and unsettle the standard of moral worth. It is not in the nature or competency of a man of pleasure, as that phrase is understood by voluptuaries, to love his neighbour, or delight in the diffusion of happiness; and such being the new character bestowed upon the royal debauchee whom our author has chosen for his theme, we must pronounce it an ill-conceived and unnatural combination in itself; while we complain of its tendency to remove from the conduct of the sensualist a considerable part of the odium in which it ought to stand with the sound portion of the community. History exhibits Sardanapalus as sunk in vice of the most grovelling description; it presents him, indeed, to us in the last great scene of his life, as repelling his enemies with a desperate resolution; and at length destroying himself, and all that was held by him as next in value to himself, the instruments of his sensuality, and the whole stock of his voluptuous commerce, in the flames, to disappoint the avidity of his conquerors; but it nowhere attributes to him that amiable solicitude for the happiness of his subjects, those compassionate sentiments, and affectionate sympathies, with which the poet has varnished over his effeminate prostitution of manners. With great submission to Lord Byron, we must declare for our own parts, that we have never known a man devoted to his own appetites, that was not at the same time a zealot in the service of the devil, gratuitously engaged to multiply his subjects, and extend his conquests. We will refer his lordship to his own experience, to determine whether this remark is founded in prejudice, or correct observation.

Dissatisfied, however, as we feel with the incongruities of Sardanapalus's character, we are obliged to the poet for the good things of which he has made him the vehicle. From the senti-

mental ruffians, and drivelling outlaws, with whom he has so long wearied us, we are glad to find an asylum, even in the imperial style of Sardanapalus. It is true we find ourselves in company with the worshippers of Baal, not certainly in an atmosphere of much spiritual purity; but, as already intimated, we must not be very scrupulous about means, where the end of Lord Byron's poetry is not decidedly hostile to human happiness. If it must be either Jupiter, Mahomet, Baal, or Lucifer, let us have the one whom it pleases the fancy of the poet to make the most respectable. We are constrained to admit in justice to the noble author, with respect to these latest productions of his pen, that something like decorum of manners, as far as mere manners are concerned, is sustained throughout, from the deified Sardanapalus to the reputed enemy of mankind; which last personage, if he at all answers to the character in which he is introduced to us in the last of these poems, appears to have been somewhat underrated, being, upon the whole, a very civil converser; and though a little free in his censures, not altogether without gravity and good-breeding in his vindication of himself. There may be many worthy persons who would receive with distrust, if not distaste, even a lecture of morality in such a school—who would dread these

“ Danaos et dona ferentes ; ”

but then they may not, perhaps, have dwelt so long on Lord Byron's other characters, as we have been compelled to do in the discharge of our critical duty. Satan himself is quite decent in comparison of some of his former heroes.

To show that we are serious in what we have said of the good sentiments of Sardanapalus, we will exhibit him to our readers in one of his moralizing veins, which occurs on a very proper occasion,—when his wife, whom he had deserted (an action at which Lord Byron is peculiarly indignant), pays him a visit in his distress, after a long and sad separation. The dignity and wrongs of Zarina, who would fain have remained with her ruined husband to share his last sufferings, and who, on being affectionately torn from him by her brother, sinks into a swoon from agitation, produce the following sentimental flourish from the unhappy prince:—

Sard. Go then. If e'er we meet again, perhaps

I may be worthier of you—and, if not,

Remember that my faults, though not atoned for,

Are ended. Yet, I dread thy nature will

Grieve more above the blighted name and ashes

Which once were mightiest in Assyria—than—

But I grow womanish again, and must not ;

I must learn sternness now. My sins have all

Been of the softer order—hide thy tears—

I do not bid thee not to shed them—'twere
Easier to stop Euphrates at its source
Than one tear of a true and tender heart—
But let me not behold them; they unman me
Here when I had remann'd myself. My brother,
Lead her away.

Zar. Oh, God! I never shall
Behold him more!

Salem. (*striving to conduct her*). Nay, sister, I *must* be obey'd.

Zar. I must remain—away! you shall not hold me.

What, shall he die alone?—I live alone?

Salem. He shall *not* die alone; but lonely you
Have lived for years.

Zar. That's false! I knew *he* lived,
And lived upon his image—let me go!

Salem. (*conducting her off the stage*). Nay, then, I must use
some fraternal force,

Which you will pardon.

Zar. Never. Help me! Oh!
Sardanapalus, wilt thou thus behold me
Torn from thee?

Salem. Nay—then all is lost again,
If that this moment is not gain'd.

Zar. My brain turns—
My eyes fail—where is he? [*She faints.*]

Sard. (*advancing*). No—set her down—
She's dead—and you have slain her.

Salem. 'Tis the mere
Faintness of o'er-wrought passion: in the air
She will recover. Pray, keep back.—[*Aside.*] I must
Avail myself of this sole moment to
Bear her to where her children are embark'd,
I' the royal galley on the river. [*Salem. bears her off.*]

Sard. (*solus*). This, too—
And this too must I suffer—I, who never
Inflicted purposely on human hearts
A voluntary pang! But that is false—
She loved me, and I loved her. Fatal passion!
Why dost thou not expire *at once* in hearts
Which thou hast lighted up at once? Zarina!
I must pay dearly for the desolation
Now brought upon thee. Had I never loved
But thee, I should have been an unopposed
Monarch of honouring nations. To what gulfs
A single deviation from the track
Of human duties leads even those who claim
The homage of mankind as their born due,
And find it, till they forfeit it themselves!" (P. 126—128.)

The last sentence, beginning with "to what gulfs," is full of
the soundest sense, and worthy of a wiser man than Sardanapalus. We give the noble writer full credit for it, and lament that

it has only occurred in a production, the general dullness of which must necessarily soon absorb it in its own oblivion. With these respectable passages in it, we feel an unwillingness to acknowledge *Sardanapalus* to be the weakest of Lord Byron's performances; but it is certainly so, there being nothing in it to keep it from putrefaction, but two or three sparks of vitality, such as we have above exhibited in support of our remarks. The morality, indeed, with which the play is, for the most part, interspersed, is not of a good keeping kind; it savours more of indulgence than discipline, of concession than controul, of liberty than sacrifice. That which is drawn from the proper sources, we are sure would be found to answer better the purposes of poetry. As our author has begun to deal in the article, why content himself, while the genuine staple lies before him, with the mockeries of a spurious manufacture. The lofty muse requires it to be of a fine texture, to furnish out the wardrobe of her chaste decorations. Tragedy, that "teacher best of moral prudence," must be appropriately adorned. That which suits her state, is not the puny ethics of Lord Byron's effeminate hero, but the severest maxims by which virtue can be illustrated; the highest and most spiritual standard to which the soul can be exalted. Perhaps, in the whole compass of ancient history, a character less fitted for the hero of the tragic drama could scarcely be found. Till the closing scene of his existence there is nothing in his mind or fortunes to awaken the slightest interest or solicitude concerning him; and the reader comes to the catastrophe with an apathy not removed by the extravagance of desperation in which it terminates. What the author attributes of good to the temperament of the monarch, is, perhaps, scarcely more than enough to neutralize his character, and to render him an object of indifference. The concluding event possesses nothing of collateral distress, or circumstantial pathos. It creates no intensity of feeling, nor in any strong degree perturbs the affections. Its strongest incidents produce no terror. The conflagration which consumes the monarch, his mistresses, and his treasures, has little more effect upon the nerves, than a common bon-fire; it kindles no emotions. It is not by a sudden and concluding effort of magnanimity, that a character can command our sympathies, where there has been nothing in it to interest us during the course of its development. Those changes of fortune, which constitute what is called the *peripetia* of the higher tragedy, must be changes in the fortunes of great persons. The events and the characters must be parallel. Such was the tone and elevation of the Greek tragedy, which treated

"Of fate, and chance, and change in human life,
High actions and high passions best describing."

There must be the *καλὰ πρᾶξις* or high actions to invest a

character with that sort of atmosphere of excitement, in which none can breathe without emotion: without these the greatest incidents which the revolutions of fortune can produce must be defective in pathos. All should be in proportion, and every thing sufficient in strength and quality to sustain expectation and suspense from the beginning to the end. In the physical world, a storm has but half its "dread magnificence," unless the scene in which it rages corresponds with its fierceness, and is adapted to the display of its effects;—as where the ocean responds to it, or the mountain pine attests its vengeance: so if the great vicissitudes with which the drama is conversant, are to shake the bosom with alternate horrors, and the fearful agitations of change and disaster, not only must the moral element be convulsed throughout, but the tempest, to be tragically affecting, must light upon the glittering elevations of human character, and scatter in the dust the glories of real greatness.

With respect to the construction of the play of *Sardanapalus*, the author is not to be held responsible for the want of incident. He could only draw his materials from history; but he is still responsible for the choice of his subject. He does not assert the merit of having adhered strictly to the unities of the drama, if there be merit in such conformity; but he talks in his preface with some complacency, of his having *approached* the "unities,"—a compromise not very intelligible. As there is neither mystery nor unravelment in the plot, it was not easy to violate the unity of action. The sottish effeminacy of a prince that waits in passive expectation the insurrection of the two most powerful of his subjects, revolting upon no other principle, than to liberate their country from the disgrace of being governed by so unworthy a ruler, without personal motive to stir the tumultuous energy of the passions, affords no occasion for the demonstration of skill in disposing the events in a continuity of action. Without plot, no fault can be found with the management of the fable; without rudder or rigging, no error can be committed in the navigation. With respect to the *unity of time*, the author seems to us to have sinned against it in the only way in which it could be sinned against. He has not erred by supposing a succession of events impossible to have happened within the compass of time which may be imagined to have been taken up in the representation; but he has erred in allotting a period of time for the successive transactions, involving the catastrophe of the play, within which it was impossible for them to be completed. "The necessity," Dr. Johnson well remarks in his preface to Shakspeare, "of observing the unity of time, arises from the supposed necessity of making the drama credible. The critics hold it impossible that an action of months or years

can be believed to pass in three hours. The mind revolts from evident falsehood; and fiction loses its force when it departs from the resemblance of reality." But the same sagacious critic truly denies "that any representation is mistaken for reality; that any dramatic fable in its materiality was ever credible, or, for a single moment was ever credited." To this reasoning we perfectly assent, and where a tragedy is not written for representation, as from appearances we may presume to be the case in this instance, it possesses additional cogency. But the objection is of another sort, where the time in which the drama itself supposes the events to have happened, is such as can by no possible effort of imagination be made to square with their accomplishment. The piece before us has aimed at satisfying what is called the unity of time, by a violent compression of the incidents of the story into the compass of a day, in contempt of history and probability.

The great fault that we find with this poem is simply this,—that it is not poetry. It is only in name any thing but the dullest prose. To pick out passages for the purpose of verifying this remark, can be to us no agreeable task; and if we produce one or two for our own justification, we will not do it without freely and cheerfully acknowledging that the poetical character of this writer is so deservedly high as to afford the great expence which his reputation has incurred by the volume before us. It is not a little singular that Lord Byron, who has, if we mistake not, expressed all due contempt for that absurd ambition of simplicity which has sunk poetry below the standard of conversation, should, on this occasion, have retrograded into the flattest province of prose, and outstripped all competition in the race of deterioration. We have always, indeed, been presumptuous enough to doubt the correctness of his lordship's poetical ear. He is deficient in delicacy of perception, and fineness of tact. Some conceit about varying the cadence, and dissipating the monotony of blank verse, has induced him so to fritter and torment it, so to break up its continuity, by the interruptions and subdivisions of the dialogue, that if, metrically and mechanically speaking, it may be denominated verse, it is absolutely devoid of all pretensions to rhythm, or that stately modulation which belongs to the proper structure of this solemn measure. His lordship has a singular predilection for a pronoun, or other familiar monosyllable, at the end of his line; and particularly the capital *I* is so frequently found in that place, that it seems as if its columnal shape recommended it as a proper terminus. Take a specimen, which we find on a casual opening of the book. An affray takes place between Salamenes and Arbaces in the palace, and in the monarch's presence.

Sard. In my very palace
What hinders me from cleaving you in twain,
Audacious brawlers?

Bel. Sire, your justice.
Salem. Or—
Your weakness.

Sard. (raising the sword). How?
Sal. Strike! So the blow's repeated
Upon yon traitor—whom you spare a moment,
I trust, for torture—I'm content.

Sard. What—him?
Who dares assail Arbaces?

Sal. I!
Sard. Indeed!
Prince, you forget yourself. Upon what warrant?

Sal. (showing the signet). Thine.
Arb. (confused). The king's!

Sal. Yes! and let the king confirm it.
Sard. I parted not from this for such a purpose.

Sal. You parted with it for your safety—I
Employ'd it for the best. Pronounce in person.
Here I am but your slave—a moment past
I was your representative.

Sard. Then sheathe
Your swords.

[*Arbaces and Salemenes return their swords to the scabbards.*]

Sal. Mine's sheathed: I pray you sheath not yours
'Tis the sole accept. e left you now with safety.

Sard. A heavy one; the hilt, too, hurts my hand.
(To a Guard.) Here, fellow, take thy weapon back. Well, sirs,
What doth this mean?

Bel. The prince must answer that.

Sal. Truth upon my part, treason upon theirs.

Sard. Treason—Arbaces! treachery and Beleses!
That were an union I will not believe." (P. 53—55.)

What does the reader think of the above lines, as exhibiting
the dialogue of men with their swords drawn upon each other?
Again we open the book at hazard, and we find the respectable
Salemenes thus describing the retreat of Semiramis from India:

"*Sal.* Wherefore not?

Semiramis—a woman only—led
These our Assyrians to the solar shores
Of Ganges.

Sard. 'Tis most true. And how return'd?

Sal. Why, like a man—a hero; baffled, but
Not vanquish'd. With but twenty guards, she made
Good her retreat to Bactria.

Sard. And how many
Left she behind in India to the vultures?

Sal. Our annals say not." (P. 14, 15.)

The dialogue between two conspirators, high in office, against the greatest potentate of the earth, till it is interrupted on the sudden by an unexpected message from the king, proceeds in the following manner. Arbaces has been expectorating some indignant nothings about a soldier's honour; and then observes of Sardanapalus,

Arb. Methought he look'd like Nimrod as he spoke,
Even as the proud imperial statue stands
Looking the monarch of the kings around it,
And sways, while they but ornament, the temple.

Bel. I told you that you had too much despised him,
And that there was some royalty within him—
What then? he is the nobler foe.

Arb. But we
The meaner :—Would he had not spared us!

Bel. So—
Wouldst thou be sacrificed thus readily?

Arb. No—but it had been better to have died
Than live ungrateful.

Bel. Oh, the souls of some men
Thou wouldst digest what some call treason, and
Fools treachery—and, behold, upon the sudden,
Because for something or for nothing, this
Rash reveller steps, ostentatiously,
'Twixt thee and Salemenes, thou art turn'd
Into—what shall I say?—Sardanapalus!
I know no name more ignominious.

Arb. But
An hour ago, who dared to term me such
Had held his life but lightly—as it is,
I must forgive you, even as he forgave us—
Semiramis herself would not have done it.

Bel. No—the queen liked no sharers of the kingdom,
Not even a husband.

Arb. I must serve him truly—

Bel. And humbly?

Arb. No, sir, proudly—being honest.
I shall be nearer thrones than you to heaven;
And if not quite so haughty, yet more lofty.
You may do your own deeming—you have codes,
And mysteries, and corollaries of
Right and wrong, which I lack for my direction,
And must pursue but what a plain heart teaches.
And now you know me.

Bel. Have you finish'd?

Arb. Yes—
With you.

Bel. And would, perhaps, betray as well
As quit me?

Arb. That's a sacerdotal thought,
And not a soldier's.

Bel. Be it what you will—
Truce with these wranglings, and but hear me.
Arb. No—

There is more peril in your subtle spirit
Than in a phalanx.

Bel. If it must be so—
I'll on alone.

Arb. Alone!

Bel. Thrones hold but one.

Arb. But this is fill'd.

Bel. With worse than vacancy—
A despised monarch. Look to it, Arbaces:
I have still aided, cherish'd, loved, and urged you;
Was willing even to serve you, in the hope
To serve and save Assyria. Heaven itself
Seem'd to consent, and all events were friendly,
Even to the last, till that your spirit shrunk
Into a shallow softness; but now, rather
Than see my country languish, I will be
Her saviour or the victim of her tyrant,
Or one or both, for sometimes both are one;
And, if I win, Arbaces is my servant.

Arb. Your servant!

Bel. Why not? better than be slave,
The pardon'd slave of *she* Sardanapalus.

Enter PANIA.

Pan. My lords, I bear an order from the king.

Arb. It is obey'd ere spoken.

Bel. Notwithstanding,
Let's hear it.

Pan. Forthwith, on this very night,
Repair to your respective satrapies
Of Babylon and Media.

Bel. With our troops?

Pan. My order is unto the satraps and
Their household train.

Arb. But—

Bel. It must be obey'd;
Say, we depart.

Pan. My order is to see you
Depart, and not to bear your answer.

Bel. (*aside*). Ay!
Well, sir, we will accompany you hence.

Pan. I will retire to marshal forth the guard
Of honour which befits your rank, and wait
Your leisure, so that it the hour exceed not." (P. 64—68.)

This poet has a most merciless habit of cutting in twain the sense by the division of his lines. Thus the preposition frequently ends a line, the next beginning with the noun it governs;

of the palace. The behaviour of the father on this occasion was preternaturally severe, not, as it should seem, from want of paternal affection, but from an inflexible spirit of patriotic devotion. When the son threw himself upon his knees, and stretched out his dislocated hands towards his father, to solicit his mediation with the senate, the stern, but unhappy parent, is represented to have answered, "No, my son; respect your sentence, and obey without a murmur." At which words he separated himself from the youth, who was forthwith re-embarked for Candia. Some time after this decree, the real author of the assassination was discovered; but, before any reparation of the injury could be made to the sufferer, he fell a victim to the rigours of incarceration.

The author of these calamities, by which the house of Foscari was overwhelmed, was James Loredan, the descendant of a family, between which, and that of Foscari, there had long existed an unappeasable hostility. The father and uncle of James Loredan, the constant opposers of Francis Foscari, had suddenly died, and their departure happening at a time when their measures had become extremely embarrassing to the old Doge, a suspicion very injurious to his character was endeavoured to be raised by his enemies, and easily found place in the irritated and revengeful mind of James Loredan. He is said to have put down the Doge as his debtor on one side of his ledger, leaving the opposite page blank, for the insertion of the different items of retaliation, until the account of injury should be balanced between them. After the last banishment of his son, the father's mind seems to have been for some time shaken by his misfortunes. His indisposition and absence from the Council gave James Loredan an opportunity of carrying into effect his plans for his deposition; and, after a series of practices and intrigues, he succeeded in persuading the Council to depose the Doge by a formal decree, after some attempts had in vain been made to induce him to make a voluntary resignation. Thus, after having held the sovereignty thirty years, and after having lived through the inhuman usage of his son, which has been recounted, the poor old Doge was dismissed from the palace. It is related that the unhappy old man supported himself with his wonted courage till the bell of St. Mark announced to Venice the appointment of his successor. At this afflicting sound his heart gave way; he retired to his chamber, and died on the ensuing morning.

Such is the story of the Two Foscari, as we find it in the extract furnished by Lord Byron in his appendix to his tragedy, from the history of the Republic of Venice, by P. Daru of the French Academy; and of which he has added, in the same place, another account from the history of the Italian Republics

of the middle age, by Simondi, varying from the first in some circumstantial particulars.

The facts of the above story are, without doubt, peculiarly touching, but we question whether they supply the proper materials for tragedy. One thing is clear, that if Lord Byron feels any attachment to the unities which he professes a desire to 'approach,' he has chosen his subject ill. 'Unity of action,' which might perhaps with more fitness of phrase be called 'continuity of action,' is violated in the very choice of the subject, where that subject expands into two distinct successive narratives, each having its hero, and separate catastrophe: and such is undoubtedly the case in this drama of the "Two Foscari." We apprehend it to be a simple and obvious rule, appertaining to this species of composition, that it should have but one principal subject, composed of a beginning, middle, and end, to which every interest and every incident should be subordinate; and we can scarcely conceive a more extravagant departure from this sensible limitation, than that which is exhibited in the instance before us, in which, after the principal interest is at an end, the piece throws out a sort of excrescence, or new germination, with an imbecile and superfluous effort. After the son is dead and disposed of, the piece proceeds with the corollary of the father's deposition, forming a separate and distinct story, and scarcely to be said to have any necessary connection with the account which precedes it.

The "Two Foscari," besides its defect of unity of action, is very deficient in dramatic requisites. To scenic effect it makes no pretensions. Respecting his competency to compose a tragedy that is to be acted, Lord Byron has practically decided the public judgment; which, but for his unsuccessful attempts, might have regretted his neglect of the tragic muse. The transactions, on which the play is founded have very little capability. Of suffering there is enough; but those transitions of fortune, those trials of the heart, those conflicts of passion, which transmit their impressions to the bosoms of the spectator or the reader, and keep the sympathies in constant vibration, are not produced by the incidents of this calamitous tale. Judicial torture inflicted on a son with all its aggravations, in the presence of a father, who determines as the administrator of the states' decrees to sacrifice his affections, and even to suppress his emotions, forms the central and commanding interest of the play; and yet this predominant part can never be represented: the stern attitude of the parent triumphing over struggling nature, must be notified only through the medium of description; as it is evidently forbidden by the laws and constitution of the drama, founded upon humanity and right sentiment, to display before the eyes of the

spectator a detailed exhibition of bodily torture. The ancient tragedy was principally concerned in the development of some great event, influencing the fortunes of a dynasty, or involving the fate of a nation. Exalted personages, the sport of a luckless destiny, hurled by the gods, or something above the gods, from the pinnacle of their greatness to the depths of wretchedness, gave to the representation a dark and gigantic interest, hurrying the mind irresistibly on through the widest extremes of mortal condition, and surprising the soul with fearful examples of instability in the things on which man relies with the proudest confidence. The modern drama, with more artificial contrivance and intricacy of plot, shakes the mind with quicker alternations of feeling, sustaining and perpetuating its emotions by the anxiety of suspense, the flutter of expectation, and the shock of discovery: and in both of these methods the passions are posterior to the events, being the effects rather than the causes of the vicissitudes of fortune. There is also another species of drama, which is entirely of modern date, in which the incidents are framed in subserviency to the display of some one master passion, in its unmixed and specific operation, urging on the catastrophe by its own imperious agency, and leading rather than following the events of the story. This ethical delineation of a solitary passion, drawing its nutriment from the recesses of the heart, rather than from the transactions of the scenes in which it is displayed, has placed the name of Joanna Baillie deservedly high among the original writers of our own time: who, to fix the mind of the reader (for her plays are only for the closet) more intensely on the dreadful phenomena of the victorious passion, has been sparing of incident, further than might be necessary to carry such passion to its accomplishment, and to give it its practical display.

In the exhibition even of those transient passions or affections, such as terror, anger, joy, or grief, Lord Byron has not, in our judgment, the talent of a master-genius; but in respect to the more prominent passions, such as love, hatred, jealousy, and revenge, which occupy and engross the soul,—which condemn it to lasting inquietude, and determine it to fatal purposes, and which require to be kept singly in view, from their elementary beginnings through all the stages of their increase, from the first spark that sets the bosom on fire, to the conflagration that desolates the scene of its fury, he is singularly defective. His great excellence lies in the picturesque part of poetry;—in a luxuriant display of sensible forms, and a tonic description of natural scenery. To the sentiments that float on the surface of sensibility, Lord Byron has occasional pretensions; but, with the deep and central pathos of the passions, his bosom holds no communion.

The elder Foscari is painted as a person of weak intellects, in spite of all the pains in the world to give an ascendancy to his character. There is nothing either in the mental constitution of the man, or of excitement from without, to account for his unnatural composure during the agonies of his tortured son. The poet seems indeed to contemplate a character far distant from apathy; but his own defect of energy appears in every personage he represents, and we scarcely know the instance where occurrences so distressing have lost so much of their power of affecting us, by the dulness and coldness of the medium through which they have been conveyed. After the son has been cruelly lacerated by torture for the third time, and while he lies in one of the dungeons of the city, Marina, his wife, has an interview with his father, the aged Doge, whom she endeavours to persuade to interest himself to procure leave for her to accompany her husband to his place of exile. As soon as the decree of the Council for the final banishment of his son has been notified to the Doge, the dialogue between the father and daughter-in-law proceeds as follows:—

Mar. Are you content?

Doge. I am what you behold.

Mar. And that's a mystery.

Doge. All things are so to mortals; who can read them
Save he who made? or, if they can, the few
And gifted spirits, who have studied long
That loathsome volume—man, and pored upon
Those black and bloody leaves his heart and brain,
But learn a magic which recoils upon
The adept who pursues it: all the sins
We find in others, nature made our own;
All our advantages are those of fortune;
Birth, wealth, health, beauty, are her accidents,
And when we cry out against Fate, 'twere well
We should remember Fortune can take nought
Save what she gave—the rest was nakedness,
And lusts, and appetites, and vanities,
The universal heritage, to battle
With as we may, and least in humblest stations,
Where hunger swallows all in one low want,
And the original ordinance, that man
Must sweat for his poor pittance, keeps all passions
Aloof, save fear of famine! All is low,
And false, and hollow—clay from first to last,
The prince's urn no less than potter's vessel.
Our fame is in men's breath, our lives upon
Less than their breath; our duration upon days,
Our days on seasons; our whole being on
Something which is not us!—So, we are slaves

The greatest as the meanest—nothing rests
Upon our will; the will itself no less
Depends upon a straw than on a storm;
And when we think we lead, we are most led,
And still towards death, a thing which comes as much
Without our act or choice, as birth, so that
Methinks we must have sinn'd in some old world,
And *this* is hell: the best is, that it is not
Eternal.

Mar. These are things we cannot judge
On earth.

Doge. And how then shall we judge each other,
Who are all earth, and I, who am call'd upon
To judge my son? I have administer'd
My country faithfully—victoriously—
I dare them to the proof, the *chart* of what
She was and is: my reign has doubled realms;
And, in reward, the gratitude of Venice
Has left, or is about to leave, *me* single.

Mar. And Foscari? I do not think of such things,
So I be left with him.

Doge. You shall be so;
Thus much they cannot well deny.

Mar. And if
They should, I will fly with him.

Doge. That can ne'er be.
And whither would you fly?

Mar. I know not, reckon not—
To Syria, Egypt, to the Ottoman—
Any where, where we might respire unfetter'd,
And live nor girt by spies, nor liable
To edicts of inquisitors of state.

Doge. What, wouldst thou have a renegade for husband,
And turn him into traitor?

Mar. He is none!
The country is the traitress, which thrusts forth
Her best and bravest from her. Tyranny
Is far the worst of treasons. Dost thou deem
None rebels except subjects? The prince who
Neglects or violates his trust is more
A brigand than the robber-chief.

Doge. I cannot
Charge me with such a breach of faith.

Mar. No; thou
Observ'st, obey'st, such laws as make old Draco's
A code of mercy by comparison." (P. 223—225.)

The above is an average specimen of the character and quality
of this languid performance. A more prating attempt at mora-
lizing, more sententious drivelling, than that which the poet has

put into the mouth of the Old Doge, never brought reproach upon the proverbial garrulity of grey hairs. That nature has given to poor human beings "lusts, appetites, and vanities,—the universal heritage, to battle with as we may," seems to be a reflection upon man's condition so little to belong to the dramatic character of the Doge, and so little suggested by the situation in which he is placed, that it looks very much as if the author had made him the promulgator of his own special views of God's appointments. We consider, with this writer's leave, that we are not left to battle with these gross propensities of our nature as we may, but that we may engage with a good ally on our side if we will.

The incident of James Foscari's writing his name on the wall of his dungeon, and the soliloquy accompanying the act, are in the poorest style of common place; but it is like every other conception in the piece,—of a character singularly below the tragic standard. This soliloquy is interrupted by the sudden entrance of Marina, the wife of the unhappy prisoner, who holds with him an insufferably dull and tedious talk till the miserable man thus tranquilly terminates it by saying, "Let us address us then, since so it must be, to our departure." A most lamentably deficient scene then takes place in the dungeon between James Foscari and Marina, and Loredano, the author of their misfortunes; by the perusal of which, if the reader is not convinced of this poet's total incompetency to the task of dramatic composition, he must be a man who never need go beyond sixpence in purchasing intellectual gratification. We do not exactly know what Venetian senators might be in the fifteenth century; they were doubtless, however, much addicted to torturing and incarcerating state offenders; but if their style of conversation was no better than it appears in the language in which this poet has dressed the dialogue of this play, we should deem it not the least of their inflictions to be compulsorily engaged in talk with any of them for an hour. One of these "potent, grave, and reverend seniors," thus concludes a long discussion with Loredano, in which he prosingly declares his disapprobation of his measures against the family of the Doge.

"Barb. And not less, I must needs think, for the sake
Of humbling me for my vain opposition.
You are ingenious, Loredano, in
Your modes of vengeance, nay, poetical,
A very Ovid in the art of hating;
'Tis thus (although a secondary object,
Yet hate has microscopic eyes), to you
I owe, by way of foil to the more zealous,
This undesired association in
Your Grand's denials" (p. 203)

The insipidity of this dialogue is not much relieved by Lordano's animated mode of cursing his companion, (*aside*) "Now the rich man's hell-fire upon your tongue." We could exhibit a great deal more, if we were so minded, to establish the propriety of our observations on this play; but we refer to any man of decent sense in the country, who has been able to get through a few pages of either of the plays we have been considering, for our vindication. We will add only, by way of concluding remark, that, in these pieces, there occur many expressions, so trite as to have become decided vulgarisms, which we are surprised to find in a production of Lord Byron's; such as "though last not least,"—"with one foot in the grave;" and many others of like threadbare familiarity. In a word, it would have been wise in his Lordship to have followed the example of the discreet author of *Don Juan*, by concealing his name. There are passages, both in the *Sardanapalus* and the *Foscari*, so bordering upon decency, and so near being absolutely moral, as to have kept the real author for ever above the reach of suspicion.

From the frigid performance of the two *Foscari*, Lord Byron rises with unwasted energy to works of a stronger character. His accumulated vigour appears to require expenditure; and conceiving Mr. Southey to have made a personal attack upon him, in his preface to his poem on the Vision of Judgment, he steps a little out of his way to give the devoted object of his vengeance what probably his Lordship and his friends may call a good roasting. His Lordship, however, is not insensible to the value of making an additional ally or two before he enters upon this spirited warfare. In the same volume, in which this note is contained, there is also a dedication to Sir Walter Scott, who, we trust, will take an early opportunity of telling the world that he has not, as we have heard it surmised, graciously accepted the offering, and approved of the performance. He has also, our readers will judge with what address, introduced his hostile note with a compliment to Lady Morgan, whose publication upon Italy he calls a "fearless and excellent work." What Lady Morgan had to fear, it is somewhat difficult to imagine, unless it was the want of purchasers or readers. This lady must excite fear in others before she can have any reason to fear for herself. Her *imbelle telum* scarcely rings upon the shield of the adversary. Her work is harmless; and that must be a Government too weak to deserve support which could be hurt or irritated by such an inconceivably nonsensical performance. After this eulogy, passed upon it by our poet, he seems to us to have the most reason of any body to be afraid of its circulation; he has made a foolish compromise between his credit and his gallantry. In our minds,

too, his Lordship annexes far too much importance to the right of original property in the expression of "Rome of the Ocean." He says he had written his work, called the "Two Foscari," before he saw Lady Morgan's Italy; and yet, with most knightly courtesy, he gives the palm of originality to the lady because she first seized upon the phrase, and acquired in it what, in our law, is called the "title by occupancy." If Lord Byron never saw the phrase in any other place, it was as original in him as in Lady Morgan; and he seems to have mistaken the sense of the word in conceding it to Lady Morgan exclusively upon the strength of her priority in the application of it. Our opinion is, that the expression is older than either Lady Morgan or Lord Byron. But, in truth, the combination is not worth contention; and the claims might easily be adjusted by partition, the one taking the land, and the other the water, without the smallest injury to Lady Morgan's prose or Lord Byron's poetry.

As to poor Mr. Southey, upon whom so much bitter anger is expended in this note, we do not quite perceive in what way he has deserved it. He is accused of being blasphemous in his poem called the "Vision of Judgment," which seems to us to be not a little uncandid. We have expressed our opinion on this poem in a former part of our work, in which our readers may recollect we have decidedly disapproved of both its plan and its execution; but we conceive, that nothing but the extreme tenderness of Lord Byron for the honour of God and his holy religion could have imputed any blasphemous intention to the author.

Our readers will recollect that Mr. Southey expresses himself in his preface to the poem above alluded to, with great animation against a class of authors who appear to him to be doing all in their power to throw ridicule and contempt upon virtue, loyalty, and religion, as well as upon all the decencies and duties of social life.

The offensive passage of Mr. Southey's preface, it will do no harm to repeat.

"The publication of a lascivious book is one of the worst offences which can be committed against the well-being of society. It is a sin, to the consequences of which no limits can be assigned, and whose consequences no after repentance in the writer can counteract:—whatever remorse of conscience he may feel when his hour comes, (and come it must,) will be of no avail. The poignancy of a death-bed repentance cannot cancel one copy of the thousands which are sent abroad; and, as long as it continues to be read, so long is he the pander of posterity, and so long is he heaping up guilt upon his soul in perpetual accumulation.

"These remarks are not more severe than the offence deserves, even when applied to those immoral writers, who have not been

conscious of any evil intention in their writings, who would acknowledge a little levity, a little warmth of colouring, and so forth, in that sort of language with which men gloss over their favourite vices, and deceive themselves. What then should be said of those for whom the thoughtlessness and the inebriety of wanton youth can no longer be pleaded, but who have written in sober manhood and with deliberate purpose? Men of diseased hearts and depraved imaginations, who, forming a system of opinions to suit their own unhappy course of conduct, have rebelled against the holiest ordinances of human society, and hating that religion which, with all their efforts and bravadoes, they are unable entirely to disbelieve, labour to make others as miserable as themselves, by infecting them with a moral virus which eats into the soul. The school which they have set up may properly be called the Satanic school; for though their productions breathe the spirit of Belial in their lascivious parts, and the spirit of Moloch in those loathsome images of atrocities and horrors which they delight to represent, they are more especially characterised by a Satanic spirit of pride, and audacious impiety, which still betrays the wretched feelings of hopelessness wherewith it is allied."

The public will judge how far Mr. Southey was right in his observations on this head; our humble opinion is known and recorded. But why does Lord Byron suppose himself included in the censure. If, as he says of himself, he "has done more real good in any one given year, since he was twenty, than Mr. Southey in the whole course of his shifting and turn-coat existence," why so readily suppose himself intended to be classed in the "Satanic school." We are persuaded, that the most effectual way of answering Mr. Southey, will be to make good this complacent observation respecting himself. His Lordship, however, has not thought so. Sore from the wound, he has run open-mouthed upon the offender; not recollecting that, if he could devour him in his anger, he would not thereby disprove one tittle of the charge. He has brought Mr. Southey again upon him, and possibly by this time he thinks he had better have let him alone. Perhaps he too hastily inferred, from the "Vision of Judgment," that Mr. Southey's vigour had deserted him. Much has been said, and much is said in this note about an early production of Mr. Southey, called *Wat Tyler*, as being of a seditious tendency: it may have been so; we have never read it, nor ever shall; but this we know, that if every man, who in the first sanguine essays of his early youth had scattered abroad his inexperienced trash against the government and laws of his country, were to be considered as for ever incapable of atoning for his errors, or of acquiring credit for sincerity in an entire change of conduct and opinions, the worthiest cause would be deprived

of many of its best, bravest, and wisest defenders. Mr. Southey may readily and honourably thus answer those who remind him of his *Wat Tyler*, and found upon it an accusation of inconsistency.

"I am not inconsistent, unless consistency requires that thought and knowledge should remain stationary through all the stages from youth to age. I thought once as you seem now to think: reflection and observation have changed my sentiments: my sincerity has kept my mind open to conviction: had I set out originally as a disciple of the Satanic school, my consistency would probably have remained inviolate, and resisted the natural progression of age and intelligence."

But it is not by "*Wat Tyler*," or the "*Life of Wesley*," or the "*Vision of Judgment*," that Mr. Southey will be estimated by his countrymen at large, and an impartial posterity. He is indisputably one of the great ornaments of the age in which he lives, and it only makes us astonished at the transcendent usefulness of the author of "*Cain a Mystery*," and certain other poems, when it is ascertained to us, upon his own authority, that he "has done more real good in any one given year, than Mr. Southey in the whole course of his existence." We will not pick out any particular year thus to compare it with the whole existence of Mr. Southey, for that would be invidious, though the challenge goes to that length; but as his life seems to have been distributed into cantos, we will take any—the fifth, sixth, or latest of the noble poet's life, and stake the value of the year in our present poet laureat's existence in which the "*Wat Tyler*" was composed, against it, without any anxiety for the issue of the wager.

In this same portentous note we are threatened also with an approaching revolution. "The government," says he, "may exult over the repression of petty tumults; these are but the receding waves repulsed and broken for a moment on the shore, while the great tide is still rolling on, and gaining ground with every breaker." And we should think so too, if we did not discern in the almost universal feeling of disgust which the nation, (and when we speak of the nation we advert, of course, only to that part of it which is capable of reflection, including the sound portion of the multitude,) manifests at such works as "*Don Juan*," and "*Cain, a Mystery*," the proofs of a right spirit. There is not an honest tiller of the ground, hard as may be his fate at this period, that would take the glory with the peril of having written those two works in exchange for his humble but hopeful poverty. It is this reflection which strengthens our nerves against these solemn forebodings. All rests on what in political language is called "opinion" in this country. As

long as that is sound we shall continue to think that "God has put a lying spirit in the mouths of those prophets" who assure us of the approach of revolutionary disasters.

Of "Cain a Mystery," the last dramatic poem of this volume, we shall say but little. We have heard it remarked, that a great deal of premeditated mischief is couched under the plausible reasonings put into the mouths of Cain and Lucifer. This may or may not be a just conclusion. We have no right to say that Lord Byron adopts the apologies of Cain or the dialectics of the Devil. All that can be fairly said on this subject is this—that it has been a part of the poet's plan to throw as much ingenuity into the arguments both of Cain and his mentor as it was competent to his lordship to furnish, and that he has left those arguments without refutation or answer to produce their unrestricted influence on the reader.

The sources to which Lord Byron has resorted for his discoveries in theology, we think it not difficult to conjecture. As Satan is in this poem to figure as an heroic personage, it has seemed to the poet to be of importance to vindicate his honour from all concern with the seduction of the mother of mankind, which he maintains is wholly attributed in scripture to the serpent, without any allusion to the efficiency of the devil in that work: and in his zeal to do this piece of justice, his Lordship becomes, on a sudden, an advocate for "the Bible, and nothing but the Bible." He tells us a story of Bishop Waston, who, he says, when the fathers were quoted to him, as moderator in the schools of Cambridge, was wont to say, "Behold the Book," holding up the scriptures. But he seems to forget that the book, which the bishop so held up to the view of the persons present, was the Bible, composed of the Old and New Testament, and possibly, he may not know, that in an ineffably grand and vital part of the New Testament the dragon is styled that old serpent, the Devil and Satan,* and again in another place that Satan is called the "Wicked one," "the Enemy," and the "Tempter of mankind."† We shall not go into the reasonings which have been adduced by great writers on this subject; but, conceding to Lord Byron, that the book of Genesis does not expressly in terms state that Eve was tempted by a demon, but by "the serpent," we are not afraid to say, that none but those, whose minds are hardened against conviction, can read the account of the serpent's treachery as related in scripture, without feeling assured that he is reading of the efficient fraud of Satan himself in the form and by the instrumentality of the serpent. Is any

* Rev. xii. 9.

† Matt. xiii. 19, 38.

man, woman, or child, honestly of opinion that the whole responsibility of that act rested upon the brute animal, in whose shape it was achieved?

Neither can we let pass without a comment the other assertion of his Lordship, that "there is no allusion to a future state in any of the books of Moses, nor indeed in the Old Testament." It is quite true, that the express promulgation of eternal life came from "that blessed and only Potentate who only hath immortality," who is himself "the resurrection and the life." Yet there are numerous passages dispersed through the Old Testament, which import something more than "an allusion to a future state." In truth, the Old Testament abounds in phrases which imply the immortality of the soul, and which would be insignificant and hardly intelligible, but upon that supposition. When in the writings of Moses it is said of persons dying, that they were gathered unto their people, it must be understood, that their immortal part was so gathered, since their bodies were often interred at great distances from their ancestors. So when God declares to Abraham, that he shall go to his fathers in peace: Gen. xv. 15, can it have been only intended, that he was to be at peace with them in absolute extinction? "Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was, and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it." Eccl. xii. 7. "I will ransom them from the power of the grave: I will redeem them from death: O death, I will be thy plagues; O grave, I will be thy destruction." Hosea xiii. 14. "And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame, and everlasting contempt. And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament: and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever." Dan. x. 2, 3. "He will swallow up death in victory." Is. xxv. 8. "Thy dead men shall live, together with my dead body shall they arise. Awake, and sing, ye that dwell in dust: for thy dew is as the dew of herbs, and the earth shall cast out the dead." Is. xxvi. 19. "When the wicked man turneth away from his wickedness that he hath committed, and doeth that which is lawful and right, he shall save his soul alive." Ez. xviii. 27. "I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth. And though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God." Job xix. 25, 26. "My flesh also shall rest in hope. For thou wilt not leave my soul in hell." Ps. xvi. 9. "But God will redeem my soul from the power of the grave: for he shall receive me." Ps. xlix. 15. "The righteous hath hope in his death." Prov. xiv. 32. Our Saviour, in Mark xii. 26, proves the resurrection of the dead from the words in Exodus iii. 6, spoken by the Almighty, "I am (not I was) the

God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob," for he is not a God of the dead but the God of the living. But there would be no end of citing passages from the Old Testament to shew that not only the immortality of the soul is implied in its divine pages, but the resurrection of the body also. Well, therefore, might our Saviour direct the Jews to search the scriptures of the Old Testament, "for in them ye think ye have eternal life." In short, the Jews were not only directed to the hope of eternal life, but were instructed in the Old Testament to look for a clearer and brighter revelation of that grand mystery. The doctrine is also found typically and practically promulgated throughout the Old Testament; as by the appearance of angels and spirits; by the translation of Enoch and Elijah; by the nature and significancy of the ceremonial law; by the doctrines, and exhortations, and warnings of the great legislator of Israel; by the whole character and design of the Jewish sacrifices and oblations. And yet does this green but confident theologian undoubtingly pronounce that there is no allusion to a future state in the whole of the Old Testament.

With respect to the execution of this poem, which is entitled "*Cain, a Mystery*," we will not deny that there are passages in it of considerable merit; and in the drawing of Cain himself there is much vigorous expression. It seems, however, as if, in the effort to give to Lucifer that "spiritual politeness" which the poet professes to have in view, he has reduced him rather below the standard of diabolic dignity which was necessary to his dramatic interest. He has scarcely "given the devil his due." We thought Lord Byron knew him better. Milton's Satan, with his faded majesty, and blasted, but not obliterated glory, holds us suspended between terror and amazement, with something like awe of his spiritual essence and lost estate; but Lord Byron has introduced him to us as elegant, pensive, and beautiful, with an air of sadness and suffering that ranks him with the oppressed, and bespeaks our pity. Thus, in a dialogue with Adah he comes forth to our view so qualified as to engage our sympathies. Lucifer is endeavouring to recommend to the wife of Cain the worship of the morning star:

"*Adah.* It is a beautiful star; I love it for
Its beauty.

Luc. And why not adore?

Adah. Our father
Adores the Invisible only.

Luc. But the symbols
Of the Invisible are the loveliest
Of what is visible; and yon bright star
Is leader of the host of heaven.

Adah. Our father
saith that he has beheld the God himself
Who made him and our mother.

Luc. Hast thou seen him?

Adah. Yes—in his works.

Luc. But in his being?

Adah. No—

Save in my father, who is God's own image;
Or in his angels, who are like to thee—
And brighter, yet less beautiful and powerful
In seeming; as the silent sunny noon,
All light they look upon us; but thou seem'st
Like an ethereal night, where long white clouds
Streak the deep purple, and unnumber'd stars
Spangle the wonderful mysterious vault.
With things that look as if they would be suns;
So beautiful, unnumber'd, and endearing,
Not dazzling, and yet drawing us to them,
They fill my eyes with tears, and so dost thou.
Thou seem'st unhappy; do not make us so,
And I will weep for thee." (P. 369, 370.)

Lord Byron's devil is well furnished with all those cunning and staggering reasonings about the origin of evil, which are always at hand, and of most ready applicability wherever the appeal is made to an understanding that assumes a right to fathom and comprehend the whole plan and spirit of God's dispensations and appointments. They may be all found in Bayle's dictionary and the novels of Voltaire. They smell rankly and fetidly of that "Satanic school;" our nostrils are "sagacious of the quarry from afar." But we shall not suffer ourselves to be led by these presumptuous challenges into this field of mutual discomfiture, where the combatants on either side find nothing but defeat and despair. The only way of dealing with the subject is to take the course that most satisfactorily illustrates, from the analogies of the natural and moral world, and the testimonies of experience, the boundaries of human competency;—a topic which has already engaged us, and exhausted us in our review of Dr. Copleston's most able work.* We cannot but deprecate a poem from so popular a hand, the object of which seems to be to render familiar to the great mass of ordinary readers—to those who can catch only short glimpses of metaphysical questions, and find it easier to deny than to discriminate—arguments that flatter profane ignorance with the semblance of philosophy, and conduct, by an abuse of reason, to the rejection of truths with which reason has nothing to do but to judge of their external

* Brit. Rev. Vol. XVIII. 331.

evidence. We console ourselves with thinking that "*Cain, a Mystery*," may possibly, after all, be found too dull and disputatious to take hold of any part of the public; who will consider, perhaps, that, as evil is plainly and palpably an inseparable part of our allotment on earth, however it may have got among us, it is much more to our purpose to stem its influence, and find antidotes to its malignity, than to ascertain by what authority it has obtruded itself wherever man has a settlement or sojourn. That we may not seem to be rendered insensible, by our prejudices, to the beauties of Lord Byron's poetry, when they occur, (and though they occur far less frequently in the volume before us than in his other productions, yet they do even here occur,) we will extract the dialogue between Adah and Cain, in which the reader will perceive that every apparent advantage of reason is studiously given to Cain in his contest with womanly softness.

Cain. Say, what have we here?

Adah. Two altars, which our brother Abel made
During thine absence, whereupon to offer
A sacrifice to God on thy return.

Cain. And how knew *he*, that *I* would be so ready
With the burnt offerings, which he daily brings
With a meek brow, whose base humility
Shows more of fear than worship, as a bribe
To the Creator?

Adah. Surely, 'tis well done.

Cain. One altar may suffice; *I* have no offering.

Adah. The fruits of the earth, the early, beautiful,
Blossom and bud, and bloom of flowers, and fruits;
These are a goodly offering to the Lord,
Given with a gentle and a contrite spirit.

Cain. I have toil'd, and till'd, and sweaten in the sun
According to the curse;—must I do more?
For what should I be gentle? for a war
With all the elements ere, they will yield
The bread we eat? For what must I be grateful?
For being dust, and groveling in the dust,
Till I return to dust? If I am nothing—
For nothing shall I be an hypocrite,
And seem well-pleased with pain? For what should I
Be contrite? for my father's sin, already
Expiate with what we all have undergone,
And to be more than expiated by
The ages prophesied, upon our seed.
Little deems our young blooming sleeper, there,
The germs of an eternal misery
To myriads is within him! better 'twere
I snatch'd him in his sleep, and dash'd him 'gainst
The rocks, than let him live to—

Adah. Oh, my God!
Touch not the child—my child! *thy* child? Oh Cain!

Cain. Fear not! for all the stars, and all the power
Which sways them, I would not accost yon infant
With ruder greeting than a father's kiss.

Adah. Then, why so awful in thy speech?

Cain, I said,
'Twere better that he ceased to live, than give
Life to so much of sorrow as he must
Endure, and, harder still, bequeath; but since
That saying jars you, let us only say—
'Twere better that he never had been born.

Adah. Oh, do not say so! Where were then the joys,
The mother's joys of watching, nourishing,
And loving him? Soft! he awakes. Sweet Enoch!

[*She goes to the child.*]

Oh Cain! look on him; see how full of life,
Of strength, of bloom, of beauty, and of joy,
How like to me—how like to thee, when gentle,
For *then* we are *all* alike; is't not so, Cain?
Mother, and sire, and son, our features are
Reflected in each other; as they are
In the clear waters, when *they* are *gentle*, and
When *thou* art *gentle*. Love us, then, my Cain!
And love thyself for our sakes, for we love thee.
Look! how he laughs and stretches out his arms,
And opens wide his blue eyes upon thine,
To hail his father; while his little form
Flutters as wing'd with joy. Talk not of pain!
The childless cherubs well might envy thee
The pleasures of a parent! Bless him, Cain!
As yet he hath no words to thank thee, but
His heart will, and thine own too." (P. 416—418.)

Our time has been so contracted that we have been obliged to gallop through this article, and to leave many things unsaid which we had intended to say. We cannot, however, omit remarking that, notwithstanding this volume of dull poetry, for such it is in the greater part, we retain our admiration of the powers and performances, in general, of this successful poet; and we could not help rejoicing at certain confessions made in the note, to which we have before directed the reader's attention, which struck us as auguries of a beneficial change in the tendency and value of Lord Byron's compositions. It is due to the character of this volume to admit that it does some homage to virtue, in the two tragedies of "*Sardanapalus*" and "*The Two Foscari*," which are so far superior in moral worth to the other writings of the same author, that we feel it painful not to have

it in our power to designate them as the most worthy of the critic's applause.

Upon the whole, we are not sorry to find from the view which has been afforded us by this attempt at sacred drama, of the religious interior of Lord Byron's mind, that he is ignorant of the Bible;—ignorant not from the neglect of reading it, but from not reading it aright. Had he appeared to know more of it, we should have despaired of him more than we do. It is not till every spark of potential grace is extinguished in his mind, that a man can come from the serious perusal of that awful Book, with a disposition to do it dishonour. Lord Byron has certainly not read it seriously; and it does not impart its knowledge to those who read it for speculation, or for poetry, or for the purposes of profane pleasantry. As he talks about repentance, and his "death-bed," in his angry note concerning Mr. Southey, he may possibly endure a hint from us, that if he will read the Bible with his latter end full in his view, he will there meet with much that may be of use to him in the illustration of that topic. One of the first effects of such serious consultation of that book, may probably be to make him renounce all dangerous connections, and particularly that which we suspect him of maintaining with the anonymous author of *Don Juan*; concerning whom we have written our sentiments in our last number, if Lord Byron wishes to know more about him. Another consequence of such serious reading of the scripture we think, may possibly be, that the devil will begin to fall very fast in his estimation, and lose much of that comeliness, and comity, and interesting demeanour, with which he has come forth to view in this spiritual burlesque before us. His Lordship may, in virtue of such better acquaintance with the scriptures, begin to think that it is safer to study divinity with the Holy Spirit for his guide, than with "Satan at his right hand." Upon the very law of the subject he will probably alter such a perusal change his opinion; and think, that in the case *ex parte* Cain, notwithstanding the arguments, which, as counsel for the accused, he has urged in his defence, the judgment was consistent with equity:—that in the balance of evil and good he was fairly dealt with, having had proffers of effectual aid against the propensities of his fallen nature, had he chosen to accept it: which, indeed, is the case with us all.

One great inconvenience in having any thing to do with Satan, even in sport, is, that one is apt to get insensibly into bad humour. Why, when Mr. Southey writes about the "Satanic School," should Lord Byron take offence? Peradventure his brain was at that moment in the act of concocting this diabolical drama. This soreness of Lord Byron has given Mr. Southey

an advantage over him, notwithstanding the injury to his fame from his own hand in his *Vision of Judgment*, which, though we acquit that gentleman of any irreverence for holy things, rises, we think, not greatly higher than "Cain" in religious propriety. One good may come from this poetical quarrel, which we cannot forbear adverting to with complacency,—we may expect for the future that the *Quarterly Review* will act more in harmony with its professions, and more agreeably to that moral independence upon worldly connections which a critical work of dignity should exhibit, by treating with uncompromising severity every publication which has a direct or indirect tendency to disparage religion, pervert truth, or corrupt the heart.

Since the author of "*Cain, a Mystery*," takes credit to himself for having done good in his generation (see the note concerning Mr. Southey), may his good works testify in his favour, and procure for him a happier "death-bed" (we allude again to the same note), than, in the opinion of some, he has reason to anticipate; but as to this play, to use the technical phraseology of the theatre, we wish it damned as it deserves.

One word more, and we end our observations. We are just informed that cheap editions are printing of this last effusion of Lord Byron's genius, for circulation among the poorer portion of our fellow subjects. Does the author think that this is done in order to bring the poetical beauties of the work within the compass of the poor, or to promote Satan's kingdom upon earth? If this latter be the object,—and who can doubt it,—let his lordship look seriously at this consequence of his direful lucubrations. It must force upon him, we trust, as he draws insensibly, but inevitably, towards that abyss of frightful possibilities which lies at the end of his mortal career, some reasonable terrors of conscience, and some compunctious drops from his eye-lids. It would not be infidelity, but stupidity, to be insensible to such things. The age of sanguine security is sliding fast away,—the paradise in which he revels will soon shed its foliage,—and grey hairs, the blossoms of the grave, will appear in its place; substantial pain, infirmity, and sorrow, will, unless anticipated, be his last companions, after the pageants of the passing hour shall have been long annihilated; and then this ugly drama, ugly in sentiment, however florid in imagery, how will it appear among the visions that crowd the melancholy retrospect? As to the distribution of the piece in cheap editions, we do not expect from it much diffusive harm: the Devil has in this play a certain romantic melancholy about him, coupled with an aristocratic elevation of manner, which will not recommend him to the populace. Besides which, if we mistake not, he has forfeited something of his credit lately, by the disappointment of

some brilliant expectations to which he had given birth. Events which appeared to be fast advancing his empire, have been ominously frustrated; so that, upon the whole, we have some hope that, notwithstanding the plausible figure he makes in this liberal drama, not a very large number will assent to the arguments which it ingeniously offers in his justification.

It is said that the publisher has repented of his concern with this work. Of this we know nothing. Let us see his repentance in the *Quarterly Review*, which has suffered in many instances works of the most pestilential tendency to disgrace our national press with impunity. Whoever may be the author of the little pamphlet called "*The Remonstrance*," we think he has taken a right view of the subject; and we strongly recommend it to the public. Booksellers are a very responsible class of men. Johnson called them the patrons of literature. Why should they degrade themselves into the mere brokers of intellect;—the passive, if not the venal instruments of moral mischief? They surely do not, as a body, renounce their personal interest in the national honour and prosperity; nor hold themselves liable to be called upon to propagate as merchants what they deprecate as men. We address ourselves, of course, in these observations, to those of this branch of trade who are among the honourable of the earth, without, perhaps, a sufficient feeling of the real extent of their duties comprehended in that character: the miserable vendors of obscene and seditious trash are at open war with human happiness. By their increase or diminution they serve as indices to mark the fluctuations of public stability. When once they cease to produce a correspondent reaction on society, our equipoise is lost, and we are gone as a people for ever.

ART. V.—HORNE'S INTRODUCTION TO THE CRITICAL STUDY OF SCRIPTURE.

An Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. By Thos. Hartwell Horne, A. M. (of St. John's College, Cambridge,) Curate of the United Parishes of Christ Church, Newgate Street, and of St. Leonard, Foster Lane. Second edition, revised, corrected, and enlarged, illustrated with numerous maps, and fac-similes of Biblical Manuscripts. 4 vols. 8vo. London, 1821.

It is a truly auspicious "sign of the times," that the zeal and ability displayed by the believers in Divine revelation, in combat-

ing the assaults of infidelity, have risen in proportion to the attacks which, especially of late years, have been directed against the authority of the Sacred Scriptures. In these assaults there is scarcely a trace of novelty of argument; the old rusty weapon newly furbished, the old poison newly concocted, are all that infidelity can discover to attack the Gospel and destroy the souls of men; so that whoever has well considered the specious, though in many cases gross cavils and objections of Spinoza, Tindal, Morgan, Chubb, Bolingbroke, Hume, and other sceptics of the last and preceding centuries, will be readily able to refute the bold and unmeasured attacks of later writers. Yet even the authors just specified were not original in their objections; many of their arguments were but the common-places of infidelity in every age, and had been satisfactorily answered long before *they* were born. One class of weapons was stolen, by an ingenious but not very honest process, from their adversaries;—finding that devout and learned men, after having devoted years of close application to the study of the sacred text, had observed some *seeming* contradictions, anachronisms, inconsistencies, and other inaccuracies, which infidels by themselves would never in all probability have discovered (for if they had meditated on the scriptures with sufficient attention for such a purpose, they could hardly have *remained* infidels); they eagerly laid hold of these apparent difficulties, but *wholly kept back the solution*, thus leading the “unstable and unwary” to suppose that no solution had been, or could be, offered. We could easily point out a hundred examples of this artifice, were it necessary.

If, indeed, *truth* were the object of the writers who have of late figured in the cause of blasphemy and infidelity, they would have rested satisfied with the full and irrefragable answers given by learned and pious men of former times, and would long since have desisted from obtruding their mischievous publications upon the world, knowing, as they *must* know, that they contain little or nothing but what has been again and again confuted, and ought therefore to be for ever abandoned by all ingenuous disputants. We might add also, that if *truth*,—and not gain, or the love of notoriety, or a factious spirit, or an appetite for mischief, were their excitement—they would adopt a very different style of writing to that which usually characterises their productions; they would display their arguments *as* arguments, not as cavils, and, much less, expressed in the language of derision or scurrility. But whatever may be the motives of such writers, it is their obvious policy, and that of their abettors, to represent themselves as champions, and, if necessary, as martyrs, for *truth*. Hence, they bring forth objections refuted again and again, with

all the apparent ardour and simplicity of new discoverers; and every fresh production is hailed by the partizans of the faction with triumph, as though it were a *new* work, affording *original* as well as unanswerable objections to revealed religion. Such being the fact, we are not displeased to observe,—though, after so much has been written and *proved* on the subject, the service might at first sight seem superfluous,—that numerous advocates have of late appeared on the side of revelation; and that, while individuals and societies have been using their efforts to stem the torrent of blasphemy, materials adapted to their purpose have been provided in abundance ready to their hands. And, whatever may be the character of the modern advocates of infidelity, or, however insolent their language, or arrogant their pretensions, yet, as their productions are read, and their conclusions gulped down by many who cannot detect their sophistry, it is necessary that persons competent to the task should continue to meet these antagonists, and to furnish such new arguments, or revive such old, as may enable every private Christian, and still more those who are engaged in preparing for the sacred office, to combat every objector. Happily for the cause of religion, the Sacred Scriptures demand and invite inquiry; and the more critically and minutely they are investigated, the brighter will be the lustre of those evidences which prove them to be “not the word of man, but in truth the word of God.”

These remarks have suggested themselves to us in taking up the elaborate work mentioned at the head of this article; a work which we are glad to find has so soon passed into a second edition, though it may seem to reproach us for not having sooner reviewed the first. Mr. Horne's publication, however, appeared to us, like a dictionary or encyclopædia, more suitable for reference and instruction, than to form the subject of a paper in a popular journal; and might have still continued unnoticed, had not the considerations in our prefatory remarks induced us to think it our duty not to overlook so erudite and valuable a publication, even at the risk of being able to present to our readers little more than a catalogue—scarcely a *catalogue raisonné*—of its contents.

The object of the author in the present volumes is to furnish a comprehensive manual of biblical criticism and interpretation, and a full and satisfactory view of the Divine inspiration of the Sacred Scriptures. From the great variety of the subjects discussed, as well as the extent of research apparent in every page, we can readily believe the reverend writer when he states, that this work embodies the result of nearly *TWENTY* years' diligent study and labour. It is comprised in four very large

volumes, containing nearly three thousand pages, and forms, we scruple not to say, the most comprehensive and useful manual of biblical literature extant in the English language.

The first volume contains a critical inquiry into the genuineness, authenticity, uncorrupted preservation, and inspiration of the Sacred Canon. Having shewn the necessity of a Divine revelation from a view of the degraded state of moral and religious knowledge among the ancients, as well as among heathen nations to the present day, the author proceeds to refute the objection of modern infidels, that philosophy and right reason are sufficient to instruct men in their duty, by exhibiting, *in their own words*, the discordant and contradictory speculations of modern opposers of revelation in respect to religion and morals, and the baneful effects actually produced upon nations and individuals by the gloomy and demoralizing system, if system it may be called, of infidelity. The condensed details of facts produced in this part of the work are of a most painful nature; but they claim the serious consideration of every candid antagonist of Christianity, and ought to excite increased gratitude in every Christian for the heaven-descended gift of the "words of eternal life."

Having proved the necessity of a Divine revelation, and shown the probability that such a revelation would be mercifully afforded, the author proceeds to examine the claims of the Old and New Testament, which profess to be that revelation, to the exclusion of all other systems. Among the attacks made on Christianity, one of the most formidable—and the one that lies at the root of all the rest—is that which is directed against the truth of the canonical Scriptures. It has been asserted, that we derive a set of rules and opinions from a series of books not written by the authors to whom we ascribe them; and that the volume which we call divine, and which is the basis of our faith and manners, is but a forgery. It is of the utmost importance therefore, as a preliminary step, to ascertain the genuineness, authenticity, and uncorruptness of the several books contained in the Bible, considered simply as compositions; after which the credibility of their respective authors must be investigated; and, lastly, their claims to be received as of Divine inspiration. In discussing these momentous topics, it might, as Mr. Horne observes, be the shorter way to begin with the New Testament; for, if the claims of this part of the volume of revelation be proved, those of the Old Testament cannot be reasonably doubted, because the New Testament incessantly refers to the Old, and makes ample quotations from it. Since, however, the modern impugnors of revelation have directed their arguments chiefly against the Old Testament in order to impeach the New, Mr.

Horne commences with the former; observing, that if that which was only preparatory, can be shewn to be of Divine original, that which succeeded, and which completed the former, must have an equal sanction. There is an *apparent* want of logical strictness in this argument; a prophecy, for example, might be of Divine origin, and therefore infallible, while an alleged event, *purporting* to be the fulfilment of it, might be a mere fiction. As one instance among many, the Messiah was to be despised and rejected; but it would not necessarily follow, that, because a person *professing* to be the Messiah was despised and rejected, he was therefore the real Messiah. The foundation might have been divinely laid, and merely human materials have been built upon it. But, notwithstanding this *apparent* inconclusiveness, the argument is not *really* inconclusive; for it can be shewn, not merely that the Old Testament is true, and that the dispensation there commenced is completed in the New, but that it is completed *no where else*, (and completed it must be by the hypothesis, or the *Old Testament* which predicts a completion could not be true), besides which, it can be further shewn, that the *alleged* completion of it in the New was a genuine completion, and that it bears such marks as prove that this was the very, and, as was just remarked, the *only* completion intended by the Omniscient Revealer. Mr. Horne's argument substantially involves these points; and, therefore, though not quite logically enounced, is, in fact, perfectly conclusive.

Having stated the external and internal evidences for the genuineness, authenticity, and credibility of the Old Testament, our author proceeds over the same ground with respect to the New. The details in this part of his work are minute, but their importance abundantly compensates for the length at which they are necessarily treated. The critical nature and consecutiveness of argument of this and other portions of Mr. Horne's volumes, prevent our detaching many passages by way of specimen; we cannot, however, resist the temptation of quoting a few paragraphs from the chapter which contains the author's selection of testimonies to the credibility of the Scriptures, drawn from natural and civil history, and particularly that comparatively *new* branch of collateral testimony,—the incidental confirmation of scriptural facts by coins, medals, and ancient marbles. Our first extract shall consist of a peculiarly interesting passage from the testimonies of heathen advocates to the lives, characters, and sufferings of the early Christians. The testimonies of Tacitus, who is confirmed by Suetonius, Martial, and Juvenal; of Pliny the Younger, and Trajan; of Celsus, Lucian, Julian the Apostate, and others, are presented at length, and with suitable annotations. Of these, the most important is that of Tacitus, which

we select on account of some puny attempts which have lately been made to undermine the credibility of that faithful historian.

“The first persecution of the Christians was raised by the emperor Nero, A. D. 65, that is, about thirty years after the crucifixion of Jesus Christ. Concerning this persecution, we have the testimonies of two Roman historians, Tacitus and Suetonius.

“Tacitus was contemporary with the apostles. Relating the great fire at Rome, in the tenth year of Nero’s reign, he says, that the people imputed that calamity to the emperor, who (they imagined) had set fire to the city, that he might have the glory of re-building it more magnificently, and of calling it after his own name; but that Nero charged the crime on the Christians; and in order to give the more plausible colour to this calumny, he put great numbers of them to death in the most cruel manner. With the view of conciliating the people, he expended great sums in adorning the city, bestowed largesses on those who had suffered by the fire, and offered many expiatory sacrifices to appease the gods.—The historian’s words are:—‘But neither human assistance, nor the largesses of the emperor, nor all the atonements offered to the gods, availed: the infamy of that horrible transaction still adhered to him. To suppress, if possible, this common rumour, Nero procured others to be accused, and punished with exquisite tortures a race of men detested for their evil practices, who were commonly known by the name of Christians. The author of that sect (or name) was Christus, who in the reign of Tiberius was punished with death, as a criminal, by the procurator Pontius Pilate. But this pestilent superstition, though checked for a while, broke out afresh, not only in Judea, where the evil first originated, but even in the city (of Rome), the common sink into which every thing filthy and abominable flows from all quarters of the world. At first those only were apprehended, who confessed themselves of that sect; afterwards a vast multitude discovered by them; all of whom were condemned, not so much for the crime of burning the city, as for their enmity to mankind. Their executions were so contrived as to expose them to derision and contempt. Some were covered over with the skins of wild beasts, that they might be torn to pieces by dogs; some were crucified; while others, having been daubed over with combustible materials, were set up as lights in the night time, and thus burnt to death. For these spectacles, Nero gave his own gardens, and, at the same time, exhibited there the diversions of the circus; sometimes standing in the crowd as a spectator, in the habit of a charioteer, and at other times driving a chariot himself: until at length, these men, though really criminal and deserving exemplary punishment, began to be commiserated, as people who were destroyed, not out of regard to the public welfare, but only to gratify the cruelty of one man.’*
 “The testimony, which Suetonius bears to this persecution, is in the following words:—‘The Christians likewise were severely punished, a sort of people addicted to a new and mischievous superstition.’†

* Tacitus, *Annal. lib. xv. c. 44.* Lardner’s *Heathen Testimonies*, chap. v. Works, vol. vii. pp. 251–259, 8vo.; or vol. iii. pp. 610–614, 4to.

† Suetonius in *Nerone*, c. xvi. Lardner, chap. viii. Works, vol. vii. pp. 265–272, 8vo.; vol. iii. pp. 618–622, 4to.

"The preceding accounts of the persecution of the Christians by Nero, are further confirmed by Martial, the epigrammatist (who lived at the close of the first century), and by Juvenal, the satirist (who flourished during the reigns of Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, and Adrian); both of whom allude to the Neronian persecution, and especially to the pitched coat in which the Christians were burnt.

"Martial has an epigram, of which the following is a literal translation:—'You have, perhaps, lately seen acted on the theatre, Mucius, who thrust his hand into the fire: if you think such a person patient, valiant, stout, you are a senseless dotard. For it is a much greater thing, when threatened with the troublesome coat, to say,—'I do not sacrifice,' than to obey the command,—'Burn the hand.' '* This troublesome coat or shirt of the Christians, was made like a sack, of paper or coarse linen cloth, either besmeared with pitch, wax, or sulphur, and similar combustible materials, or dipped in them; it was then put upon the Christians; and, in order that they might be kept upright,—the better to resemble a flaming torch, their chins were severally fastened to stakes fixed in the ground. †

In his first satire, Juvenal has the following allusion:

Now dare

To glance at Tigellinus, and you glare
In that pitch'd shirt in which such crowds expire,
Chain'd to the bloody stake, and wrapp'd in fire. ‡

Or, more literally,—'Describe a great villain, such as was Tigellinus,' (a corrupt minister under Nero), 'and you shall suffer the same punishment with those, who stand burning in their own flame and smoke, their head being held up by a stake fixed to a chain, till they make a long stream' (of blood and fluid sulphur) 'on the ground.' §

"The above cited testimony of Tacitus, corroborated as it is by contemporary writers, is a very important confirmation of the evangelical history. In it the historian attests, 1. That Jesus Christ was put to death as a malefactor by Pontius Pilate, procurator under Tiberius; 2. That from Christ the people called Christians derived their name and sentiments; 3. That this religion or superstition (as he terms it) had its rise in Judea, where it also spread, notwithstanding the ignominious death of its founder, and the opposition which his followers afterwards experienced from the people of that country; 4. That it was propagated from Judea into other parts of the world as far as

* *In matutina nuper spectatus arena
Mucius, imposuit qui sua membra focis.
Si patiens fortisque tibi durusque videtur,
Abderitaneæ pectora plebis habes.
Nam cum dicatur, tunicâ prævestis involvitur,
'Ure manum,' plus est dicere: 'Non facio.'*

Martial, lib. x. epig. 25.

† Lardner, chap. vi. Works, vol. vii. pp. 260—262, 8vo.; or vol. iii. pp. 615, 616, 4to.

‡ Mr. Gifford's translation, p. 27. The original passage is thus:

Pone Tigellinum, tædâ lucebis in illâ,
Quæ stantes ardent, qui fixo gutture fumant,
Et latum mediâ sulcum deducit arenâ. Juven. Sat. lib. i. 155—157,

§ Lardner, chap. vii. Works, vol. vii. pp. 262—265, 8vo.; or vol. iii. pp. 616, 618, 4to.

Rome; where, in the tenth or eleventh year of Nero, and before that time, the Christians were very numerous; * and 5. That the professors of this religion were reproached and hated, and underwent many and grievous sufferings.

"On the above cited passage of Tacitus, Gibbon has the following remark:—'*The most sceptical criticism is obliged to respect the TRUTH of this extraordinary fact,*' (the persecution of the Christians under Nero), '*AND THE INTEGRITY OF THIS CELEBRATED PASSAGE OF TACITUS. The FORMER*' (its truth) '*is confirmed by the diligent and accurate Suetonius, who mentions the punishment which Nero inflicted upon the Christians. The LATTER*' (its integrity and genuineness) '*may be PROVED by the consent of the most ancient manuscripts; by the inimitable character of Tacitus; by his reputation, which guarded his text from the interpolations of pious fraud; and by the purport of his narration.*'† Such is the observation of the elegant and learned historian, whose hatred of Christianity has led him, in other parts of his work, to misrepresent both it and the Christians; yet, in defiance of all historical and critical testimony, an opposer of revelation (now living) has affirmed, that '*the texts which are to be found in the works of Tacitus, are too much suspected of interpolations to be adduced as an authority.*' The effrontery of this assertion is only surpassed by the wilful ignorance which it exhibits, especially as the writer alluded to has reprinted Gibbon's misrepresentations of Christians and Christianity, in a cheap form, in order to deceive and mislead the unwary." (Vol. i. p. 220—223.)

The following passage, which is not less interesting to classical than to biblical scholars, contains a condensed but most satisfactory refutation of the specious objections which have been attempted to be raised against the credibility of the Scripture history, from the silence of the Greek and Latin writers respecting many important facts recorded in the sacred text. After shewing generally that the silence of the writers in question may be satisfactorily accounted for, by their extreme ignorance concerning events which occurred very long before their own time, and the peculiar contempt entertained by them for both Jews and Christians, the author proceeds as follows to add several *specific* and perfectly satisfactory reasons in reference to their silence respecting the remarkable events in the life of Christ.

"1. That many books of those remote ages are lost, in which it is

* The expression of Tacitus is, *ingens multitudo*; a vast multitude; which Velleius, with his accustomed disregard of truth, has represented as only a few poor wretches, who were sacrificed to public vengeance. *Essay on History*, vol. i. ch. v. p. 60. Nugent's Translation. Dr. Macknight has completely exposed the falsehood of that profligate writer, in his *Credibility of the Gospel History*, pp. 300—302. Mr. Gibbon's false translation and misrepresentations of the passage of Tacitus above cited, are ably exposed in the appendix to *Ep. Watson's Apology for the Bible*, addressed to the historian.

† *Decline and Fall*, vol. ii. pp. 497, 498.

very possible that some mention might have been made of these facts. Hence it has happened that many occurrences, which are related in the evangelical history, are not to be found in the writings of the heathens. Of these writings, indeed, we have now but few remaining in comparison of their original number: and those which are extant, are only fragments of preceding histories. Thus, the mighty works performed by Jesus Christ, and the monuments of the great achievements that took place in the age when he was born, are now missing or lost. All the history of Dion Cassius, from the consulships of Antistius and Balbus to the consulships of Messala and Cinna (that is, for the space of ten years,—five years before and five years after the birth of Christ), is totally lost, as also is Livy's history of the same period. In vain, therefore, does any one expect to find the remarkable passages concerning the birth of Christ in these writers: and much more vain is it to look for these things in those writers, whose histories are altogether missing at this day. To instance only the census or enrolment ordered by Augustus and mentioned by Luke (ii. 1, 2), the silence of historians concerning which has been a favourite topic with objectors:—There can be no doubt but that some one of the Roman historians did record that transaction (for the Romans have sedulously recorded every thing that was connected with the grandeur and riches of their empire); though their writings are now lost, either by negligence,—by fire,—by the irruption of the barbarous nations into Italy,—or by age and length of time. It is evident that some *one* historian *did* mention the census above alluded to: otherwise, whence did Suidas derive information of the fact;—that Augustus sent TWENTY SELECT MEN, of acknowledged character for virtue and integrity, into ALL the provinces of the empire, to take a census both of men and of property, and commanded that a just proportion of the latter should be brought into the imperial treasury? And *this*, Suidas adds, *was the FIRST census.**

"2. *Some of the Roman Historians, whose works have come down to our time, are defective.* This is particularly the case with Livy and Tacitus, from whom we cannot expect any narrative of events that have reference to the birth of Christ, or to any great occurrence that took place about that time. For Livy wrote only to the commencement of Augustus's reign, which was *before* the time of Christ; consequently, he could not record so memorable an event as that of a census throughout the Roman empire, which did not take place until the *thirtieth* year of Augustus's reign. And no notice *could* be taken of that transaction by Tacitus, because he does not go so far back as Augustus. His *Annals* begin with the reign of Tiberius, and continue to the death of Nero: his books of *History* begin where the annals terminate, and conclude with Vespasian's expedition against the Jews. For the knowledge of the transactions intervening between the close of Livy and the commencement of Tacitus, we are indebted to Velleius Paterculus, Florus, Plutarch, Dion Cassius, Justin, and others, who lived *long after* the time of Augustus, and who compiled

* Suidas Lexicon, voce *Απογραφη*,—*tem. i. p. 271. edit. Kuster.*

their histories from such materials as they could command. Florus, in particular, is only an abbreviator of Livy, from whom little consequently can be expected. Though Velleius Paterculus advances a little further, yet he is merely an epitomiser: and as Justin, who flourished in the reign of the emperor Antoninus Pius, only abridged the history of Trogus Pompeius, which he did not continue, we cannot, therefore, expect any information from him relative to the birth of Christ. These facts will account for the silence of the generality of pagan writers concerning the events related in the Gospel history: while the express, authentic, and genuine statement of Tacitus already given furnishes an indisputable testimony to the fact that Jesus Christ lived and was crucified during the reign of Tiberius, and thus completely refutes the absurd and ignorant assertion,—(an assertion, indeed, so truly absurd as to be unworthy of notice, were it not that its effrontery may impose on the unwary) which has been lately made, viz. that it is not now known at what year between A. D. 60. and 100. the name of Christ was first heard of in Europe, and in that part of Asia which is contiguous to Europe and the Mediterranean sea: and that it is evident from all existing testimony that it was not before the year 60!

“3. *Of the few remaining historians, who wrote about the ages in question, most were engaged on other subjects; to which it is to be added, that no profane historians, whether Jews or Heathens, take notice of ALL occurrences.* Thus, the obscurity of the sun at Julius Cæsar’s death, which is said to have lasted a whole year, is not noticed by any Roman author except the poets Ovid and Virgil, and the philosopher Pliny: yet ten historians or more, in the following century, wrote lives of Cæsar, and gave an account of his assassination and of several things that occurred after it. A similar prodigy is reported by Cedrenus to have happened in the reign of the emperor Justinian; but there were nearly twenty considerable writers between that time and Cedrenus, who mentioned no such thing. Neither Tacitus, Justin, nor Strabo, who have particularly spoken of the Jews, have noticed the existence of the Jewish sect of the Essenes: nay even Josephus, the Jewish historian, is totally silent concerning them in his two books against Apion, though he has mentioned them in his other writings. Yet, will any one pretend that there were no Essenes, either before or in the time of Christ?—Again, neither Herodotus nor Thucydides, nor any other Greek writers of that time, have taken any notice of Rome, though the conquests of the Roman people were then extended far and wide, and the Romans were become great and formidable. Suetonius wrote the lives of the first twelve Roman emperors: yet, if we compare his relations with the events recorded by other historians, we shall find that he has omitted many important transactions that were obvious. Now, to apply this to our present purpose:—It is true that none of the heathen historians of imperial Rome have spoken of the celebrated census in the time of Augustus, which is mentioned by Luke (ii. 1, 2.): yet it does not follow that it did not actually take effect, since we see it is not unusual for historians to pass by some persons and things which are very remarkable and

deserve to be recorded. If then some matters, which are mentioned by the evangelists, are not noticed in other historians, we cannot, with any reason, conclude from them, that the evangelists have recorded that which is false. No such thing can be inferred; for, even among pagan writers, there are many peculiar, historical, passages related by some of them, concerning which the rest are totally silent. Tacitus and Valerius Maximus, for instance, have narrations, which are not to be found in any other Roman historians, and yet they are not suspected of falsehood. Why then may we not credit those things which are recorded in the New Testament, although no Gentile historians make any the slightest mention of them? Nay, the evangelical historians themselves do not all relate the same things; though all of them have mentioned some passages, yet there are others, which are noticed only by one or two of the evangelists: and there are some things, or persons concerning which they are wholly silent, but which are as remarkable as some of those which they have committed to writing. Thus, the gospels speak of the Pharisees and Sadducees, and also of the Galileans and Herodians; and yet they take no notice whatever of the Essenes by name, though they were at that time a considerable sect among the Jews. It is no reasonable objection, therefore, to the New Testament, that some things occur in it, which are not to be found in very approved authors. No history, whether sacred or profane, relates every thing. The evangelists themselves do not pretend to do this; we cannot, therefore, expect to find all the actions of Christ recorded in their writings; for one of them who wrote last of all, thus expresses himself towards the close of his gospel:—*And there are many other things which Jesus did; the which, if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written.* (John xxii. 25.)

4. Several of the facts, relating to Christ and his miracles, coming from Jews, would be slighted as fabulous by the Gentile writers, especially considering, on the one hand, how common prodigies and magical stories were in that day; and, on the other hand, how superstitious and credulous the Jews were reputed to be. And as the scene of Christ's actions lay at a great distance from Greece and Italy, and authentic accounts of his miracles could not soon be transmitted thither, the learned Greeks and Romans would regard the first reports of them as idle or incredible tales. Besides, it was foreign to the purpose of any author who wrote the life of a Roman emperor, or the history of a celebrated war, or the annals of a particular state, to describe minutely a religious sect, begun in Judea by one who was rejected as a deceiver in his own country. Or, if his subject led such a writer to mention the Christian religion, its doctrines, miracles, and disciples, he would naturally speak of them in such a manner as he himself felt affected towards them: and in what sovereign contempt the first Christians were held, by the generality of profane writers, many of the passages adduced from their works, in the preceding pages, sufficiently attest. Lastly, the Christian scheme of doctrines and moral duties was so contrary to the received

tenets and maxims of the heathen, that it cannot excite surprise that many of them cared but little to inquire into evidences and facts relating to it. Many, however, who *did* inquire, doubtless became Christians; their testimony, therefore, is not to be reckoned here.

"One single example will illustrate the three last observations. The preternatural darkness of three hours, which prevailed in the land of Judea at the time of Christ's crucifixion, and which has been recorded by three of the evangelists, is unnoticed by any profane historian: from which circumstance Mr. Gibbon has taken occasion to insinuate that the evidence of the evangelists is not sufficient to establish the truth of facts, unless it is supported by the concurrent testimony of pagan contemporary writers. Speaking of that darkness, he expresses his surprise that this miraculous event '*passed without notice in an age of science and history*. It happened,' he adds, '*during the life-time of Seneca and the elder Pliny, who must have experienced the immediate effects, or received the earliest intelligence of the prodigy*. Each of these philosophers, in a laborious work, has recorded all the great phenomena of nature, earthquakes, meteors, comets, and eclipses, which his indefatigable industry could collect. Both the one and the other have omitted to mention the greatest phenomenon to which the mortal eye has been witness since the creation of the globe. A distinct chapter of Pliny is devoted to eclipses of an extraordinary nature and unusual duration; but he contents himself with describing the singular defect of light which followed the murder of Cæsar, when, during the greatest part of the year, the orb of the sun appeared pale and without splendour.'* The sentences printed in italic, are those in which the sceptical historian has had recourse to those misrepresentations which unhappily pervade too many of his splendid pages.

"On this passage we remark, *first*, that the eclipse being confined to Judea, its *immediate effects* could not *necessarily* have been experienced by Seneca or Pliny, neither of whom could have been on the spot in the reign of Tiberius, when the eclipse took place: nor can it be proved, that they had immediate information from all parts of the globe as soon as any extraordinary phenomenon had taken place. Secondly, neither Pliny nor Seneca have left any works that correspond to the historian's pompous description. Seneca does not treat on eclipses at all, in the passage referred to; † he speaks indeed of *earthquakes*, but only in a very cursory manner, and does not instance more than four or five, because his object was evidently not to write a history of them, but to investigate their symptoms, causes, and prognostics. The same remark applies to Pliny with respect to earthquakes. They are mentioned only to introduce philosophical observations. The historian, therefore, has but very feeble props to support his assertion. We may reasonably imagine, that if Seneca and Pliny have recorded all the great phenomena of nature, they must of course have explored the Grecian and Roman histories, which were immedi-

* Decline and Fall, vol. ii. p. 379.

† Nat. Quest. lib. vi. c. i. Op. tom. 4. pp. 309—312. edit. Bipont.

study open to their inquiries. Now, let us try an experiment as to what they have derived from those sources with respect to eclipses. Do they mention the total eclipse of the sun, when the celebrated plague happened at Athens, in the first year of the Peloponnesian war? Do they mention the solar eclipse on the day when the foundations of Rome were laid? Do they mention the eclipse foretold by Thales, by which a peace was effected between the Medes and the Lydians? It would be too tedious and useless to ask for many others, which might be mentioned without any fear of our questions being answered in the affirmative. *Thirdly*, the *distinct chapter* of Pliny, in which, according to the historian's lofty representation, we should expect to find the subject of eclipses exhausted, by his full and elaborate detail, consists of only *eighteen words*, the purport of which is, that eclipses of the sun are sometimes of extraordinary duration; such as that which took place on the death of Cæsar, and during the war with Antony, when the sun appeared pale for nearly a year.* *Lastly*, this miraculous preternatural darkness did not pass without notice. For, if Tertullian, Origen, and Eusebius are to be credited, it was circumstantially mentioned by Phlegon, a pagan chronologist, who flourished in the reign of the emperor Hadrian;† and if Julius Africanus, a writer of great eminence and probity, who flourished at the beginning of the third century, is to be believed, an eclipse, which corresponds with the time of the passion, was recorded by Thallus.‡ Though doubts have been started by the learned, who are certainly at variance respecting these testimonies (which doubts the historian has greatly exaggerated, by positively asserting that Phlegon's testimony is given up); yet unless it can be *proved* that the citations in Eusebius and Julius Africanus never existed in the original works of Phlegon and Thallus, we are surely justified in giving them credit. But independently of their testimonies, there are two others not founded on the statements of Phlegon and Thallus, which unequivocally confirm the evangelical history of the darkness at the crucifixion, viz. those of Tertullian and Celsus. In his *Apology for the Christians*, which was addressed to their heathen adversaries, Tertullian expressly says, '*At the moment of Christ's death the light departed from the sun, and the land was darkened at noon-day; WHICH WONDER IS RELATED IN YOUR OWN ANNALS, AND IS PRESERVED IN YOUR ARCHIVES TO THIS DAY.*' § If the account of this extraordinary darkness had not been registered, Tertullian would have exposed both himself to the charge of asserting a falsehood (which charge was never brought against him), and also his religion, to the ridicule of his enemies. It is further particularly worthy of remark, that the darkness and earthquake at the crucifixion are both explicitly recognized and mentioned as **FACTS**

* *Fiunt prodigiosa, et longiores solis defectus: qualis occiso dictatore Cæsare, et Antoniano bello, totius pene anni pallore continuo.* Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. ii. c. 30. tom. i. p. 148. edit. Bipont.

† See Lardner's Works, vol. vii. pp. 370—387. 8vo.; or vol. iv. pp. 58—67. 4to.

‡ *Ibid.* § Tertullian, *Apol.* c. 21.

by that acute adversary of Christianity, Celsus; who would not have made such an admission, if he could have possibly denied them.*

In addition to the preceding observations, we may state that many good and solid reasons may be assigned why the profane writers have not made mention of the darkness at the crucifixion, which, it is now generally admitted, was confined to the land of Judea. The most obvious is, that they might have no sufficient information of it. The provinces of the Roman empire were very extensive, and we find, in general, that the attention of writers was chiefly confined to those which were nearest to the metropolis. The ancient historians and biographers are remarkably concise, and seldom stop to mention occurrences, which, although they may have happened during the times of which they write, have no relation whatever to their main subject. This was their general rule, and there is no reason for which it should be violated merely to indulge the caprice of the captious, or satisfy the scruples of the petulant. There is no more reason in the nature of the thing itself why the testimony of the profane writers should be called for to support the sacred, than the sacred should be called for to support the profane. We may then retort the argument, and in our turn ask the historian, and those who have lately circulated his false account of the progress of Christianity, how they can credit the accounts given by Paterculus, Pliny the elder, Valerius Maximus, and Seneca, when Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John take not the least notice of them? But let it be supposed that the Roman writers had received information of the fact in question, it is most probable that they would have considered it as a natural occurrence, being accustomed to earthquakes and darkness for whole days together, in consequence of the eruptions of Mount Vesuvius. Or, supposing that they had believed it to be a preternatural darkness, would it have been consistent with their principles as heathens to have mentioned it? They must plainly have foreseen what great advantage would have been given to Christianity by it. Their readers would naturally have been led to inquire into the character of the extraordinary person, at whose death the laws of nature were infringed; and this inquiry, as it would have opened a more complete view of the new dispensation, must have led to their conversion. Hence we collect a very satisfactory reason for their silence. Supposing that they knew the fact, and from motives of policy suppressed it, their silence furnishes as strong a proof of its truth as their express testimony could possibly have done.

“Upon the whole, we may venture boldly to assert, that if even this fact be destitute of support from the profane writers, it is a deficiency which may easily be dispensed with. We believe many things upon the evidence of one credible witness. But in the case before us, we have no less than *three*, whose knowledge of the fact was never denied, whose veracity is indisputable, and integrity not to be impeached. So plainly are the characters of truth marked upon their writings, that every person of common discernment must see them, and he who is not satisfied as to the certainty of what they relate,

* See Origen contr. Celsum, lib. ii. § 55. p. 94.

must give up all pretensions to a sound judgment, and be abandoned to the incurable obstinacy of his own forlorn scepticism.*

"An example taken from English history will confirm and illustrate the preceding observations. No one in our days, who has read the whole history of the popish plot in Charles the Second's time, with any candour and attention, believes it. The incoherence, and every way incredible circumstances of the whole deposition, together with the infamous characters of the witnesses, preclude an assent. Yet, a circumstance to this day unaccounted for—the murder of Sir Edmund Godfrey,—happened to give it an air of probability. Yet he would be thought injudicious to the last degree, who should thence be inclined to favour the evidence of Titus Oates. The case before us is, opposite, indeed, but parallel. Christianity stands supported by evidences of the most unexceptionable nature; yet the circumstance of Seneca's and Pliny's silence concerning the eclipse or preternatural darkness (admit it only for argument's sake) is unaccountable. The evidence of the Gospel is, however, by no means shaken, nor will be shaken, till it can be proved that we must be able to account for every thing in an event, before we admit the testimony of the event itself.

"In short, there is no history in the world, more certain and indubitable, than that contained in the Christian Scriptures, which is supported by the concurring testimony,—not to say of so many men, but of so many different nations, divided, indeed, among themselves in other particulars, but all uniting to confirm the truth of the facts related in the gospels. And therefore, even though the Christian institution had perished with the apostles, and there were not in the world at this day so much as one Christian, we should have the most unquestionable evidence that the persons and actions, recorded in the Gospels, and attested by the concurring voice of all nations, really existed in the country of Judea during the reign of Tiberius, as the evangelists have assured us." (Vol. i. p. 230—238.)

To the examples adduced in this extract may be added a new and very curious instance brought to light by the researches of the learned, excellent, and indefatigable Bishop of St. David's, an interesting account of which has been drawn up by his lordship in a small work now lying before us, printed for private circulation, but not published, and which could not have been known to our author when this part of his work went to press.† A celebrated decree of the Spartan senate, it is well known, censured Timotheus the musician for composing a poem unbecoming the Eleusinian mysteries, and for corrupting the ancient music by increasing the seven strings of the lyre to eleven; which superfluous number the innovator was commanded to retrench. Iest

* See Keil's Bampton Lectures, Notes and Authorities, pp. xxv. — xxii.
 † On arriving at the conclusion of the fourth volume of Mr. Horne's work, we find that the Bishop's tractate, though so recently printed, has not escaped his vigilance. A brief reference is made to it, and the instance in question is added, as the author's elaborate account of the arguments for and against the truth of the Christian religion is now at length brought to a close.

the variety of the new music should conduce to luxury and effeminacy, and be injurious to public virtue. This decree, though passed several centuries before the Christian era, and though noticed by Cicero and other authors, is not expressly quoted, — where, from its nature, we might naturally have expected it, — by any of the writers on ancient music, or on the Greek dialects, or on law and government, till the time of Boethius, the Roman philosopher best known for his work *De Consolatione*, who, in his book *De Musica*, first gave a copy of the decree itself, in the Spartan dialect, nearly a thousand years after it was enacted. The learned Bishop adduces the fact as a strong argument to shew that the silence of several of the earlier Greek and Latin fathers, respecting the celebrated passage 1 John v. 7, is no proof that it was wanting in their copies of the Greek testament. It may be urged with equal force in the present instance; for it was far more likely that classical writers on music, or ancient law, or dialects, should, some or all of them, have adverted to this curious decree, which, from its peculiar style and subject-matter, and the memorable occasion of its passing, could scarcely have failed; we might have thought to arrest the attention of persons who were treating on these topics, than that Greek and Latin historians should have troubled themselves much about a despised foreign sect, or their adorable founder, veiled as he was in the garb of humanity, and born after the flesh, among a people whose manners and opinions had little to attract the notice of the writers of classical antiquity.

But we must return to our author, from whose remarks on the collateral testimony furnished by coins, medals, and ancient marbles, we shall quote the concluding passage, — the last which we shall be able to extract from his first volume. After mentioning several striking instances of this collateral species of testimony, he proceeds to comment as follows on the triumphal arch of Titus, illustrating his subject by some new and ingenious instances in the notes appended to the passages.

“ Lastly, the triumphal arch erected at Rome by the Senate and Roman people in honour of the emperor Titus, (which structure is still subsisting, though greatly damaged by the ravages of time), is an undeniable evidence to the truth of the historic accounts, which describe the dissolution of the Jewish state and government, and also relate the conquest of Jerusalem. This edifice likewise corroborates the description of certain vessels used by the Jews in their religious worship, which is contained in the Old Testament. In this arch, are still distinctly to be seen the golden candlestick, the table of shew-bread, with a cup upon it, and the trumpets which were used to proclaim the year of jubilee. And there are several medals of Judea Van-

quished, in which the conquered country is represented as a desolate female, sitting under a tree, and which afford a striking illustration of the first verse of the Lamentations of Jeremiah.*

"It would not have been difficult to adduce numerous additional testimonies from medals and inscriptions, which have been collected and described by various learned modern travellers, who have explored Greece and Asia Minor: but the length to which this chapter has already unavoidably extended, forbids the production of further evidences of this kind.—Stronger testimonies than these it is impossible to bring for the credibility of any fact recorded in history,—even of the important transactions which have taken place in our own days on the continent of Europe, and to which the British nation has been a party. Yet, notwithstanding this cloud of witnesses, it has lately been affirmed that Jesus Christ was a mythological character,† and that the four Gospels are mere fabrications and romances. With as much truth may it be said that the man, whose ambition so lately disturbed the peace of Europe, is a mythological person who never had any real existence. For the events of his career are recorded in a variety of documents, purporting to be issued by the different governments of Europe, which have been quoted or alluded to by various daily and periodical journals, as well as by contemporary historians, who profess to record the transactions of the last twenty-five years; and they are also perpetuated by structures‡ and medals,§ which have been executed in order to commemorate particular victories or other transactions." (Vol. i. p. 243, 244.)

* The best engravings of the arch of Titus are to be found in Hadrian Reland's *Itinerar. De Spoliis Templi Hierosolymitani, in Arcu Titiano Roma conspiciat. Ultrajecti, 1716, 4to.* Tolerably well executed copies of Reland's plates may be seen in Schulze's *Compendium Archæologiæ Hebræicæ*, (tab. i. ii. iii. pp. viii.—x. Dresden, 1793, 8vo.) and also in the Fragments annexed to Calmer's Dictionary, no. cciii. pp. 14—17.

† The assertion of the writer above alluded to was taken, without acknowledgment, from Volney, who first made it at the close of his '*Ruin of Empires*,' and who was refuted by the late Rev. Peter Roberts, in a learned volume, entitled '*Christianity Vindicated*,' in a Series of Letters addressed to Mr. Volney, in answer to his Book called "*Ruin*." 8vo. London, 1800. This is only one instance, out of many, that might be adduced, of the total destitution of candour in the opposers of revelation; who continue to re-assert the long since refuted falsehoods of former infidels, as if they had never before been answered.

‡ Such is the Waterloo Bridge over the river Thames, which is said to commemorate the victory of Waterloo, obtained by British prowess, in 1815, over the forces of Buonaparte. Such also is the triumphal column, erected in the Place Vendôme, at Paris, to commemorate the victories of the French army in Germany, in 1805, and which, according to a Latin inscription engraved thereon, is composed of the brass cannon conquered from the enemy during a campaign of three months.

§ Of this description are the '*Waterloo Medals*,' distributed by order of parliament, and at the expence of the British nation, to the illustrious general and the brave officers and soldiers who were engaged in the memorable battle of Waterloo; and also the beautiful series of medals lately struck under the direction of Mr. Mudie, to commemorate the achievements of the British army; to which may be added the series of French medals, usually called the *Napoleonic Medals*, executed for the purpose of commemorating the achievements of the French empire.

The argument on the genuineness, authenticity, uncorrupted preservation, and inspiration of the holy Scriptures, is followed by an ample view of the argument afforded by miracles and prophecy, and by a discussion of the internal evidence of their inspiration, from the sublimity and excellence of their doctrines,—the purity of their moral precepts,—the harmony which subsists between all their parts,—their preservation to the present time,—their tendency to promote the temporal and eternal happiness of mankind, as evinced by an historical review of the beneficial effects actually produced in every age and country by a cordial reception of the Bible;—to which is added a refutation of the numerous objections urged against the sacred writings in recent deistical publications. A copious appendix is subjoined to this volume, comprising a particular examination of the miracles supposed to have been wrought by the Egyptian magicians, and of the contradictions falsely alleged to exist in the Scriptures;—such as contradictions historical and chronological; contradictions between prophecies and their accomplishment; contradictions in morality; apparent contradictions between the sacred writers themselves, and between sacred writers and profane, and lastly, seeming contradictions to philosophy and the nature of things. This comprehensive discussion is followed by a table of the chief prophecies relative to the Messiah, both in the Old and New Testament, and an examination of the Apocryphal books of the Old and New Testament. The topics which we have thus briefly enumerated occupy nearly five hundred closely printed pages, the contents of which it would be impracticable for us, in our limited space, to abstract; especially as the work itself is a condensed abstract of whole libraries of former authors, who have treated on the subjects discussed in it, and whose invaluable labours in vindication of the Scriptures might appear at first sight to have rendered those of the present writer superfluous. Indeed Mr. Horne seems himself to have originally thought so; for in the former impression of his work, which we have compared *passim* with the present, he gave only a brief outline of the general argument in favour of the Scriptures, and referred his readers for further information to a few of the most valuable treatises on the subject, being unwilling, as he states, unnecessarily to augment their number. In preparing the second edition for the press, he states that it was his original intention to condense his former remarks, and to subjoin to them a few additional considerations; but he was induced to deviate from his design by the extensive circulation of infidel publications, whose avowed object was, by specious insinuations, and the unblinking reassertion of old-refuted objections, to undermine and subvert the religion of Jesus Christ,—the pillar of society, the safeguard

of nations, the parent of social order; which allows his power to curb the fury of the passions; and to secure to every one his rights to the laborious; the reward of their industry; to the rich, the enjoyment of their wealth; to nobles, the preservation of their honours; and to princes, the stability of their thrones. The author further states himself to have been called upon by name from the press (in consequence, we conclude, of his useful and reasonable work published two or three years since, entitled "*Deism Refuted, or Plain Reasons for being a Christian*"), to consider and refute, if he could, the objections urged against the Sacred Writings. Thus summoned, he felt it his duty not to shrink from the task; and as the antagonists of the Scriptures have in some degree varied the ground of their attacks, he indulged a hope, and we think justly, that a temperate discussion of the subject, expressly accommodated to the present times, would not be unacceptable to biblical students, who may be called upon, both to defend their own faith, and to strengthen that of others, against the insidious attacks of infidelity. He adds, that to his own mind the result of his laborious inquiries has been highly satisfactory; for, not having access to all the numerous and able defences of Christianity against the infidels of former ages, he was obliged to examine, in many cases *de novo*, the innumerable contradictions alleged to exist in the Scriptures, all of which he found to disappear when subjected to a candid and attentive examination. The gross and illiberal manner in which most of the publications in question have been executed, seemed indeed to place them below the contempt of every gentleman and scholar; but we agree with the author, that nothing is beneath notice that is calculated to mislead the ignorant and unwary; besides which, *some* of the objections urged by the writers in question are so speciously expressed, or, to use a common phrase, so *well put*, that they really demanded considerable information and research to prove their falsehood. This remark may apply to the works of all writers of all ages. It would be easy, for example, to take up any Greek or Latin classic, and roundly to assert, with very little labour, and in half a dozen lines, that they contain certain gross mistakes, inconsistencies, and chronisms, &c. which charges even a good and ripe scholar might be days or weeks in satisfactorily disproving; and which the uneducated wretch, of course, be disposed to believe on the confident dictum of the assertor. Mr. Horne's labours, therefore, are not by any means superfluous; and we are glad to find, that while the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and other respected institutions, as well as individual clergymen and laics, have not thought it derogatory to their character to strike the poor against the insiduous wiles of writers whom it would stain our paper and

name, Mr. Horne has prepared a pamphlet for persons of education, and given to the world a new "Scholar's armor" against the attacks of modern infidelity. His first volume may indeed be considered the most comprehensive *Demonstration* of every fallacy in our language. In point of arrangement, it is far superior to the celebrated work of that name by the learned Blunt; and as far as well perceived, not a single objection of any importance which the perverse ingenuity of modern sceptics has been able to raise against the sacred writings, has escaped the author's vigilance, or remained unrefuted.

The variety and importance of the subjects discussed in the first volume have detained our attention so long on them, that we can offer only a very measured notice of the remainder of the work.

The second volume is divided into two parts. The first of these parts treats of sacred criticism, including an historical and critical account of the original languages of Scripture, and of the Cognate dialects;—an account, (with numerous fac-similes) of the principal Manuscripts of the Old and New Testaments; with bibliographical and critical Notices of the chief printed Editions; and of the divisions into chapters and verses; after which follow a History of ancient and modern Versions, and their Application to biblical Criticism and Interpretation; illustrated with fac-simile specimens of oriental versions executed at the Serampore press. In this part of the work, the history of the authorised English Version is particularly considered, and the literary character of its venerable translators satisfactorily vindicated against the cavils of some late writers. The benefit to be derived from Jewish and Rabbinical authors is next discussed, and the genuineness of some important statements of Josephus, the Jewish historian, ably vindicated. These discussions are followed by dissertations on the following list of topics:—1. On the various readings in the Sacred Text, with a digest of the chief critical Canons for weighing and applying them. 2. On the quotations from the Old Testament in the New, with new tables of the quotations at length, in Hebrew, Greek, and English; shewing, first, their relative agreement with the Hebrew and with the Septuagint; and, secondly, whether they are prophecies cited as literally fulfilled; or prophecies typically or spiritually fulfilled; or prophecies at once so modulated; or simple allusions to the Old Testament; and, 3. On the Poetry of the Hebrews; its construction, its nature, and its different species, with rules for understanding it. The recent publication of Mr. Jebb, entitled "Sacred Literature," being an application of the principles of Hebrew poetry to the New Testament, has enabled Mr. Horne to enrich this chapter with much new and interesting matter, not to be found in the first

edition of his work.* 4. On-Harmonies of the Scriptures, including remarks on the principles on which they should be constructed.

The second part of the volume is appropriated to the interpretation of Scripture; and comprehends—An investigation of its different senses, literal, spiritual, and typical, with rules for ascertaining and determining them;—the *signification of words and phrases*, with rules for investigating them;—*emphatic words*; rules for the investigation of emphases, and particularly of the Greek article;—subsidiary means for ascertaining the sense of Scripture, such as the analogy of languages, parallel passages, scholia, glossaries, the subject-matter, context, scope, historical circumstances, and Christian writers, both fathers and commentators.

The author next advances to an application of the preceding principles to the historical interpretation of the sense of Scripture;—the interpretation of its figurative language, comprehending the principles of interpretation of tropes, figures, allegories, parables, and proverbs;—the spiritual or mystical interpretation;—the *interpretation of prophecy, including rules for ascertaining the sense of the prophetic writings, observations on the accomplishment of prophecy in general, and especially of the predictions relative to the Messiah*;—the interpretation of the types; of the doctrinal and moral parts of Scripture; and of the promises and threatenings therein contained; and lastly, *the inferential and practical reading of the Sacred Writings*. The copious Appendix subjoined to this volume contains, among other valuable articles, bibliographical and critical notices of the principal grammars and lexicons of the Hebrew, Greek, and Cognate languages;—of the remarkable editions of the Septuagint Greek version of the Old Testament; of the principal writers on the criticism and interpretation of the Scriptures; and a select list of commentators and expositors of the Bible, with notices of their works.

Such are the contents of the second volume. All these chapters, the titles of which we have given in Italics, are pre-eminently valuable to biblical students; and particularly the

* We cannot let pass by this opportunity without strongly recommending Mr. Jebb's work to the study of all persons interested in biblical and philological pursuits. The learned author has indeed opened a new mine of "Sacred Literature," in which he has not only discovered much valuable ore himself, but enabled others to dig for more with abundant prospect of success. We are inclined to think he has, in some instances, pushed his system a little too far; but in the main, it rests on the substantial basis of sound criticism, and will prove a valuable subsidiary in the interpretation of the evangelical text. The literary and classical merits of the work, though great, are subordinate to the importance of its principal argument, which is to throw a new and interesting light on the structure and interpretation of the New Testament.

chapter on various readings, and that on the quotations from the Old Testament in the New. Indeed there is not a chapter or section in this volume which does not afford materials for selection. We are compelled, however, to restrict our extracts to a single passage relative to a subject which has greatly exercised the ingenuity, as it has divided the opinions of philosophers and critics; we mean the testimony of Josephus respecting our blessed Lord. Mr. Horne has brought forward the adverse opinions and arguments in a concise form, and, we think, with triumphant effect. Let our readers judge for themselves.

"The passage in question is as follows:

"Now there was about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man; for he performed many wonderful works. He was a teacher of such men as received the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him many of the Jews, and also many of the Gentiles. This man was the Christ. And when Pilate at the instigation of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross, those who had loved him from the first, did not cease to adhere to him. For he appeared to them alive again on the third day; the divine prophets having foretold these and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him. And the tribe of the Christians, so named from him, subsists to this time."

"This passage has already been given in Vol. I. p. 215, as a proof of the credibility of the New Testament history: it is repeated in this place, in order that it may be more conveniently subjected to the test of critical examination. The genuineness and credibility of this testimony have been questioned, on the ground that it is too favourable to be given by a Jew to Christ; and that, if Josephus did consider Jesus to be the Christ or expected Messiah of the Jews, he must have been a believer in him, in which case he would not have dispatched the miraculous history of the Saviour of the World in one short paragraph. When, however, the evidence on both sides is fairly weighed, we apprehend that it will be found to preponderate most decidedly in favour of the genuineness of this testimony of Josephus: for

"1. It is found in all the copies of Josephus's works, which are now extant, whether printed or manuscript; in a Hebrew translation preserved in the Vatican Library,† and in an Arabic Version preserved by the Maronites of Mount Libanus.

"2. It is cited by Eusebius, Jerome, Rufinus, Isidore of Pelusium, Saetemon, Cassiodorus, Nicephorus, and by many others, all of whom had indisputably seen various manuscripts, and of considerable antiquity.

"3. Josephus not only mentions with respect John the Baptist,‡ but also James the first bishop of Jerusalem.—'Ananus' (he says) 'assembled the Jewish Sanhedrin, and brought before it JAMES the

† Ant. Jud. lib. xiii. c. lib. § 2.

‡ Baronius (Annales Ecclesiastici, ad annum 134) relates that the passage in the Hebrew Translation of Josephus was marked with an obelus, which could only have been done by a Jew.

§ Ant. Jud. lib. xviii. c. v. § 2.

*Brother of Jesus who is called Christ, with some others, whom he delivered over to be stoned as infractors of the law.** This passage, the authenticity of which has never been disputed or suspected, contains an evident reference to what had already been related concerning Christ for why else should he describe James, — a man, of himself but little known, — as the brother of Jesus, if he had made no mention of Jesus before?

"4. It is highly improbable that Josephus, who has discussed with such minuteness the history of this period, — mentioned Judas of Galilee, Theudas, and the other obscure pretenders to the character of the Messiah, as well as John the Baptist and James the brother of Christ, — should have preserved the profoundest silence concerning Christ, whose name was at that time so celebrated among the Jews, and also among the Romans, two of whose historians (Suetonius and Tacitus) have distinctly taken notice of him. But, in all the writings of Josephus, not a hint occurs on the subject except the testimony in question.

"It is morally impossible that this passage either was or could be forged by Eusebius who first cited it, or by any other earlier writer. Had such a forgery been attempted, it would unquestionably have been detected by some of the acute and inveterate enemies of Christianity: for both Josephus and his works were so well received among the Romans, that he was enrolled a citizen of Rome, and had a statue erected to his memory. His writings were also admitted into the imperial library; the Romans may further be considered as the guardians of the integrity of his text; and the Jews, we may be assured, would use all diligence, to prevent any interpolation in favour of the Christian cause. Yet it cannot be discovered that any objection was ever made to this passage, by any of the opposers of the Christian faith in the early ages: their silence therefore concerning such a charge is a decisive proof that the passage is not a forgery. Indeed, the Christian cause is so far from needing any fraud to support it, that nothing could be more destructive to its interest, than a fraud so palpable and obtrusive.

"To this strong chain of evidence for the genuineness of Josephus's testimony, various objections have been made, of which the following are the principal:

"OBJECTION 1. *This passage was not cited by any early Christians before Eusebius, such as Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, or Origen; nor is it cited by Chrysostom or Photinus, who lived after his time.*

"ANSWER.—There is no strength in this negative argument against Eusebius, drawn from the silence of the antient fathers. The fathers did not cite the testimony of Josephus, 1. either because they had no copies of his works; or 2. because his testimony was foreign to the design which they had in writing; which was, to convince the Jews that Jesus was the Messiah, out of the Old Testament, and consequently they had no need of other evidence; or 3. because, on account

* Ant. Jud. lib. xx. c. viii. (ad. ix.) § 1.

of this very testimony, the evidence of Josephus was disregarded by the Jews themselves.

¶ *OBJECTION 2.* The passage in question interrupts the order of the narration, and is unlike the style of Josephus.

¶ *ANSWER.*—It is introduced naturally in the course of the historian's narrative, the order of which it does not disturb. It is introduced under the article of Pilate, and connected with two circumstances, which occasioned disturbances; and was not the putting of Jesus to death, and the continuance of the apostles and disciples after him, declaring his resurrection, another very considerable circumstance, which created very great disturbances? And though Josephus does not say this in express terms, yet he intimates it, by connecting it with the two causes of commotion, by giving so honourable a testimony to Jesus, and telling us that he was crucified at the instigation of the chief persons of the Jewish nation. It would scarcely have been decent in him, to have said more on this head. The following view of the connexion of the passage now under consideration, will confirm and illustrate the preceding remarks.

¶ In his Jewish antiquities (Book xviii. c. f.) he relates, in the first section, that Pilate introduced Caesar's images into Jerusalem, and that in consequence of this measure producing a tumult, he commanded them to be carried thence to Cæsarea. In the second section, he gives an account of Pilate's attempt to bring a current of water to Jerusalem; the expense of which he defrayed out of the sacred money: this also caused a tumult, in which a great number of Jews was slain. In the third section he relates that, about the same time Pilate crucified Jesus, who was called Christ, a wise and holy man: (§ 4.) about the same time also, he adds, another sad calamity put the Jews into disorder, which he promises to narrate after he had given an account of a most flagitious crime which was perpetrated at Rome in the temple of Isis: and after detailing all its circumstances he proceeds (§ 5.) agreeable to his promise, to describe the expulsion of the Jews from Rome, by the emperor Tiberius, in consequence of the villainous conduct of four of their countrymen. Such is the connexion of the whole chapter: and when it is fairly considered, we may safely challenge any one to say, whether the passage under consideration interrupts the order of the narration: on the contrary, if it be taken out, that connexion is irrecoverably broken. It is manifest, that Josephus relates events in the order in which they happened, and that they are connected together only by the time when they took place.

“With regard to the objection that the passage in question is unlike the style of Josephus, it is sufficient to reply in the quaint but expressive language of Huet, that *one egg is not more like another than in the style of this passage to the general style of his writings.* Objections from style are often fanciful, and Daubuz has proved, by actual collation, the perfect coincidence between its style and that of Josephus. *See his Dissertation p. 610 and to the objection, p. 122.* This passage has been inserted in the edition of Josephus by the learned Vernet, in his *Traité de la Vérité de la Religion Chrétienne* tome ii. pp. 165—221.

phus in other parts of his works.* This objection, therefore, falls to the ground.

“OBJECTION 3.—*The testimony of Josephus concerning Jesus could not possibly have been recorded by him: for he was not only a Jew, but also rigidly attached to the Jewish religion. The expressions are not those of a Jew, but of a Christian.*

“ANSWER.—Josephus was not so addicted to his own religion, as to approve the conduct and opinion of the Jews concerning Christ and his doctrine. From the moderation which pervades his whole narrative of the Jewish war, it may justly be inferred, that the fanatic fury which the chief men of his nation exercised against Christ, could not but have been displeasing to him. He has rendered that attestation to the innocence, sanctity, and miracles of Christ, which the fidelity of history required: nor does it follow that he was necessitated to renounce on this account the religion of his fathers. Either the common prejudices of the Jews, that their Messiah would be a victorious and temporal sovereign, or the indifference so prevalent in many towards controverted questions, might have been sufficient to prevent him from renouncing the religion in which he had been educated, and embracing a new one, the profession of which was attended with danger: or else, he might think himself at liberty to be either a Jew or a Christian, as the same God was worshipped in both systems of religion. On either of these suppositions, Josephus might have written every thing which this testimony contains; as will be evident from the following critical examination of the passage.

“The expression,—“*if it be lawful to call him a man,*”—does not imply that Josephus believed Christ to be God, but only an extraordinary man, one whose wisdom and works had raised him above the common condition of humanity. He represents him as having “*performed many wonderful works.*” In this there is nothing singular, for the Jews themselves, his contemporaries, acknowledge that he wrought many mighty works. Compare Matt. xiii. 54. xiv. 2, &c. and the parallel passages in the other Gospels. Josephus further says, that “*he was a teacher of such men as gladly received the truth with pleasure,*”—both because the moral precepts of Christ were such as Josephus approved, and also because the disciples of Christ were influenced by no other motive than the desire of discerning it. “*He drew over to him many, both Jews and Gentiles.*” How true this was, at the time when Josephus wrote, it is unnecessary to show. The phrase, “*This man was the Christ,*”—or rather, *Christ was this man*” (ὁ Χριστός αὗτος; *),—by no means intimates that Jesus was the Messiah, but only that he was the person called Christ both by the Christians and Romans; just as if we should say, “this was the same man as he named Christ.” Χριστός is not a doctrinal name, but a proper name. Jesus was a common name, and would not have sufficiently pointed out the person in-

* See Daubuz, Pro Testimonio Josephi de Jesu Christo, contra Tan. Fabrum et alios, (8vo. Lond. 1706.) pp. 128—205. The whole of this Dissertation is reprinted at the end of the second volume of Havercamp's edition of Josephus's works. Mr. Whiston has abridged the collation of Daubuz in *Dissertation I.* pp. v.—vii. prefixed to his translation of the Jewish historian, folio, London, 1737.

tended to the Greeks and Romans. The name, by which he was known to them, was *Chrestus*, or *Christus*, as we read in Suetonius and Tacitus; and if (as there is every reason to believe) Tacitus had read Josephus, he most probably took this very name from the Jewish historian. With regard to the resurrection of Christ, and the prophecies referring to him, Josephus rather speaks the language used by the Christians, than his own private opinion: or else he thought that Christ had appeared after his revival, and that the prophets had foretold this event,—a point which, if admitted, and if he had been consistent, ought to have induced him to embrace Christianity. But it will readily be imagined, that there might be many circumstances to prevent his becoming a proselyte; nor is it either new or wonderful that men, especially in their religious concerns, should contradict themselves and withstand the conviction of their own minds. It is certain that, in our own times, no one has spoken in higher terms concerning Christ, than M. Rousseau; who nevertheless, not only in his other writings, but also in the very work that contains the very eloquent eulogium alluded to, inveighs against Christianity with acrimony and rancour.*

“The whole of the evidence concerning the much litigated passage of Josephus is now before the reader; who, on considering it in all its bearings, will doubtless agree with the writer of these pages, that it is GENUINE, and consequently affords a noble testimony to the credibility of the facts related in the New Testament.” (Vol. ii. pp. 313—317.)

The third volume, comprised in four parts, contains a summary of biblical geography and antiquities. It is enriched throughout with very numerous illustrations of the sacred writings, drawn from the Greek and Latin classics, and from the researches of modern travellers. Many of those of the last class are quite new to biblical scholars, being taken from recent works; several of which, from their date, must have been published while this volume was actually passing through the press; so promptly has Mr. Horne availed himself of every new source of biblical information.

The following is a brief summary of the contents of this admirable epitome of biblical geography and antiquities:—Part I. contains an outline of THE HISTORICAL AND PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE HOLY LAND—including its name, boundaries, successive

* Appendix to the Life of Dr. Lardner, Nos. IX. and X. 4to. vol. v. pp. xlv.—cxlviii. Works, 8vo. vol. i. pp. clv.—cxlviii. Vernet, *Traité de la Vérité de la Religion Chrétienne*, tom. ix. pp. 1—336. Huet, *Demonstratio Evangelica*, Propositio III. vol. i. pp. 46—56. Bretschneider's *Capita Theologiae Judæorum Dogmaticæ*, c. *Flavii Josephi Scriptis collecta* (8vo. Lipsiæ 18) pp. 59—64. See also *Vindicia Flavianæ*, or a Vindication of the Testimony given by Josephus concerning our Saviour Jesus Christ. By Jacob Bryant, Esq. 8vo. London, 1780. Dr. John Jones has shown that Josephus has alluded to the spread of Christianity in other parts of his works; see his “Series of important Facts, demonstrating the Truth of the Christian Religion, drawn from the writings of its friends and enemies in the first and second centuries,” (8vo. London, 1820.) pp. 9—22. He considers the Jewish historian as a Christian.

political divisions, a topographical account of the city of Jerusalem, a description of Jewish climate, seasons, productions, deserts, &c. We shall exhibit to our readers an example of the success with which Mr. Horne has laid under contribution the ample stores of modern voyagers and travellers for the illustration of biblical literature. We allude to his elucidation of the horrors of the Great Desert traversed by the Israelites after their departure from Egypt. The passage will furnish a general specimen of the interesting manner in which he enriches his descriptions by new and entertaining, as well as highly apposite citations:—

“The vast *Desert of Arabia*, reaching from the eastern side of the Red Sea to the confines of the land of Canaan, in which the children of Israel sojourned after their departure from Egypt, is in the sacred writings particularly called **THE DESERT**; very numerous are the allusions made to it, and to the divine protection and support, which were extended to them during their migration. Moses, when recapitulating their various deliverances, terms this desert a *desert land and waste howling wilderness* (Deut. xxxii. 10.)—and *that great and terrible wilderness*, wherein were *scorpions and drought, where there was no water* (Deut. viii. 15.) The prophet Hosea describes it as a *land of great drought* (Hos. xiii. 5.) But the most minute description is that in Jer. ii. 6.—*a land of deserts and of pits, a land of drought, and of the shadow of death**, a *land that no man passed through, and where no man dwelt*. These characteristics of the desert, particularly the want of water, will account for the repeated murmurings of the Israelites both for food and water (especially the latter†): and the extremity of their sufferings is thus concisely but most emphatically pourtrayed by the psalmist. (cvii. 15.)‡

“*Hungry and thirsty, THEIR SOUL FAINTED in them.*

“In this our temperate climate, surrounded as we are with perpetual verdure and with every object that can delight the eye, we can scarcely conceive the horrors encountered by the hapless traveller when crossing the trackless sands, and exposed to all the ardours of a vertical sun. The most recent as well as the most graphic description of a desert (which admirably illustrates the passages above cited), is that given by the enterprising traveller M. Belzoni, whose researches have contributed so much to the elucidation of the sacred writings. Speaking of a desert crossed by him in Upper Egypt, on the western side of the Red Sea, and which is parallel with the great desert traversed by the Israelites

* This expression has exercised the ingenuity of commentators, whose opinions are recited by Mr. Harmer (Observations, vol. iv. pp. 115, 116), but the correctness of the prophetic description is confirmed by the existence of a similar desert in Persia. It is a tract of land broken into deep ravines, destitute of water, and of dreariness without example. The Persians have given to it the extraordinary but emphatic appellation of *Malak-el-Moutdereh*, or the *Valley of the Angel of Death*. (Mörner's Second Journey, p. 168.)

† See particularly Num. xx. 2—5. and xxi. 5.

‡ In the Christian Observer for 1810, pp. 1—9, there is a new and elegant version of the hundred and seventh psalm, accompanied with critical and explanatory notes, from the pen of Mr. Archdeacon Jebb.

as the water in the Nile of that country, he says, it is not fit to form a correct idea of wisdom, without having been in one. It is an endless plain of sand and stones, sometimes intermixed with mountains of all sizes and heights, without roads or shelter, without any sort of produce for food. The few scattered trees and shrubs of thorns, that only appear when the rainy season leaves some moisture, barely serve to feed wild animals, and a few birds. Every thing is left to nature; the wandering inhabitants do not care to cultivate even these few plants, and when there is no more of them in one place, they go to another. When these trees become old and lose their vegetation, the sun which constantly beams upon them, burns and reduces them to ashes. I have seen many of them entirely burnt. The other smaller plants have no sooner risen out of the earth than they are dried up, and all take the colour of straw, with the exception of the plant *harash*; this falls off before it is dry.

Generally speaking, in a desert, there are few springs of water, some of them at the distance of four, six, and eight days journey from one another, and not all of sweet water: on the contrary, it is generally salt or bitter, so that, if the thirsty traveller drinks of it, it increases his thirst, and he suffers more than before. But, when the calamity happens, that the next well, which is so anxiously sought for, is found dry, the misery of such a situation cannot be well described. The camels, which afford the only means of escape, are so thirsty, that they cannot proceed to another well; and, if the travellers kill them, to extract the little liquid which remains in their stomachs, they themselves cannot advance any farther. The situation must be dreadful, and admits of no resource. Many perish, victims of the most horrible thirst. At it then that the value of a cup of water is really felt. He that has a *zenzabia* of it is the richest of all. In such a case there is no distinction. If the master has none, the servant will not give it to him; for very few are the instances, where a man will voluntarily lose his life to save that of another, particularly in a caravan in the desert, where people are strangers to each other. *What a situation for a man, though a rich one; perhaps the owner of all the caravans! He is dying for a cup of water—no one gives it to him—he offers all he possesses—no one hears him—they are all dying—though by walking a few hours farther they might be saved. If the camels are lying down, and cannot be made to rise—no one has strength to walk—only he that has a glass of that precious liquor lives to walk a mile farther, and perhaps dies too. If the voyages on seas are dangerous, so are those in the deserts. At sea, the provisions very often fail; in the desert it is worse; at sea storms are met with; in the desert there cannot be a greater storm than to find a dry well;—at sea, one meets with pirates—we escape—we surrender—we die: in the desert they rob the traveller of all his property and water; they let him live perhaps, but what a life! to die the most barbarous and agonising death. In short, to be thirsty in a desert, without water, exposed to the burning sun without shelter, and no hopes of finding either, is the most terrible situation that a man can be placed in, and one of the greatest sufferings that a human being can sustain; the eyes grow inflamed; the tongue and lips swell; a hollow sound is heard.*

in the ears, which brings on deafness, and the brains appear to grow thick and inflamed;—all these feelings arise from the want of a little water. In the midst of all this misery the deceitful morasses appear before the traveller at no great distance, something like a lake or river of clear fresh water.* If perchance a traveller is not undeceived, he hastens his pace to reach it sooner; the more he advances towards it, the more it goes from him, till at last it vanishes entirely, and the deluded passenger often asks, where is the water he saw at no great distance? He can scarcely believe that he was so deceived; he protests that he saw the waves running before the wind, and the reflection of the high rocks in the water.

“ If unfortunately any one falls sick on the road, there is no alternative; he must endure the fatigue of travelling on a camel, which is troublesome even to healthy people, or he must be left behind on the sand, without any assistance, and remain so till a slow death come to relieve him. What horror! What a brutal proceeding to an unfortunate sick man! No one remains with him, not even his old and faithful servant; no one will stay and die with him, all pity his fate, but no one will be his companion.”†

“ The phenomenon, here described, is produced by a diminution of the density of the lower stratum of the atmosphere, which is caused by the increase of heat, arising from that communicated by the rays of the

* Terrific as the above description is, it is confirmed in most of its details by Quistus Curtius, who, describing the passage of Alexander the Great and his army across the deserts of Sogdiana, thus graphically delineates its horrors:—“ Amidst a dearth of water, despair of obtaining any kindled thirst before nature excited it. Throughout four hundred stadia not a drop of moisture springs. As soon as the fire of summer pervades the sands, every thing is dried up, as in a kiln always burning. *Steaming from the fervid expanse, which appears like a surface of sea, a cloudy vapour darkens the day.... The heat, which commences at dawn, exhausts the animal juices, blisters the skin, and causes internal inflammation. The soldiers sunk under depression of spirits caused by bodily debility.*” Quint. Curt. lib. vii. c. 5.

† Belzoni's Narrative of his Operations and Researches in Egypt, &c., (4to. London, 1820.) pp. 341—343. In another part of his volume, Mr. B. more particularly describes the *mirage* (for such is the appellation by which this phenomenon is now commonly known), in the following terms: “ It generally appears like a still lake, so unmoved by the wind, that every thing above is to be seen most distinctly reflected by it. If the wind agitate any of the plants that rise above the horizon of the mirage, the motion is seen perfectly at a great distance. If the traveller stand elevated much above the mirage, the apparent water seems less united and less deep; for, as the eyes look down upon it, there is not thickness enough in the vapour on the surface of the ground to conceal the earth from the sight; but, if the traveller be on a level with the horizon of the mirage, he cannot see through it, so that it appears to him clear water. By putting my head first to the ground, and then mounting a camel, the height of which from the ground might have been about ten feet at the most, I found a great difference in the appearance of the mirage. On approaching it, it becomes thinner, and appears as if agitated by the wind, like a field of ripe corn. It gradually vanishes, as the traveller approaches, and at last entirely disappears, when he is on the spot.” (p. 196.) Dr. Clarke has described the mirage, as it appeared to him on his journey to Rosetta, in 1801. (Travels, vol. iii. p. 371.) Similar descriptions, but none so full as that of Mr. Belzoni, may be seen in Elphinstone's Account of the kingdom of Cabul (p. 16. 4to. London, 1815.); Kinneir's Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire (p. 223, 4to. London, 1813); and in Lieut. Pottinger's Travels in Beloochistan and Sindh. (p. 185. 4to. London, 1816.)

sun to the sand with which this stratum is in immediate contact. This phenomenon existed in the great desert of Judæa, and is expressly alluded to by the sublime and elegant Isaiah, * when, predicting the blessings of the Messiah's spiritual kingdom, says:—

“The glowing sand † shall become a pool,

“And the thirsty soil bubbling springs.

“And it is not improbable that Jeremiah refers to the *serab* or mirage when, in pouring forth his complaint to God for mercies deferred, he says, *Wilt thou be altogether unto me as waters that be not sure* (marginal rendering of Jer. xv. 18), that is, *which have no reality*, as the Septuagint translators have rendered it, *ὕδωρ Ἰουδαίας οὐκ ἔστιν ἰσχυρὸν*.

“Frightful as the horrors of the deserts are, they are augmented beyond description, should the traveller be overtaken by one of those sand storms, which prevail during the dry seasons. Sometimes the high winds raise into the air thick clouds of dust and sand, which, descending like a shower of rain, most grievously annoy all among whom they fall, and penetrate the eyes, nostrils, ears, in short every part of the human frame that is exposed to it. At other times the sands are drifted into such heaps, that, if any storm of wind should arise, the track is lost, and whole caravans perish in the inhospitable wilderness. Such are the showers of *powder and dust*, with which Moses denounced that God would *s scourge* the disobedient Israelites, in Deut. xxviii. 24.” † (Vol. iii. pp. 53—57.)

The second part of this volume treats of THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS of the Jews and other nations mentioned in Scripture—including the *political state* of the Jews from the patriarchal times to the Babylonish captivity; under the Ashmonæan princes, the sovereigns of the Herodian family, and the Roman procurators;—the *Jewish courts of judicature*; the *principles of the criminal law of the Israelites*; their legal proceedings and punishments;—the *Roman judicature*; manner of trial, and treatment of prisoners, as mentioned in the New Testament—*crucifixion*, comprising a particular illustration of the circumstances attending the crucifixion of our Saviour—Jewish and Roman modes of computing time—tribute money—forms of making covenants and contracts; *military state* of the Jews and other nations—namely, the composition and discipline of their armies, their mode of warfare, their treatment of the conquered, and their military trophies and triumphs.

Part III. discusses THE ECCLESIASTICAL AND SACRED AFFAIRS of the Jews, and other nations incidentally mentioned in the Scriptures, arranged under the heads of *sacred places*—including

* Isa. xxy. 7. Bishop Lowth's translation.

† The phenomenon referred to by Isaiah, is termed by the Arabs, as well as by the Hebrews *serab* (סֶרָב); and to this day the Persians and Arabs make use of it, by an elegant metaphor, to express disappointed hope.

‡ Fragments Supplementary to Calmet's Dictionary, No. 112.

the tabernacle and its contents—the temple of Solomon and the second temple—the synagogues and their service:—*sacred persons*—comprising an account of the Jewish church and its members—the Levites, priests, high priests, prophets, Nazarites, Rechabites, and other persons consecrated by vows:—*sacred times and rites* observed by the Jews,—their ordinary worship, sacrifices, prayers, fasts, the Sabbath, and great annual festivals of the passover, day of pentecost, feast of tabernacles, day of atonement, feasts of Purim, and dedication of the second temple, the sabbatical year and year of jubilee;—*corruptions of religion among the Jews*—their idolatry, and Jewish sects—together with a description of the moral and religious state of the Jews at the time of our Saviour's advent.

Part IV. is appropriated to a consideration of the PRIVATE LIFE, MANNERS, CUSTOMS, MANUFACTURES, &c. of the Jews and other nations; including *marriages and nuptial ceremonies*—*divorces*—birth and education of children—*slaves, their condition and duties*—houses and furniture—dress—food and entertainments—private intercourse and forms of civility and politeness—mode of travelling—hospitality to strangers—studies, literature, sciences, and philosophy—*agriculture and rural economy*—manufactures—trade and navigation—festivities, theatrical and other amusements—diseases—art of medicine—*funeral rites and mourning for the dead*.

The appendix to this volume contains, in addition to chronological and other tables, a geographical index of the principal places mentioned in the Bible, especially in the New Testament, including an abstract of profane oriental history from the time of Solomon to the captivity, illustrative of the history of the Hebrews as referred to in the prophetic writings, and presenting historical notices of the Assyrian, Chaldee, Median, and Persian empires.

We fear we may have wearied our readers by these summary enumerations; but having undertaken to notice such a publication as the present, it seemed both unjust to the author, and unsatisfactory to those who wish to know what his work contains, not to present a brief outline of its principal features. We claim to ourselves the privilege of reviewing books and authors, either in the antiquated or in the modern manner; either as critics or as essayists; either making the book an apology for our own remarks, or making our remarks subservient to the book, as the case may require. In the present instance we have preferred analysing our author's volumes to writing a dissertation of our own; which, however, our readers are at liberty to conclude we could have done with admirable effect, if it had fallen in with our inclination.

If we do not transgress in the same manner till another equally exempt occasion presents itself, we shall probably not repeat our offence for many years to come; for, seriously speaking, we know not when we are likely again to see such a mass of valuable and multifarious biblical matter distilled into any single work. In the volume immediately before us, which the author modestly entitles only "A sketch of biblical geography and antiquities," it will be found that few, if any, essential topics connected with sacred antiquities have been omitted. In our enumeration of the contents of this volume, we have printed in italics the titles of several chapters which appeared to us peculiarly interesting and well-executed. We shall subjoin one passage as a specimen of the whole; and which must be our last quotation. The author is speaking of the discipline and military triumphs of the Romans.

"The strictest subordination and obedience were exacted of every Roman soldier. An allusion to this occurs in Matt. viii. 8, 9.; to understand which it is necessary to state a few particulars relative to the divisions of the Roman army. Their infantry were divided into three principal classes, the *Hastati*, the *Principes*, and the *Triarii*; each of which was composed of thirty *manipuli* or companies, and each manipulus contained two *centuries* or hundreds of men; over every company were placed two centurions, who however were very far from being *equal* in rank and honour though possessing the same office. The *triarii* and *principes* were esteemed the most honourable, and had their centurions elected *first*, and these took precedency of the centurions of the *Hastati*, who were elected *last*. The humble centurion, who besought the aid of the compassionate Redeemer, appears to have been of this last order. He was a *man under authority*, that is, of the *Principes* or *Triarii*, and had none *under* him but the hundred men, who appear to have been in a state of the strictest military subordination, as well as of loving subjection to him. *I am*, said the centurion, *a man under authority, having soldiers under me, and I say to this man, Go, and he goeth, and to another Come, and he cometh; and to my slave* (Τῷ δούλῳ μου), *Do this, and he doeth it*. The application of his argument, addressed to Christ, seems to be this:—If I, who am a person subject to the controul of others, yet have some so completely subject to myself, that I can say to one, *Come, and he cometh, &c.*, how much more then canst *thou* accomplish whatsoever thou wilt, being under no controul, and having all things under thy command.*

"There are two striking passages in Arrian's Discourses of Epictetus, which greatly illustrate this speech of the centurion:—Speaking of the Saturnalia, he says—'We agreed to play Agamemnon and Achilles. He who is appointed for Agamemnon says to me—'Go to Achilles, and force away Briseis.'—I go.—'Come.'—I come.'†—Again, discoursing on all things being under the divine inspection, he says:—

* Dr. A. Clarke on Matt. viii. 9.

† Arrian's Epictetus, book i. c. 25. § 1. (Mist. Carter's translation, vol. i. p. 2.)

"When God commands the plants to blossom, they bear blossoms. When he commands them to bear seed, they bear seed. When he commands them to bring forth fruit, they put forth their fruit. When he commands them to ripen, they grow ripe. When he commands them to fade and shed their leaves, and to remain inactive, and involved (or contracted) within themselves, they thus remain and are inactive." *

"Nor is the military subordination adverted to by the centurion without its (almost verbal) parallel in modern times in the East: Kirtee-Ramah, a captive Ghoorkha chief, who was marching to the British head-quarters,—on being interrogated concerning the motives that induced him to quit his native land, and enter into the service of the Rajah of Nepal,—replied in the following very impressive manner:—'*My master, the rajah, sent me: He says to his people,—to one, 'Go you to Gurwah!'; to another, 'Go you to Cashmere, or to any distant part.'*—*My Lord, thy slave OBEYS; it is DONE.*—None ever inquires into the reason of an order of the rajah." †

"In his epistle to Timothy, who appears to have been greatly dejected and dispirited by the opposition he met with, St. Paul animates him to fortitude, and among other directions encourages him to ENDURE HARDSHIP as a good soldier of Jesus Christ (2 Tim. ii. 3.)—and what hardship a Roman soldier supported, the following passage in Josephus will abundantly evince. It is the most striking commentary upon this text that ever was written. 'When they march out of their encampment, they advance in silence and in great decorum, each man keeping his proper rank just as in battle. Their infantry is armed with breast-plates and helmets, and they carry a sword on each side. The sword they wear on their left side is by far the longest, for that on the right is not above a span's length. That select body of infantry, which forms part of the general's life-guards, is armed with lances and bucklers, but the rest of the phalanx have a spear and a long shield, besides, which they bear a saw and a basket, a spade and a hatchet; they also carry with them a cord, a sickle, a chain, and provisions for three days; so that a Roman foot-soldier is but very little different from a BEAST OF BURDEN.' ‡

"It is well known that the Roman soldiers were not allowed to marry: by this prohibition the Roman providence, as much as possible, studying to keep their military disembarassed from the cares and dis-

* Arrian's *Epictetus*, book i. c. 14. *Raphelli Annotationes in Sacrum Scripturam*, ex Herodoto, &c. vol. i. pp. 242, 243.

† Fraser's *Notes on the Hills at the Foot of the Himala Mountains*, p. 226. London, 1820, 4to.

‡ Josephus, *De Bell. Jud.* lib. iii. c. 5. § 5: 'The following particulars collected from Roman authors, will confirm and illustrate the statements of Josephus:—'The load which a Roman soldier carried, is almost incredible (*Virg. Georg.* iii. 546. *Horat. Sat.* ii. 10.); victuals, (*cibaria*) for fifteen days (*Cic. Tusc.* ii. 15, 16.), sometimes more (*Liv. Epit.* 57.), usually corn, as being lighter, sometimes *arrost* food (*coctus cibus*, *Liv.* iii. 27), utensils, (*utensilia*, *ib.* 42.), a saw, a basket, a mattock, an axe, a hook, and leathern thong, a chain, a pot, &c. (*Liv.* xxviii. 45. *Horat. Epod.* ix. 13.), stakes, usually three or four; sometimes twelve (*Liv.* iii. 27); the whole amounting to sixty pounds weight, besides arms—for a Roman soldier considered these not as a burden but as a part of himself (*arma membra milites decébant. Cic. Tusc.* ii. 16).—*Adam's Roman Antiquities*, p. 377.

tractions of secular life. To this law the apostle refers: *no one that warreth, ENTANGLETH HIMSELF WITH THE AFFAIRS OF THIS LIFE, that he may please him who hath chosen him to be a soldier.* (2 Tim. ii. 4.)*

† The names of those who died or were cashiered for misconduct, were expunged from the muster-roll. To this custom, probably, the following text alludes: in this view the similitude is very striking, *I will not blot out his name out of the book of life.* (Rev. iii. 5.)†

‡ The triumphant advancement of the Christian religion through the world, St. Paul compares to the irresistible progress of a victorious army, before which every fortified place, and all opposition, how formidable soever, yielded and fell. (2 Cor. x. 4.) *For the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God ‡ to the pulling down of strong holds: casting down imaginations, and every thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ. § Having spoiled principalities and powers, he made a shew of them openly, triumphing over them.*

¶ By a very striking metaphor, taken from the pay of a soldier, he represents the wages with which sin rewards those who fight under her banners, to be certain and inevitable death. The WAGES || of sin is DEATH.

“Our Lord in that wonderful prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem, accurately represents the Roman manner of besieging and taking towns, —which was by investing the place, digging a deep trench round it, and encompassing it with a strong wall, to prevent escape, and consume the inhabitants by famine. *The days shall come upon thee that thine enemies shall cast a TRENCH about thee, and COMPASS thee ROUND, and keep thee in on every side: and shall lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee, and they shall not leave in thee one stone upon another; because thou knowest not the time of thy visitation.* (Luke xx. 42, 43.)

“In expatiating upon the difficulties and distresses with which the

* *Τῶς δὲ σπλινομένοις, ἐκτὸς γυναικὸς οὐκ εἰσέλθοις ἐκ γὰρ τὸν πόλεμον ἔχειν.* Dion Cassius, lib. ix. p. 961. Reimar. Tacitus speaking of some Roman veterans says: *Neque conjugis suscipiendis neque alendis liberis sueti.* Taciti Annales, tom ii. lib. xiv. cap. 27. p. 210. Dublin.

† It is however possible that this allusion may be drawn from civil life, in which case the meaning of the above-cited passage will be this:—As in states and cities, those who obtained freedom and fellowship were enrolled in the public registers, which enrolment was their title to the privileges of citizens; so the king of Heaven, of the new Jerusalem, engages to preserve in his register and enrolment, in the book of life, the names of those, who, like the faithful members of the church of Sardis, in a corrupted and supine society, shall preserve allegiance, and a faithful discharge of their Christian duties. He will own them as his fellow citizens, before men and angels. Compare Matt. xx. 32, Luke xii. 8. See also Psal. lxxix. 28. Ezek. xiii. 9. Exod. xxxiii. 33. Dan. xii. i. Mal. iii. 16. Luke x. 20. Dr. Woodhouse on the Apocalypse, p. 84.

‡ *Δυνατὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ*, exceeding powerful. Moses is called *αἰγιόχο* τοῦ Θεοῦ, exceeding beautiful, Acts viii. 20.

§ See the conquest of the Gospel and its triumph over idolatry in a very striking manner represented by Eusebius, lib. x. p. 468. Cantab.

|| Rom. vi. 23. *Οὐλοῦμα*, the pay of a soldier. *Οὐλοῦμα τῇ σπείλῃ.*—*καὶ οὐλοῦμα τῇ σπείλῃ.* Bringing money to pay the army. Dion Halicarn. tom. i. p. 568. Oxon. *Αὐτοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸ πᾶν τὸ ἐκ τῆς σπείλῃς.* p. 587.

first preachers of the Gospel conflicted, the apostle Paul in a strong figure compares their situation to that of an *army pent up in a narrow place—annoyed on every side—but not totally precluded from an escape**—their condition to the last degree *perplexed and wretched, yet not altogether desperate and forlorn.* (2 Cor. iv. 8.) *We are troubled on every side, yet not distressed; we are perplexed, but not in despair.*

“Once more, as among the other military honours and recompences, rich and splendid *crowns*,† frequently of *gold*, were publicly bestowed upon the illustrious conqueror, and upon every man, who, acting worthy the Roman name, had distinguished himself by his valour and his virtue—in allusion to *this* custom how beautiful and striking are those many passages of sacred Scripture, which represent Jesus Christ, before *angels* and the whole assembled *world*, acknowledging and applauding distinguished piety, and publicly conferring *crowns* of immortal *glory* upon persevering and victorious holiness. *Be thou faithful unto death; I will give thee a CROWN of life.* (Rev. ii. 10.) *Blessed is the man that endureth temptation; for when he is tried, he shall receive the CROWN of life* (James i. 12.), *which the Lord hath promised to them that love him. When the chief shepherd shall appear, ye shall receive a CROWN of glory that fadeth not away.* (1 Pet. v. 4.) *I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith: Henceforth there is laid up for me a CROWN of righteousness, which the Lord the righteous judge shall give me at that day: and not to me only, but unto ALL them also that love his appearing.* (2 Tim. iv. 8.)

“V. But the highest military honour that could be conferred in the Roman state was a *triumph*, or solemn procession, with which a victorious general and his army advanced through the city to the capitol; and which was the most grand and magnificent spectacle ever beheld in antient times. After a decisive battle gained, and the complete conquest of a kingdom, the most illustrious captives in war, kings, princes, and nobles, with their wives and children, to the perpetual infamy of this people, were, with the last dishonour and ignominy, led in fetters before the general's chariot, through the public streets of Rome; scaffolds being every where erected, the streets and public places crowded, and this barbarous and uncivilised nation all the while in the highest excesses of joy, and in the full fruition of a spectacle that was a reproach to humanity. Nor was only the † sovereign of large

* Εν παντί θλασόμενοι ἀλλ' οὐ συνωχρούμενοι.

† Σταφάνους ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις ἀνίχους—χρυσῶς ἐλαβε: He received several crowns of gold on account of his victories. Dion Cassius, lib. xlii. p. 334. edit. Reimar. Vid. etiam notas Fabricii ad loc. Τοῖς δὲ διὰ ναυμαχίας καὶ σφοδρῶς ἐλαβε δάμνη: To those who had conquered in the naval engagement he gave crowns of olive. Lib. xlix. p. 597. See also pp. 537. 580. So also Josephus says that Titus gave crowns of gold to those who had distinguished themselves in the siege of Jerusalem. *σφραγίσαντες ἀπὸ τοῦ χρυσοῦ.* Bel. Jud. lib. vii. p. 404. See also p. 412. Havercamp.

‡ Behind the children and their train walked Perseus himself [the captive king of Macedon], and wearing sandals of the fashion of his country. He had, the appearance of a man overwhelmed with terror, and whose reason almost staggered, under the load of his misfortunes. He was followed by a great number of friends and favourites, whose countenances were oppressed with sorrow, and who, by fixing their weeping eyes continually upon their prince, testified to the spectators,

and opulent kingdoms, the magnanimous hero * who had fought valiantly for his country and her liberties, the weak and tender son, born to an happier fate, and young children † insensible of their wretched condition, led in triumph; but vast numbers of waggons, full of rich furniture; statues, pictures, plate, vases, vests, of which they had stripped palaces and the houses of the great; and carts loaded with the arms they had taken from the enemy, and with the coin of the empires they had conquered, pillaged, and enslaved, preceded the triumphal car. On this most splendid occasion, imperial Rome was a scene of universal festivity: the temples were all thrown open, were adorned with garlands, and filled with clouds of incense and the richest perfumes: the spectators were clothed in white garments: hecatombs of victims were slain, and the most sumptuous entertainments were given. The illustrious captives, after having been dragged through the city in this procession, and thus publicly exposed, were generally imprisoned, frequently strangled and dispatched ‡ in dungeons, or sold for slaves. §—To several of these well-known circumstances, attending a *Roman triumph*, the sacred writers evidently allude in the following passages. In the first of which, Jesus Christ is represented as a great conqueror, who, after having totally vanquished and subjugated all the empires and kingdoms of false religion, and overturned the mighty establishments of *Judaism* and *Paganism*, supported by the great and powerful, celebrates a most magnificent TRIUMPH over them, leads them in procession, openly exposing them to the view of the WHOLE WORLD, as the captives of his omnipotence, and the trophies of his Gospel! Having spoiled principalities and powers; he made a show of them openly, triumphing over them! ||—The second passage, whose beautiful and striking imagery is taken from a *Roman triumph*, occurs 2 Cor. ii. Now thanks be unto God, who always causeth us to triumph in Christ, and maketh manifest the savour of his knowledge by us in every place. For we are unto God a sweet savour of Christ, in them that are saved, and

that it was his lot which they lamented, and that they were regardless of their own. Plutarchi Vitæ, in Emil. tom. ii. pp. 186, 187. Edit. Briani.

* Thus, at the conclusion of the second Punic war, the Numidian and Carthaginian captive generals were led in triumph. Appian tom. i. p. 58. edit. Tolli. Amst. 1670. Several kings, princes, and generals were also led in Pompey's triumph.

† Plutarch, in his account of the triumph of Emilins at the conquest of Macedonia, represents this tragical circumstance in a very affecting manner. The king's children were also led captive, and along with them a train of nurses, and tutors, and governors; all bathed in tears, stretching out their hands to the spectators, and teaching the children to entreat and supplicate their mercy. There were two boys and a girl, whose tender age rendered them insensible to the greatness of their calamity, and this their insensibility was the most affecting circumstance in their unhappy condition. Plutarch. Emil. tom. ii. p. 186. See also Appian, p. 417. edit. Amst. 1670.

‡ For example, Aristobolus king of the Jews, after having been exposed, and dragged through the city in Pompey's triumph, was, immediately after the procession was concluded, put to death. Tigranes, some time afterwards. Appian de Bellis Mithrid. p. 419. Amst. 1670. See also p. 403.

§ Longe plurimos captivos ex Hircaus ante currum duxit, quibus sub hasta venenata. Livy, lib. vi. p. 409. edit. Elz. 1634.

|| Quibus illi Gensericus, vocans, Leading them in triumph.

in them that perish : to the one we are a savour of death unto death ; and to the other, of life unto life. In this passage, God Almighty, in very striking sentiment and language, is represented as leading the Apostles in triumph * through the world, shewing them every where as the monuments of his grace and mercy, and by their means diffusing in every place the odour of the knowledge of God—in reference to a triumph, when all the temples were filled with fragrance, and the whole air breathed perfume : and the apostle, continuing the allusion, adds, that this odour would prove the means of the salvation of some, and destruction of others—as in a triumph, after the pomp and procession was concluded, some of the captives were put to death, others saved alive. † (Vol. iii. p. 222—228.)

The fourth volume, on which we can only touch in passing, is appropriated to an analysis of Scripture. It contains copious critical prefaces to all the canonical books, and synopses of their several contents arranged under the heads of *Title, Author, Date, Canonical Authority, Argument, Scope, Synopsis of Contents, and Style*, with occasional remarks on topics of peculiar difficulty as they occur. In drawing up these synopses, the author has presented as far as possible at one glance, a comprehensive view of the subjects contained in each book. We know not that any question of importance which has been agitated relative to any particular book, whether entirely or in part, has been overlooked. The results of the most learned inquiries of scholars of every age and school, are concentrated in this, and indeed in every other part of the work, divested of that excessive philological speculation and heterodox licentiousness, which characterize the writings of many modern biblical critics, particularly those of the German school. Would that all among

* Θριαμβευστι ημας, *Causeth us to triumph*; rather, *leadeth us about in triumph*. Θριαμβευσθη και ανηρθη. He was led in triumph and then put to death. Appian, p. 403. Amst. 1670. "The Greek word, θριαμβευστι which we render *causeth us to triumph*, properly signifies *to triumph over*, or *to lead in triumph*, as our translators themselves have rightly rendered it in another place, Coloss. ii. 15. And so the apostle's true meaning is plainly this: Now thanks be to God, who always triumpheth over us in Christ: *leading us about in triumph*, as it were in solemn procession. This yields a most congruous and beautiful sense of his words. And in order to display the force of his fine sentiment, in its full compass and extent, let it be observed, that when St. Paul represents himself and others, as being led about in triumph, like so many captives, by the prevailing power and efficacy of Gospel grace and truth, his words naturally imply and suggest three things worthy of particular notice and attention; namely, a contest, a victory, and an open shew of this victory." (Brekell's Discourses, pp. 141, 142.) "While God was leading about such men in triumph, he made them very serviceable and successful in promoting Christian knowledge in every place wherever they came." (Ibid. p. 151.)

† Brannings Compendium Antiquitatum Græcarum e profanis sacrarum, pp. 107—136; and his Appendix de Triumpho Romanorum, pp. 415—434; Lydiſ Diatriba de Triumpho Jesu Christi in Cruce, pp. 285—300; of this work intitled Florum Sparsio ad Historiam Passionis Jesu Christi (Dordrecht, 1672, 18mo.) & Harwood's Introduction to the New Testament, vol. ii. pp. 29—34, 47—55.

ourselves had escaped the infection! Would that all our learned editors and translators of continental theologians had been as cautious as Mr. Horne of importing rash and unwarrantable criticisms, to embarrass the mind of unfledged students, and to add to the triumphs of scepticism and infidelity. Would at least, that if they *must* bring over the bane, they had provided sufficient antidotes; and had suffered no sentiment to go forth to the world in any way connected with their name or authority, but such as they would conscientiously undertake to maintain as their own. It is, indeed, important that foreign biblical works containing much valuable matter, should be introduced to the British student; nor, is a translator expected to be responsible for all the offences of his principal; but where those offences are of a very grave character, an editor ought at least to intimate his disapprobation, and, if practicable, the grounds of it, either generally, or in the form of notes, in order that the unwary may not be deceived, nor the orthodox and conscientious distressed, by the rash speculations of such writers as those to whom we allude.

After the foregoing extracts and remarks, we need add no formal declaration of the high opinion we have formed of the character of these volumes. The first idea which they present to the mind is, that of the indefatigable industry and research of the author. The scheme of his work comprises almost every topic of biblical literature, and in filling up his outline he has not only every where concentrated the chief points connected with his subject, but what is of invaluable importance to theological students, he has under each head given an ample list of references to the best authors who have treated on the point under consideration. The work becomes, therefore, not only an excellent text-book, but a biblical dictionary and encyclopædia. We strongly recommend every divinity student to procure an interleaved copy, and to treasure up the chief contents of his daily reading, by means of extracts or references to a corresponding part of Mr. Horne's pages. Such a system pursued for years by our younger clergy, would not only tend to furnish them with interesting topics of study and meditation, and increase their respectability and efficiency in their profession, but would add greatly to the national stock of sound biblical learning, and to the reputation and usefulness of the national church. Opulent laymen could scarcely confer a greater benefit on a clergyman of restricted income, than by placing such a publication as the present on his empty shelves. The work has the superadded merit of being very cheap, considering that it contains an overflowing quantity of well-executed letter-press, with fourteen plates, besides numerous illustrative wood-cuts interspersed.

There is yet one point more which, in this age of theological warfare, we cannot mention without just encomium; we mean that exemption from party spirit which appears throughout the work. The author has evidently felt the responsibility of his undertaking, and has written every page with a salutary fear lest he should mislead himself or his reader, or should prejudice the cause of truth by an unhallowed infusion of human system and party predilection. The work is throughout as temperate and modest, as it is correct and learned; and we trust it will produce a most beneficial influence in turning the attention of the younger clergy in particular to the appropriate studies of their profession, and that the blessing of God will rest upon this and every other undertaking of the pious author.

ART. VI.—*Letters on the Importance, Duty, and Advantages of Early Rising, addressed to Heads of Families, the Man of Business, the Lover of Nature, the Student, and the Christian.* Third Edition. 12mo. Taylor and Hessey. London, 1820.

WHEN we first took up this little volume, we regarded it as among the many proofs by which the present epoch of literature is characterised, of improvement in authorship, considered as an art, independently of its connexion with the advancement of learning. We took it to be a fresh instance of the ramifications into which the craft and mystery of book-making is subdividing its subjects, in the same manner as other fabrics and manufactures multiply their minute and subordinate processes as they advance towards their perfection. We found also a parallel to these ethics of early-rising in the manner in which the young aspirants at the bar are propagating treatises on every relation, duty, dealing, business, practice, or pastime, to which the principles or adjudications of law can be supposed applicable, in the hope that in some twenty years the accidents of litigation may bring their law into practice, whether it be on horse-racing or hackney-coaches. After reading a few pages, however, we found ourselves mistaken. The subject accumulates dignity as it proceeds. The author has made good the promise implied in the title of his book, by proving the importance of the object for which it was written, to the several descriptions of persons to whom it is addressed.

The vehicle adopted by the author for his useful and interesting remarks, is a series of letters to the different members of a family with which he has been residing, among whom the practice of

lying long in bed appears to have obstructed the efficacy and utility of their many amiable characteristics and endowments. The head of this family is the man of business, much engaged in the negotiations of commerce, with a propensity to literature and tasteful pursuits, but unable to indulge it by the surrender of any part of that short interval into which the family practice of late rising had compressed the operative portion of the day. The arguments of the letter-writer, to induce his friend to enter upon a wiser and more beneficial course, are very judicious, and such as, we doubt not, will find their way to the conviction of many whose conscience must second these well-meant and well-executed efforts.

All that is wanting to the author, is a little more vivacity of manner. The subject, it is true, is of grave consequence to the characters of men, to individual usefulness, and to the right order and well-being of society; but its connexion with morality is not so immediate and direct as to invest it with the solemnity of a strictly ethical character. It is among those semi-moral subjects to which the Spectator's manner was so well adapted. A little raillery thrown into the style, would have mellowed and animated the didactical strain of the composition, and have seasoned it with a sort of urbanity by which it would have lost nothing of its cogency, and gained something in attraction and interest.

In these secondary topics of morality, truth is most successful and persuasive, when it plays amusively about the heart, *circum præcordia ludit*. The delicacy of Addison's touch, his gaiety of reproof, his courtesy of satire, his happy combinations of words, and familiar controul of imagery and illustration, with his varied intertexture of narration and admonition, rendered him a formidable antagonist to folly in all its shapes, and to all those habits which, if not in themselves decidedly vicious, are at least the handmaids of vice, and strew the path with flowers by which her votaries proceed to her temple.

The anonymous author of this little work has, however, probably taken the best course in following the bent of his own character and natural train of thought and expression, in his treatment of his subject. To assume the manner and style of another, is rarely a successful experiment, and as he appears to have felt the subject in its most extended connexion with our moral and religious obligations, and with a sensibility as to its consequences which such views would naturally produce in serious dispositions, we can neither be surprised nor displeased at the solemn character of his book. His apology for the grave style of his argument, is to be found in his matter, and in the solidity of the proofs

by which his charges are sustained against the practice to which he opposes himself.

From among these topics, we can select but two or three for special notice, trusting that this little treatise will be heard very generally and widely in its own behalf, as it cannot fail of being of essential service to the family into which it finds admission. It will do no little good, if it urge upon them only the following truth, that the difference between rising at five and at seven o'clock in the morning, for the space of forty years, supposing the person to go to bed at the same hour every night, is nearly equivalent to the addition of ten years to his life, to which passage, borrowed from Doddridge's Family Expositor, our author adds the following corollary: "Propose to them, that instead of gaining ten years, the same period be expunged; that it be given up to sleep and inaction; and you will convince them what a treasure may be acquired, and what a loss may be sustained."

We thought it a very sound observation of this writer, that lying late in bed induces *indecision of character*, for certainly there is no custom or habit which keeps a man so long in a fluctuating state of mind, balancing between duty and indulgence, self-accusation and self-surrender, determining and determining still, resolving and resolving only, too near the moment of exertion to slumber quietly, and yet morbidly pushing the moment from him till he sees the account swelled to hours against him. The reasons for early rising, peculiarly applying to the case of a man immersed in business, with a taste for elegant and intellectual pursuits, as the only means of gratifying his laudable inclinations, are very forcibly and ingeniously urged, as will appear by the following extract:—

"Your mercantile engagements completely absorb every minute of the day, and the pleasures of the family circle and social party generally occupy the evening. Where then can you look? If I point you to a part of your life which is spent in a manner that is useless—that is worse than useless—is prejudicial to your mind and destructive of your health, I shall not be asking too much of you, if I only solicit you for one week, to try the experiment which I would recommend. *Rise two hours earlier every morning.* Calculate this. It gives you fourteen hours in a week—an additional day—and your most sanguine wishes would be satisfied by one-seventh of your time being devoted to literary pursuits. I only fear that you have started at the thought of allowing them so much; if so, my dear friend, let me remind you, that after having given you the time, I accompany it the present with no stipulations,—it is your own; and you may use it as you please." —(P. 33, 34.)

To the lady of the house, who appears to be in the same de-

linquency with her husband, in respect to the waste of the morning hours, our author thus explicitly and pertinently addresses his useful lecture.

“The secret cause—(if it be right to style it so when writing to one to whom it has long been *revealed*, and in a great measure acted upon)—the secret cause of all that disorder and confusion which prevail in many families, is the want of a systematic arrangement, which will always correct and remove the evil. We often see a vast deal of bustle, an uninterrupted succession of exertions, and a continued round of occupations, and yet scarcely any thing appears to be effected: or, if done, it is so ill-timed and so out of place, that one would almost wish it had been left unattempted. It is the want of method and the want of time that occasion this. Plans are formed, but no thought is previously bestowed upon them, because the design is resolved upon when the execution is needed. And even when there does appear something like wisdom in the intention, some unexpected occurrence intervenes, some hinderance is presented, which disarranges every thing, and throws all into confusion.” (P. 41, 42.)

And again:

“I may perhaps have allotted too large a space of time for previous deliberation. You may tell me, that it requires no such forethought to manage the concerns of a family; and that I am recommending time to be spent in inactivity, which might be turned to much better advantage. You are probably right. But you cannot refuse to grant me, that the time which would be thus gained would enable you to get through the duties of the day, in a manner much more consistent with the principles of good order and proper arrangement. The activity of mind and body that is felt in the morning, would render your occupations much less irksome than they must often prove at a later period of the day. Those employments which succeeded would be conducted better, for however trifling some of them may appear, if they are worth doing at all, they are worth doing well. You will have set an example to your servants and domestics, which will produce an effect that entreaty or threats could never have obtained. Surely no servant would lie in bed when she knew that her mistress was up and active. A principle of shame would operate with all its force, and render her incapable of self-indulgence, when she would receive such a pointed practical reproof. You would provide for the casualties of the day: unexpected hindrances would not disarrange your plans: unlooked for interruptions would still leave you much time upon hand. And one great advantage would be the result. The surplus hours (ah! surplus hours!! my dear madam, for I must believe that you have affixed a few *mental* marks of exclamation after these words,) would afford an opportunity for intellectual improvement. Your favourite authors would again be read. The pursuits of your earlier days, before the cares of a family and the anxieties of a mother were known, would again be indulged in: and thus would you render yourself even still better qualified than at present for your favourite employment,—the instruction of your children.” (P. 43—46.)

Upon the whole, we incline to think that the letters to Mrs. G. the lady of the mansion, where our author had observed the neglect of his favourite maxim so prevalent, are the most interesting and important in the volume. In an age wherein the plan of nature, and it is not too much to say, of Providence, in the appointment to man of his periods of labour, refreshment, and repose, is traversed by a perverse artificial distribution of the twenty-four hours of the day, the remarks of this writer for bringing his female correspondent under better regulation, are a very valuable present to all our British mothers. The bracing and invigorating effort of early rising, both upon mind and body, is placed so convincingly before them, that if this book becomes, as it deserves to be, a very general manual in families where there is at least a principle and a tendency on the side of improvement in virtue and efficiency, we cannot but hope from it a real practical movement towards better things. We think, too, that the long train of maladies, called nervous, for want of a more accurate appellation, is rightly ascribed by our author to the immoderate portion of time which is usually spent in bed. In confirmation of some good reasoning of his own on this point, he quotes a passage from Robinson's *Morning Exercises* with which we were forcibly struck. "This tyrannical habit attacks life in its essential powers; it makes the blood forget its way, and creep lazily along the veins; it relaxes the fibres; unstrings the nerves; evaporates the animal spirits; and dens the soul; dulls the fancy; and subdues and stupifies man to such a degree, that he, the lord of the creation, hath no appetite for any thing in it."

Some of these letters are afterwards addressed to the daughter, and some to the son of the respectable persons with whom the author commenced his correspondence; and each set of letters convey arguments, respectively calculated to operate most persuasively and beneficially upon the parties to whom they are addressed. To the young lady, the lovely hues and fresh delights of morning scenery are set forth with eloquence and feeling. We will produce an example.

"Do you know what you lose, by spending those hours in sleep which might be devoted to the most pleasing and most substantial enjoyment? Only recollect the peculiar fascinations of the morning. Think upon the feelings which they are calculated to excite. Picture to yourself—(and if you imagine I have painted in too glowing colours, rise to-morrow and compare it with the reality, and if there be one tint too vivid, one touch too flattering, destroy the painting and forget the artist.)—picture to yourself a summer morning. The sun rising in all his native majesty, shedding his beams with a gentle influence, which, whilst it predicts their increasing power, teaches us

to value their present mildness. Every object as it catches the first rays of "the powerful king of day," appearing to smile at his approach. The lengthened shadows that shoot across the meadow, slowly diminishing as he advances. The clouds that seemed to check his early progress, gradually yielding to his growing might, and "illumed with fluid gold," disappearing amid "the kindling azure." The glistening dew-drops, "stars of morning," impearling every leaf. Vegetation clothed in a richer verdure, and the variegated flowers in livelier hues. The groves resounding with the melody of the feathered tribes, who appear susceptible of gratitude for the return of the opening day: whilst every animal is in motion, and seems to feel a new satisfaction in the exercise of its active powers and the revival of its capacities for enjoyment." (P. 76—78.)

In aid of these observations, many passages are produced from our poets, as to the merit of which, there may be a difference of opinion, (we cannot say we think the selection happy,) but they are such, as are not unlikely to please and interest the fair and the young. But among the strongest persuasives to those morning exercises and contemplations, the author of this sensible and pious little volume has not omitted the chief; but has made it his principal theme. He has dilated in a very pleasing manner in his letters to the young lady, upon the delightful recreation of tracing the footsteps of the Deity in his brilliant creation, when the morning sun rises from his chambers in the east to repeat his daily and appointed race. He reminds her, that the pleasures resulting from these observations, are increased ten-fold to the real Christian, "who is living up to the exalted privileges which he is permitted to enjoy, and leading a life of consistency with his Maker's will;"—he finds a fresh source of love, and a new spring of gratitude in every thing that surrounds him.

We cannot afford any more space for remarks on this little interesting and useful volume; but we should fail in our duty to the public, if we did not recommend every parent to make it one of the lecture books of his little family; and if he happen to have no time for the perusal of it himself, as his day is at present laid out, we can assure him that it will amply reward the effort, if he rises two hours earlier on the first morning after he has procured the book, to study and digest its contents.

Art. VII. — Elements of Political Economy. By James Mill, Esq. 8vo. Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy. London, 1821.

An elementary treatise on political economy has long been a desideratum in our literature. Mr. Mill has now supplied that deficiency; and he has supplied it in such a manner, as the degree and species of talent exhibited in his other writings would have led us to expect. His excellencies have been always of a rough and masculine nature; qualifying him rather for grappling vigorously with what is abstruse or complex, than for giving grace to what is obvious, or novelty to what is trite. His intellectual qualities are such as to render him a most effective expounder and powerful apostle of truth, but a weak and innoxious advocate of error. Though he may now and then deceive himself, he disdains to practise the arts by which error can be made generally acceptable. He is at all times ready to sacrifice every grace to extreme precision of ideas and language. His thoughts always present themselves in a strictly logical order, unblended with collateral topics, and unembarrassed with extraneous or ornamental matter. Such rigid self-denying habits of composition may have obstructed his full success in the department of history; but they are the very qualities which are most essential to him who undertakes to explain the principles of an abstract science. It is therefore matter of congratulation to all who feel an interest in the advancement of political economy, that Mr. Mill should have undertaken the task of presenting to the world a summary of the doctrines of that science, and of the proofs on which they rest. He has thus rendered a greater, though less showy service to the cause of knowledge, than if he had made a positive addition to our store of truths.

The state of a science depends on two things; the degree of perfection to which it has been brought, and the degree in which the knowledge of it is diffused throughout the community. Its general diffusion is intrinsically a positive good; since, if knowledge is valuable, the blessing should be spread as widely as possible: and, besides, it has a direct tendency to promote the discovery of new truths, by rendering a greater number of minds capable of intellectual pursuits, and giving them stronger motives to aspire to intellectual excellence. In many cases, indeed, and in political economy more than in any other, knowledge would be worth little, were there no hopes that the course of time will gradually lead to its general diffusion. The object of political economy is to explain the principles on which the progress of national wealth depends, and thereby to subvert the false and mischievous systems of legislation which have been hitherto

prevalent in the world, as well as to prevent the adoption of similar schemes for the future. How can it accomplish this noble end, till it finds admission into the understandings of the great body of the community? Of what avail is it, that its principles should be cherished by a few enlightened philosophers? It is not to such hands that the government of nations is entrusted. Nay, if by a lucky accident they or their partisans have possession of the reins of power, they will not dare to make their policy completely conformable to their opinions. Rulers can seldom venture to be wiser than those whom they govern. They must yield to popular conviction:—and that conviction is generally the result of partial views, of petty prejudices, and private feelings and interests. Till correct opinions on political economy be generally received, no government, however wise and upright, can avoid being occasionally driven into pernicious measures.

Unfortunately we have too ample proofs, that sound views on this important subject are still comparatively rare in our own country. Whether we turn our attention to the petitions from every quarter of the kingdom, with which the tables of the two houses of parliament have been loaded; or to the evidence produced before committees of the two houses respectively; or to the language lately held at county meetings; or to the extravagancies which we every day hear broached in conversation; what do we find, but rude, incoherent notions, believed and announced with all the confidence of blind unhesitating ignorance? If we look into our statute book, shall we be able to select, in the long course of past centuries, a single parliament which has not given the sanction of law to injurious measures, founded on maxims demonstratively false? Nay, if we raise our eyes to that which is most venerable among us—our bench of judicature,—we sometimes behold men endowed with the greatest talents, and raised by those talents to the highest dignities in the country, promulgating opinions which, for more than half a century, have been satisfactorily refuted. Facts like these clearly show that an able elementary treatise on political economy is much wanted among us. Such a treatise must contribute powerfully to disseminate correct principles and modes of thinking on the subject. It is indeed almost the only means in our power of counteracting the operation of some causes which have hitherto retarded, and always must, to a certain degree, retard the wide diffusion of the doctrines of this most important branch of knowledge.

Of these causes the principal undoubtedly is the extreme difficulty of the science. It deals not so much with single facts as with general results, which form themselves into long and numerous deductions connected with and modified by each other. Is

It is surprising, that we should find it difficult to trace back the complex phenomena of society to their simple elements, so as to determine the final effect of given circumstances amid the various co-operating or counteracting influences to which they are subject? The mind is bewildered by the multiplicity of operations, which go on and must be comprehended simultaneously; it is fatigued before it can reach the end of the long succession of consequences through which it must travel. It can rarely alleviate its labour by a reference to particular facts. The details of statistics have no more connexion with political economy, than a collection of anecdotes has with the philosophy of the human mind. Some of the most elaborate treatises on the science contain not one particular matter of fact; and where matters of fact are brought forward, it is for the purpose not so much of thence deducing principles, as of explaining them by principles previously established. Speculations, which thus require the constant exercise of abstraction and generalization, must make slow progress; because the intellectual talents requisite for the successful prosecution or even distinct comprehension of them, are of rare and laborious attainment.

The difficulty arising from the abstract nature of the doctrines and reasonings of political economy, is further increased by the very close connexion of every one of them with all the rest. Its principles have a greater mutual dependence, and form a more systematic whole, than those of any other department of moral or political philosophy. No part of it can be thoroughly comprehended, unless we have previously mastered, and can at any time take a bird's eye view of the whole science. Erroneous or indistinct conception on one point will spread mist and obscurity far around. If a single stitch is dropped, the whole texture becomes entangled. To acquire the knowledge of such a science demands a much more severe intellectual effort, than where doctrines are in a certain degree isolated, so that some of them may be comprehended, while others of them are neglected or only imperfectly conceived.

It is chiefly in consequence of the systematic character of the science, that its present imperfect state becomes likewise an obstacle to the diffusion of its truths. It is still far from maturity. It is tainted with errors; it exhibits many vacuities, that remain to be filled up. Its doctrines, therefore, have not yet that clear evidence, and do not give each other that complete mutual support, which belongs only to a perfect and compact system. The more a science approaches to perfection, the more easily does it make its way in the world; because there are fewer doubts and obscurities to impede its progress.

These circumstances could of themselves sufficiently account

for the slow diffusion of political economy: but their operation is rendered still more powerful by the little suspicion which the generality of men entertain, that its reasonings involve any thing peculiarly arduous or demand any preparatory discipline. As it treats of the affairs of daily life, and employs only common words, it has the appearance of being level with every man's capacity; and accordingly every man plunges into its speculations. The crude and ill-defined notions, which he may have previously formed, are adopted as principles: words are used with all the vagueness that talking without thinking is apt to generate: no order is followed: accident presses some particular topic on the attention; and a few misunderstood facts are framed into a superficial hypothesis. Private interest, too, interferes to aggravate the mischief. It is in times of partial or general distress, that most attention is given to the causes which affect the amount and distribution of national wealth. They who feel the distress most severely, expatiate on its causes the most earnestly. They form some scheme, by which they imagine that the inconveniences, under which they actually labour, might be removed or palliated; and to such a scheme they adapt the whole system of their belief. Thus the science is corrupted; and the very occasions which attract the public attention towards it, create at the same time a powerful obstacle to the diffusion of its genuine principles.

The mischief does not stop here. The patrons and concoctors of such crude and partial views never fail to raise a wild clamour against all who differ from them. Unable to defend themselves by reason, they rail against her dictates as vain and delusive theory. They, forsooth, are practical men, while their adversary is a mere dreamer, whose fine-spun arguments must shrink into nothing before solid practical knowledge. Most assuredly these practical philosophers are not theoretical: for a theory is a connected system of opinions, and their notions have no coherence, nothing systematic, nothing consistent; a theory is logically deduced from premises, and their doctrines, without evidence or apparent bases, are supposed to shine by their own intrinsic light. But, though not theoretical, they are the greatest of all dreamers: they are even unable to distinguish between matters of fact and their own most extravagant suppositions. It has often been remarked that in describing a disease, while a physician confines himself to an unadulterated statement of facts, an ignorant peasant unconsciously introduces a conjecture in almost every phrase. The observation is strikingly applicable to all the practical sectarians that are daily appearing and disappearing in political economy. Their whole language is metaphorical and hypothetical. An hypothesis lurks in every

sentence. If they confined themselves to facts, they would at the worst be harmless triflers: but they constantly launch out into the ocean of conjecture, and forthwith confound their own reveries with the occurrences of the real world. They know of no crime but reasoning. If they do not reason (and they are most wonderfully exempt from such a frailty), they are sure they can never err. Their fundamental maxim is, that the more a man has exercised his faculties, the less likely he is to discover the truth in abstruse matters; and that the more attention he devotes to an inquiry, the less is his chance of success. If you would trace any state of things upwards to its causes, or downwards to its effects, you must not consult men whose life has been in a great measure consecrated to such inquiries, and who have painfully collected all that can throw light on the subject, and have contemplated it in every point of view: no; you must lend a patient and submissive ear to the oracular responses of the farmer, whose knowledge is limited to the state of the adjacent market; or, of the manufacturer, whose thoughts never stray beyond the precincts of his own trade; or, perhaps, of a land-surveyor, who can tell you nothing beyond his mode of estimating rent in this or that district. Such men may be very good witnesses, but they are most incompetent judges. They may know particular facts, and we are willing to learn any such facts from them; but we can discern nothing in a narrow routine of life that qualifies a man for connecting events with general causes, much less can we discern in it any thing that gives him an exclusive right to faith and worship. Alas! what absurdity in political science has been hitherto devised, which has not sought favour and protection under the name of practical knowledge, and in the extremity of distress found shelter in that city of refuge for all who are powerful in asserting but weak in reasoning!

The class of practical men have thus impeded the progress of sound political philosophy in two ways: first, by the corruption which they have introduced into it; and, secondly, by the aversion from it which their clamour has excited in many sober minded persons. This aversion frequently manifests itself in conversation; and its effects may even be traced in some of our most popular periodical publications. In the present state of the world, however, it is vain to attempt to depreciate the science. The subjects of which it treats force themselves upon our attention: nor can any man live and think without adopting some opinions or other concerning them. We must be, and we are, political economists in spite of ourselves. The only option left to us is, whether we shall form our notions rashly, heedlessly, and incoherently, or with consistency and care.

They who have applied to the study of this science, have always felt the want of a work in which they might find a complete view of its doctrines. In this country (and it is only among us that it has been successfully cultivated), its principles have generally been sought and studied in the "Wealth of Nations." Far be it from us to diminish in any degree the veneration due to the name of Adam Smith. But, while we place him among the few great illuminators of the world, we have considerable doubts whether his work is fitted for general perusal, and whether it can be perused with much advantage, except by those whose minds have been disciplined by previous habits of reflection. There are several important points which Smith has explained either inaccurately or insufficiently. The doctrine of population, for instance, was not understood till after his death; and it is only within the last ten years that the true doctrine of rent has been explained. His notions on production, on capital, and on some parts of the theory of foreign trade, and of currency, were imperfect; nor was he always steady to them, such as they were. In short, he missed some fundamental truths, which are now known; and he occasionally deviated from his own principles. It is, however, the form, more than the matter of his work, which renders the "Wealth of Nations" objectionable as an introduction to the science which it unfolds. The doctrines are not presented in a natural order. Each topic is discussed with logical precision, but the succession of topics is not itself logical. It is, besides, encumbered with digressions and historical disquisitions, which, however valuable to the proficient, perplex the student, and prevent him from seeing the mutual bearings of the different parts of the science. There is no chapter of Adam Smith which will not impart delight and instruction to him who has mastered the difficulties of political economy: but the work is too vast for the comprehension of the uninitiated. Perhaps few books have been so much read and so little understood as the "Wealth of Nations."

The unfitness of Mr. Ricardo's treatise to serve as an introduction to this science is still more apparent. That work is intended rather to develop some new doctrines, than to exhibit a full view of the science. Sometimes Mr. Ricardo overloads the subject with explanation and illustration; at other times, he leaves it involved in much obscurity. His arrangement is rambling; his style, harsh and deficient in precision. Whatever be the merits of his work, it has few of those qualities which are most desirable in a treatise intended to serve as an introduction to an abstruse science.

Of all the works which preceded Mr. Mill's, that of Mr. Say was infinitely the best calculated to diffuse a general know-

ledge of the doctrines of political economy. Mr. Say's treatise was little known in England till within the last eight or nine years; it has never been in very general circulation, and it is only lately that a translation of it has been published. It cannot now be considered as representing the true state of the science. Mr. Say never proceeded farther than Adam Smith. He has corrected some vague expressions of that great writer, and pointed out some imperfections in his conceptions, and some inaccuracies in his applications of his own principles. But his amendments are rather those of a critic and a logician, than of a philosopher and a discoverer. Having studied Smith's writings most successfully, and imbibed their true spirit, he has expounded the doctrines of his master perspicuously, placed their evidence in a clear light, and, above all, given them a scientific order unbroken by the introduction of collateral or extraneous matter. That some of his fundamental notions are vaguely expressed, and some of his reasonings inconsistent with his own maxims, are trivial defects: for where is the writer who, in describing an extremely abstract subject, will not occasionally be unable to express with precision conceptions which he can scarcely keep steady before his mind; or who, in following out a long chain of consequences, will not sometimes suffer a link to drop? It is a more weighty objection to his work, that it does not comprise the whole of the science. The three great topics of population, capital, and rent, are discussed both imperfectly and inaccurately; and it is easy to see that the omission or imperfect explanation of these subjects must throw obscurity on many others. Still the merit of Say is great, and much benefit may be derived from the perusal of his treatise. He is the first, so far as we know, who exhibited the doctrines of political economy in an order approaching to that of their natural dependence; nor is there any work, in which these doctrines, so far as he has grasped them, are more perspicuously explained than in his. He is the only continental writer, to whom the science is at all indebted. In studying him we learn to comprehend Smith better than before. This is the praise of Mr. Say, and neither is the praise to him small, nor the benefit to the world inconsiderable.

The work now before us, considered as an institutional book, is, however, decidedly superior to all that have preceded it. It contains a more complete synopsis of the science—it exhibits the doctrines in a more natural as well as logical order—it states their evidence with greater brevity and precision—and it is unencumbered with collateral disquisitions. As a good elementary book is necessarily incapable of abridgment, we will not pretend to give any summary of Mr. Mill's reasonings. We have said

enough to show the difficulty and importance of the task which he has undertaken; all that we have to do further is to examine in what manner he has executed it.

An essential requisite in such a work is, that it contain all the leading doctrines of the science, and that it do not mix with them other truths, which, however valuable, are merely corollaries. The omission of a primary doctrine introduces obscurity; the want of something is felt, though we do not well know of what; and imperfect explanations are adopted to supply the deficiency. On the other hand, to raise truths of subordinate rank to a level with those in the first line, is scarcely less unfavourable to perspicuity, by disguising from us the real connexions of the ideas and their relative dependence. Mr. Mill has, with great success, avoided both of these defects. The reader will find, in his work, all the general principles which have hitherto been developed on any subject of political economy. "Interest" is the only topic which occurs to us as having been omitted: it ought to have followed immediately the consideration of the profits of capital. The size of the book, compared with the extent of the subject, is a sufficient proof that it is not loaded with superfluous matter.

In an elementary work, arrangement comprehends almost every merit. Upon the easy succession of steps, by which we are conducted from one idea to another, depends both the facility with which we acquire the science, and the tenacity with which we retain it when acquired, and the readiness with which we can at any moment apply it. The misplacing of a single principle interposes a double obstacle to our progress. Its absence where it ought to be, and its presence where it ought not to be, are alike perplexing. There we find a chasm which we cannot leap, and here a wall which we cannot climb. Arrangement extends to the succession of ideas in illustrating the different topics, as well as in the disposition of the topics themselves. In both respects, Mr. Mill's arrangement is perfect. The commodities, which constitute wealth, must be produced. When produced, they must be distributed in certain portions among the members of the community in the shape of wages, profit, or rent. They also pass, by exchange, from one hand to another; and this interchange depends on certain principles, and is followed by certain consequences. After they have been produced, distributed, and exchanged, they are at last consumed; and, in the doctrine of consumption, the theory of taxation will of course form an important subdivision. Such is the natural order of the science; and such is the method which Mr. Mill has adopted—his work being divided into four chapters, devoted respectively to the consideration of Production, Distribution, Interchange, and Consumption. This classification is nearly the same with that

which Mr. Say followed long ago. The chief difference between them is, that the French author has introduced, under the title *Production*, most of the topics which Mr. Mill places under the head of *Interchange*; and he has done so on the ground, that interchange is an encouragement to production. This reason is too refined. Consumption is no less necessary to production than interchange; so that Mr. Say might, on the same principle, have reduced the last of his three divisions; *Production, Distribution, Consumption*, under the first: nay, he might, on a like pretext, have gotten rid of the second also, and thus by refining on his arrangement have destroyed it altogether. The transactions and effects of interchange are, in their nature, essentially distinct from those which are directly involved in production, and as such should be considered apart. Mr. Mill's general classification of the science is therefore an improvement on that of Mr. Say. In the arrangement of the matter in the subordinate divisions, comprehended under each of the general heads, Mr. Mill's superiority to his predecessors is still more apparent.

We should recommend those who are not aware of the degree in which classification has been neglected even by able writers on this science, to compare the different orders followed by Mr. Ricardo and Mr. Mill in their respective works. Mr. Ricardo's treatise contains thirty-one chapters. The first and the twentieth are on value; the second, the twenty-fourth, and the thirty-first, on rent; the fourth and the thirtieth on price; the seventh is on foreign trade; the next ten chapters are on taxation (with the exception of one on tithes); the twenty-second and the twenty-fifth take us back to trade; and in the twenty-ninth we are again entangled in the doctrine of taxation. When subjects are discussed in this manner, scrap by scrap, however sound or original many of the views may be, there is not one reader in twenty who will not be more perplexed than instructed by the book.

The proper selection and arrangement of the doctrines in an elementary treatise facilitate wonderfully the task of setting forth shortly and clearly the evidence on which they rest; for, in all well-connected systems of truths, each seems to flow necessarily from those which precede it, and obscurity and intricacy can seldom arise, except either from the introduction of error, or from attempting to demonstrate a truth before the requisite premises or data have been obtained. Mr. Mill's readers will often be surprised to find, that the proof of doctrines, which they have probably been accustomed to regard as almost inaccessible to plain intellects, is neither tedious nor difficult to follow. Great mischief has been done in this science from the habit of substituting for direct positive proof partial views, which, at the most, could only show, that this or that proposition possessed a certain

degree of probability, or was reconcilable with certain facts. Mr. Mill does not encumber himself with such feeble auxiliaries. His proofs are peremptory. We will not say that they are always conclusive; but they are either conclusive or worth nothing at all. This is the general character of his reasoning. There are only a few cases, in which he has chosen to rest his cause upon indirect and dubious evidence; and it is somewhat curious that in these evidence of the best kind was within his reach. There is no stronger instance of this, than the basis on which he has chosen to place the doctrine of population. The following passage contains the grounds on which he assents, and calls for the assent of his readers, to Mr. Malthus' important proposition—that the natural tendency of the human species to increase is such, as would in a very short space of time double the numbers of any society.

“The females of those species of animals whose period and mode of gestation are similar to those of the female of our own species, and which bring forth one at a birth, are capable, when placed in the most favourable circumstances, of a birth every year, from the time when the power of producing begins till the time when it ends, omitting one year now and then, which, at the most, amounts to a very small proportion on the whole.

“The suckling of the infant, in the case of the female of the human species, if continued more than three months, has a tendency to postpone the epoch of conception beyond the period of a year. This, it is to be observed, is the only physiological peculiarity which authorizes an inference of any difference in the frequency of the births in the case of the female of the human species, and that of those other species to which we have referred.

“To reason correctly, we should make an allowance for that peculiarity. Let such ample allowance be made as will include all interruptions; let us say that one birth in two years is natural to the female of the human species. In Europe, to which we may at present confine our observations, the period of childbearing in women extends, from sixteen or seventeen, to forty-five, years of age. Let us make still more allowance, and say it extends only from twenty to forty years of age. In that period, at the great allowance of two years to one birth, there is time for ten births, which may be regarded as not more than the number natural to the female of the human species.

“Under favourable circumstances, the mortality among children is very small. Mortality among the children of very poor people is unavoidable, from want of necessary means of health. Among the children of people in easy circumstances, who know and practise the rules for the preservation of health, the mortality is small; and there can be no doubt, that, under more skilful modes of managing the food, and clothing, and air, and exercise, and education of children, even this mortality would be greatly diminished.

“We may conclude, therefore, that in the most favourable circum-

stances, ten births are the measure of fecundity in the female of the human species; and that, of the children born, a small proportion would die before the age of maturity. For occasional instances of barrenness, and for this small degree of mortality, let us make much more than the necessary allowance, a deduction of one-half, and say, that every human pair, united at an early age, commanding a full supply of every thing necessary for physical welfare, exempt from the necessity of oppressive labour, and sufficiently skilled to make the best use of their circumstances for preventing disease and mortality among themselves and their children, will, one with another, rear five children. If this is the case, it is needless to exhibit an accurate calculation, to show that population would double itself in some moderate portion of years. It is evident, at once, that it would double itself in a small number of years." (P. 31—33.)

Mr. Malthus' theory is so closely connected with the whole internal constitution of society, and has been so much misunderstood, so much misrepresented, so much vilified, that its friends ought to beware of placing it for a single moment on hollow and insecure ground. Yet here Mr. Mill makes it rest entirely on an assertion with respect to the physical constitution of women; and for that assertion he gives no reason, except an arbitrary, delusive, we had almost said ridiculous, analogy, taken from the brute creation. It may be true, that the generality of women, if married in early life, and placed in favourable circumstances, would have ten children. But this must be proved by showing that the fact is so; mere conjecture is worth nothing. Mr. Mill, at the same time that he rests his cause upon this broken reed, rejects the irresistible facts which proffer their aid:—"The statements," says he, "respecting the rate of procreation in different countries will be found to be either suppositions with respect to matters of fact, upon the conformity of which suppositions to any real matters of fact, we can have no assurance; or statements of facts of such a nature as prove nothing with regard to the points in dispute." Mr. Mill cannot have forgotten, that we have a numerous class of facts which show, that, in particular countries, and at particular times, the population has actually doubled itself in less than five-and-twenty years, or increased at a rate which would have doubled it in that period. This is direct proof of all that is necessary to the contested doctrine of population. The absolute power of multiplication in the human species is no doubt greater than could be deduced from any actual increase which is known to have taken place. But actual well attested increase proves as much as we want, and on such a subject there is no other legitimate evidence.

Having ascertained the rate at which population tends to increase, the proposition to be next established is, that the means of comfortable subsistence are not capable of a similar rate of

increase. The argument usually adduced to make out this point is extremely simple. As population increases food must be raised on inferior soils; and consequently, unless in so far as the inferior quality of the soil may be counteracted by improvements in the arts which provide the articles consumed by the labourer, equal quantities of labour successively applied to raise corn will produce, not equal, but successively diminishing quantities of food. Mr. Mill adopts a much more abstruse and less convincing line of argument. The situation of the labourer depends, as he conceives, on the rate at which capital increases; that is to say, on the rate at which savings of the annual produce of the country are accumulated: he endeavours to show, by moral considerations, that, in almost every variety of circumstances, the disposition to frugality is so feeble, that savings can be accumulated only very slowly; the rate of profit too is constantly becoming lower, so that the fund out of which savings are to be made is in a perpetual course of diminution; and consequently, the situation of the labourer necessarily tends towards deterioration. We might well question, whether Mr. Mill has succeeded in showing, that the propensity towards frugality is too rare and too feeble to permit the rapid accumulation of capital. When we look at the immense accumulation which has taken place in our own country within the last thirty years, in spite of the enormous amount of loans and taxes which have been consumed in the service of the public, we cannot help suspecting that so far as the accumulation of capital depends on individual frugality, it would increase much more rapidly than our author allows. We might further suggest, that the rate of profit on capital will not necessarily fall, unless the demand for the employment of capital does not keep pace with the increase of its disposable amount; and that even if profits should be lowered, yet a lower rate of profits on a greater amount of capital may produce a larger fund for savings than a higher rate of profit on a less capital. It is therefore clear, that Mr. Mill has here trusted to a long line of argument, in which there appear to be many weak points. We should even be disposed to question what he appears to take for granted as self-evident—that the funds applied in the maintenance of labour depend entirely on the amount of the savings. That which is saved may be such that it cannot be employed reproductively with advantage. To be so employed, it must be capable of putting in motion industry which will produce a value greater than its own. Now, what evidence is there, that every thing which is saved is necessarily capable of being immediately employed in the production of something which will be of superior value? And if all savings are not capable of being immediately so applied, is there not in every stage of society a limit set to the rate of accumulation,

totally independent of the propensity of man to lay up in store or to consume.

Savings do not become capital, unless they are employed reproductively; and it is the difficulty of finding modes of so applying them, not the strong inclination of man to spend all that he can obtain, that opposes a bar to the rapid accumulation of capital. Any plan, therefore, of increasing the capital of a country by an artificial diminution of the consumption, proceeds upon a supposition of very dubious truth. You may, by such means, diminish the amount of the unproductive consumption of the country, but you will not necessarily increase its productive consumption. The more probable result will be, either that the amount of annual production will be lessened, or that a proportion of the unproductive consumption will be shifted from one class of commodities to another. We are, therefore, not a little surprised that Mr. Mill should be inclined to look upon sumptuary laws as good in themselves, and to object to them chiefly on the ground of the difficulty of carrying them into effect.

"Such are the modes in which legislation can weaken the tendency in population to increase. It remains to inquire by what means it can strengthen the tendency in capital to increase. These are, also, direct and indirect. As the legislature, if skilful, has great power over the tastes of the community, it may contribute to render frugality fashionable, and expense disgraceful. The legislature may also produce that distribution of property which experience shows to be the most favourable to saving; but we have seen, that, even in this situation, the motive to saving produces no considerable effects. Sumptuary laws have been adopted in several countries. In this way the legislature has operated directly to increase the amount of savings. It would not, however, be easy to contrive sumptuary laws, the effect of which would be very considerable, without a minute and vexatious interference with the ordinary business of life." (P. 44, 45.)

The prosperity of a country depends on two things;—the amount of its annual consumption, and consequently of its annual production, and the greatness of the unproductive consumption in relation to the reproductive. The greater the annual production, and the less the quantity of labour which gives it, the more flourishing is the state of the country. Sumptuary laws, considered in a political, not a moral view, assume, that it is the duty of the legislator to diminish the unproductive consumption; in other words, to diminish that which the happiness of the world requires should be increased. They further assume, that to diminish the unproductive consumption is a certain means of increasing the reproductive. To both of these assumptions Mr. Mill, in his doctrine of capital, has paid too much deference.

There is another mode of forcing the accumulation of capital, which Mr. Mill has suggested, and of which he has examined the consequences with more minuteness than it deserves.

There is certainly one course by which the legislature might produce considerable effects upon the accumulation of capital; because it might lay hold of any portion which it pleased of the net produce of the year, and convert it into capital. We have only, therefore, to inquire in what manner this could be performed, and what effects it would produce.

The mode of taking whatever portion it might find expedient, is obvious and simple. An income tax, of the proper amount, would effectually answer the purpose.

The legislature might employ the capital thus forcibly created in one or other of two ways: it might lend it to be employed by others; or it might retain the employment in its own hands.

The simplest mode, perhaps, would be, to lend it to those manufacturers and capitalists who might apply for it, and could give security for the repayment. The interest of what was thus laid out in one year might be employed as capital the next. Every annual portion would thus make compound interest, and, so long as interest remained pretty high, would double itself in a small number of years. If wages appeared likely to fall, a higher income tax would be required. If wages rose higher than seemed to be necessary for the most desirable condition of the labourer, the income tax might be reduced." (P. 45, 46.)

Our author is far from recommending this plan. But we think that he might have gotten rid of it much more briefly than he does. Government might compel the payment of the tax; but it could not create facilities of employing what was thus forcibly accumulated in the production of commodities of increased value: and unless such facilities constantly existed, accumulation would be of no avail. It might depress and discourage reproductive industry, but could not promote it.

Exchangeable value, though in itself a very simple matter, has given occasion to many mysterious speculations, from which Mr. Mill has not always kept himself sufficiently remote. Value is merely a relative term. It directs the attention to two commodities, or parcels of commodities, and suggests the fact, that the one will be given in exchange for the other. This simple fact is all that is meant by value, and there is nothing recondite in either the word or the thing. If we inquire what are the circumstances which determine the proportions of different commodities respectively exchanged against one another, we shall find that they depend upon the relation between the supply and the demand. This relation will, no doubt, be strongly modified by the cost of production; and the cost of production must be greatly dependent on the quantity of labour employed in the production. Exchangeable value, supply, and demand, cost of pro-

duction, and quantity of labour necessary to production, are therefore closely connected with each other. But we object decidedly to all speculations which confound them together, and which identify them with one another, by pretending to resolve exchangeable value into the labour of production. Such speculations are entirely futile. They are, in fact, merely corruptions of language, for their whole merit consists in giving a novel and very recondite meaning to the word value, in order afterwards to confound this new meaning with the old. One of the steps in the process by which value is resolved into labour, it is worth while to examine; value is first resolved into cost of production: cost of production is made up of labour and capital: therefore, to complete the analysis, it is only requisite to trace up capital to labour.

"As all capital consists in commodities, it follows, of course, that the first capital must have been the result of pure labour. The first commodities could not be made by any commodities existing before them.

"But if the first commodities, and of course the first capital, were the result of pure labour, the value of this capital, the quantity of other commodities for which it would exchange, must have been estimated by labour. This is an immediate consequence of the proposition which we have just established, that where labour was the sole instrument of production, exchangeable value was determined by the quantity of labour which the production of the commodity required.

"If this be established, it is a necessary consequence, that the exchangeable value of all commodities is determined by quantity of labour." (P. 72, 73.)

Now this analysis is clearly defective. Let us grant, that the value of the capital is determined by the quantity of labour which produced it. The value of the commodity, to the preparation of which the capital has been applied, must be equal, not merely to the value of the capital, but to that value increased by an additional value equivalent to the usual rate of profit. This last portion of the value is not accounted for by Mr. Mill's analysis.

After all, do not such reasonings necessarily run in a vicious circle? Grant that the value of a commodity is to be estimated by the quantity of labour; what determines the value of that labour itself? Shall we measure *its* value by the commodities with which it is purchased, or by those which it produces? And in either case do we not fall back to the point from which we set out? Suppose for a moment that labour is made the measure of value. A commodity is produced by one quantity of labour, and is exchanged for a different (probably a greater) quantity of labour; which quantity shall we take as the measure of its exchangeable value—the quantity which created the com-

commodity, or the quantity which the commodity will purchase? The very term *exchangeable value* binds us down to the latter; Mr. Mill and Mr. Ricardo insist upon our preferring the former.

On this subject Mr. Mill has followed in the steps of Mr. Ricardo, who has certainly been eminently successful in perplexing both himself and his readers on the doctrine of value. There are two passages in Mr. Ricardo's work, to which we are glad to direct the attention of the students of political economy, because they place in a clear light the arbitrary nature of the notions which he has adopted.

"Adam Smith, who so accurately defined the original source of exchangeable value, and who was bound in consistency to maintain that all things become more or less valuable in proportion as more or less labour was bestowed on their production, has himself erected another standard measure of value, and speaks of things being more or less valuable, in proportion as they will exchange for more or less of this standard measure. Sometimes he speaks of corn, at other times of labour, as a standard measure; not the quantity of labour bestowed on the production of any object, but the quantity which it can command in the market: as if these were two equivalent expressions, and as if, because a man's labour had become doubly efficient, and he could therefore produce twice the quantity of a commodity, he would necessarily receive twice the former quantity in exchange for it." (Ricardo on the Principles of Political Economy, p. 5.)

"In the same country double the quantity of labour may be required to produce a given quantity of food and necessaries at one time, that may be necessary at another and a distant time; yet the labourer's reward may, possibly, be very little diminished. If the labourer's wages at the former period were a certain quantity of food and necessaries, he probably could not have subsisted, if that quantity had been reduced. Food and necessaries in this case will have risen 100 per cent., if estimated by the quantity of labour necessary to their production, while they will scarcely have increased in value, if measured by the quantity of labour for which they will exchange." (Ricardo, p. 8.)

These passages assert that the quantity of labour which produces a commodity is, or may be, widely different from the quantity of labour for which it will exchange in the market. If this be so, and if value is to be measured by labour, the latter quantity must be the standard, and not the former. To say that the value of a commodity estimated in labour is equal to a quantity of labour different from that for which it will exchange, is a plain contradiction in terms. Adam Smith may have been wrong in taking labour as an universal standard: but if labour is to have this honour conferred on it, he certainly is not mistaken in estimating value by the quantity of labour which an object can command in the market, and not by the quantity

of labour bestowed on its production. We should not have ventured to this subject at all, were it not for the errors and mysteries which, ever since the time of the French economists, have infatuated themselves into the science by means of vague notions attached to the phrase "exchangeable value."

On the important topic of the value of money, Mr. Mill is not true to his own notions of exchangeable value.

"It is not difficult to perceive, that it is the total quantity of the money in any country, which determines what portion of that quantity shall exchange for a certain portion of the goods or commodities of that country."

"If we suppose that all the goods of the country are on one side, all the money on the other, and that they are exchanged at once against one another, it is obvious that one-tenth, or one-hundredth, or any other part of the goods, will exchange against one-tenth, or any part of the whole of the money; and that this tenth, &c. will be a great quantity or small, exactly in proportion as the whole quantity of the money in the country is great or small. If this were the state of the facts, therefore, it is evident that the value of money would depend wholly upon the quantity of it."

"It will appear that the case is precisely the same in the actual state of the facts. The whole of the goods of a country are not exchanged at once against the whole of the money; the goods are exchanged in portions, often in very small portions, and at different times, during the course of the whole year. The same piece of money which is paid in one exchange to-day, may be paid in another exchange to-morrow. Some of the pieces will be employed in a great many exchanges, some in very few, and some, which happen to be hoarded, in none at all. There will, amid all these varieties, be a certain average number of exchanges, the same which, if all the pieces had performed an equal number, would have been performed by each; that average we may suppose to be any number we please; say, for example, ten. If each of the pieces of the money in the country perform ten purchases, that is exactly the same thing as if all the pieces were multiplied by ten, and performed only one purchase each. The value of all the goods in the country is equal to ten times the value of all the money; as each piece of the money is equal in value to that which it exchanges for, and as it performs ten different exchanges in a year." (P. 95, 96.)

He was bound to have maintained, that the value of money is regulated by the quantity of labour employed in producing it. It is of more importance to remark, that he has not proved the principle on which he proceeds. He supposes the whole of the money in the country (or, if each piece of money performs ten exchanges, ten times the whole of the money) to be equal in value to the whole of the commodities in it: and from this supposition it will doubtless follow, that other things remaining the

same, the value of money will vary inversely as its quantity. The truth of the doctrine, however, depends entirely on the accordance of the supposition with fact; and that accordance is by no means self-evident.

On the subject of the rate of profit, Mr. Mill has given a clear exposition of the doctrine which Mr. Ricardo, we believe, had the merit, or demerit, of first broaching.

"When any thing is to be divided wholly between two parties, that which regulates the share of one, regulates also, it is very evident, the share of the other; for whatever is withheld from the one, the other receives; whatever, therefore, increases the share of the one diminishes that of the other, and *vice versa*. We might, therefore, with equal propriety, it should seem, affirm that wages determine profits, or that profits determine wages; and, in framing our language, assume whichever we pleased, as the regulator or standard.

"As we have seen, however, that the proportion of the shares between the capitalist and labourer depends upon the relative abundance of population and capital, and that population, as compared with capital, has a tendency to superabound, the active principle of change is on the side of population, and constitutes a reason for considering population, and consequently wages, as the regulator.

"Wherefore, as the profits of stock depend upon the share which is received by its owners of the joint produce of labour and stock, profits of stock depend upon wages—rise as wages fall, and fall as wages rise." (P. 56, 57.)

The doctrine is clearly explained, but it does not seem to us to be proved. Though wages and profit make up the prime cost of production, it does not follow, that, as either rises, the other must fall. If wages rise, it must be in consequence of an increased demand for the commodity produced; that commodity will rise in value; and this increase of value will be a fund, perhaps more than sufficient to meet the charges of the additional wages. Mr. Mill and Mr. Ricardo (swayed probably by their notions on the subject of exchangeable value) suppose the value of an article to remain fixed, and that consequently the increase of one ingredient in the cost of production must be compensated by the diminution of some other ingredient. Why should we not hold, that the value is itself variable, and that the rise of one item in the prime cost will be followed by a rise in the value of the article, rather than by a diminution in any other item of the prime cost? It would even appear, that Mr. Mill ought to be led to this conclusion by his own principles. Exchangeable value, he says, is determined by the quantity of labour and capital: why, then, should it not increase, as the value of either of its component parts increases? The truth is, that the rate of profit on capital will rise or fall with the demand for capital, and we see nothing that can make the rise of that demand coin-

cident with a fall of wages, or a diminution of that demand coincident with a rise of wages. Though wages are high in America, the profits of stock are not lower than elsewhere. Wages are higher now than they were 50 years ago; yet, to judge from the rate of interest, the usual profits are not lower.

Another doctrine of Mr. Mill concerning profit, is, that the diminution of the rate of profit depends on the necessity of applying capital to the cultivation of fresh lands.

"When the demand arrives for such an additional quantity of corn as can only be produced by recourse to inferior lands, or fresh doses of capital on the same land with inferior returns, the cultivators, of course, demur to employ their capital less productively than before; the demand for corn, therefore, increases, without a proportional increase of supply. The exchangeable value of corn, by consequence, rises; and when it has risen to a certain height, the cultivator can obtain as high profits, by raising it under the necessity of a diminished produce, as are obtained by any other owners of stock.

"By this process his profits are not kept up to their former level, but all other profits are brought down to that to which he has been reduced. By the rise in the value of corn, the cost of maintaining labour is increased. A certain quantity of the necessaries of life must be consumed by the labourer, whether they cost little or much. When they cost more than they did before, his labour costs more than it did before; though the quantity of commodities which he consumes may remain precisely the same. His wages, therefore, must be considered as rising, though his real reward may not be increased." (P. 61.)

But though the gross produce of the application of a given quantity of capital be less, it is not a necessary consequence that the rate of profit should be lowered. The value of the produce may rise, or the portion of it assigned to the labourer may be diminished. In either case, the rate of profit may remain undiminished.

In these remarks on some of the doctrines contained in Mr. Mill's book, it is not our intention to affirm that he is mistaken. We merely wish to intimate, that on the points which we have mentioned, he does not clearly show his conclusions to be true. It is only in that part of the work which treats of capital, that we are harrassed by doubt or difficulty. In the remainder of it, and especially in the chapter on interchange, the reasonings are both perspicuous and concise. It is a work from which even he who has made considerable proficiency in the science may learn much. It will assist him in methodizing his opinions; it will point out to him connections which hitherto have probably escaped his notice; it will aid him in bringing his notions in complete review before the mind, and in taking from time to time a comprehensive survey of the science. To those who are unimbu'd with the principles of political economy, Mr. Mill's

work presents great facilities for the acquisition of most valuable knowledge. Political economy, however, let it be remembered, is a science made up not so much of facts as of reasonings; and the benefit to be derived from it consists less in the possession of particular truths or positive results, than in the formation of certain habits of reflection and consecutive thinking on a very intricate class of phenomena. The mere perusal of the book, therefore, will be of little avail. It must not only be read, but pondered again and again. It is not the words, but the principles, with all their connections and consequences, that must be impressed on the mind of the student. He will meet with difficulties; let him nevertheless pass on. As he becomes familiar with the more advanced principles of the science, new light will gradually diffuse itself around the maxims and reasonings which are placed first in its arrangements. We would say to him, as the great oracle of the law says to his readers, "And albeit the reader shall not at any one day (do what he can) reach to the meaning of our author, yet let him no way discourage himself, but proceed; for on some other day, in some other place, that doubt will be cleared."*

We cannot, however, promise with the same assurance, that in this science doubt will give way before assiduous study. The science itself is still imperfect, and must ever be so, till human affairs shall have gone through every variety of change, and experience shall no longer have new lessons to disclose to man. The course of events in the last eight years has revealed some circumstances with respect to the causes of national prosperity and distress which were not before suspected, and has suggested speculations which have produced important corrections of received principles. The necessary imperfection of the science, however, should inspire us not with aversion to it, but with caution and patience in the study of its doctrines; and should impress upon us, that the doubts and obscurities, with which that study is embarrassed, are to be charged, not to the account of the writer who expounds what is known or supposed to be known, but to the defects which belong to this most important branch of knowledge in its present state.

* Lord Coke's Preface to his First Institute. ~

been had on this subject, according to the account given in the title, as it is the case with the present work. **Part VII.—TRAVELS IN PALESTINE.** *Travels in Palestine, through the Countries of Bashan and Gilead, East of the River Jordan: including a Visit to the cities of Geraza and Gamala, in the Decapolis.* By J. S. Buckingham, Member of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, and of the Literary Societies of Madras and Bombay. 4to. London, 1821.

VARIOUS circumstances have concurred to impart a high degree of interest and importance to the geography of Palestine. As the cradle of our religion, and the scene of all that is venerable in holy writ—as the theatre of the most heroic exploits during the Jewish, the Roman, and the Saracenic wars—as a field, moistened with the best blood of our ancestors, in the wild and romantic age of the crusades; and even now, at the present hour, as a fair and lovely portion of the earth, still favoured with the dews of heaven, and blessed with the most benignant sky; it is impossible to regard it with indifference, or to refuse an attentive ear to those who detail the impressions which these objects have excited in them. On all these accounts, the learning and the researches of enterprising travellers have, from the eighth century to the present time, been directed to the elucidation of the moral and physical condition of the Holy Land.

“The itineraries of catholic devotees,” Mr. Buckingham justly remarks, “have furnished the most ample details regarding the sanctuaries and holy places; and the names of Phocas, Quaresmius, and Adrichomius, are associated with these early labours. The extended journeys of protestant scholars have enlarged our acquaintance with objects of more general enquiry, and the names of Maundrell, Shaw, and Pococke, stand pre-eminent among these. The profound researches of both English and French critics, have laid open all the stores of learning in illustration of the ancient geography of Judea; and the works of Reland and D’Anville, are monuments of erudition and sagacity that would do honour to any country, while the labours of very recent travellers would seem to close the circle of our enquiries, by the pictures which they have given of the general state of manners and the present aspect of the country, retaining still the freshness of their original colouring.”

“Yet among all those who have made the Holy Land the scene of their researches, there has not been one who did not conceive that he was able to correct and add to the labours of his predecessors, and, indeed, who did not really notice something of interest which had been disregarded before. It is thus that Dr. Clarke expresses his doubts and disbelief at every step, and attempts to refute, with indignation, authorities which travellers of every age had hitherto been accustomed to revere. And it is thus, too, that Chateaubriand con-

ferences, with all the frankness of disappointment, that after he had read some hundreds of volumes on the country, he was able to risk, they had given him no accurate conceptions of what he subsequently beheld for himself." (Pref. p. v, vi.)

Dissatisfied with the imperfect results of the labours of preceding travellers, and persuaded that he can add something new to our local acquaintance with the country of Judea and its interesting relations. Mr. Buckingham offers to the acceptance of the public, the elegant volume of which we are now to give some account to our readers. The circumstances on which he founds his claims to attention are detailed in a copious preface; from which we learn, that the desire of visiting distant regions, was, from infancy, the prominent wish of his heart. At the age of nine years, this rising spirit of adventure found its gratification in the profession assigned him. At that early age he was sent to sea; and in less than a year afterwards was taken prisoner by the Spaniards, and marched from Corunna through the finest parts of Spain and Portugal. The privations and hardships he endured served only to strengthen this infant passion, which was still further confirmed by a series of subsequent voyages to America, the Bahama Islands, and the West Indies. The Mediterranean next became the scene of his wanderings; and, animated with the hope of beholding the most celebrated countries of antiquity, he now applied himself with more than common ardour to the reading of every book within his reach, that was likely to extend his knowledge of the interesting countries by which he was on all sides surrounded. Unfavourable as the incessant duties and the hardy life of a sailor are to such studies, every moment that he could spare "from the vigilant watch, which squalls, and storms, and pirates, and more open enemies, constantly demanded," and from all the complicated claims which commerce and navigation forced on his attention, was given to study. Sicily, Malta, the continent of Greece, the islands of the Archipelago, the coasts of Asia Minor, and the gulph of Smyrna, gave him a foretaste of what was yet reserved for him to enjoy. Alexandria next received him into her port; and having seen the Pharos, the Catacombs, Cleopatra's Obelisk (now on its voyage to this country), and Pompey's Pillar; he ascended the Nile, 'with the *Odyssey* and *Télémaque* in either hand,' and penetrated into Nubia, whence he returned rich in the spoils of enterprise, consisting of measured plans and pretty ample details of all the monuments of antiquity which he had found in the temples of Daboot, of Tasefa, and Galabshée, the quarries and inscriptions of Garteasy, the stupendous cavern with its alley of sphinxes, and colossal statues at Garteasy, and also

highly finished sculptures of the beautiful temple of Edfou. Of all these monuments of Nubian antiquity, which he was induced to consider as belonging to a higher class of art than even those of Egypt, he was robbed on his return, in attempting to cross the desert. At length he reached Giza; and during his second residence there, he applied himself with renewed zeal to the study of the Arabic language; after making a progress in which, he assumed the dress of an Egyptian Fellah; crossed the desert of Suez to examine its port; returned by a more northern route to explore the traces of the ancient canal, which had connected the Nile with the Arabian Gulph; visited Bubastis, Tanis, and other celebrated ruins, with the lake of Menzaleh in the Lower Egypt; crossed from Damietta along the edge of the Delta to Rosetta; and at length returned to Alexandria. Having resumed his study of the Arabic language for some time, he again quitted that city for Cairo; whence he set out, disguised as a Mamlouk, and, associating with the soldiery, accompanied a caravan of five thousand camels and about fifty thousand pilgrims, for Mecca. The vessel, in which he embarked at Suez, was upset in a squall, and nearly foundered: and our enterprising traveller narrowly escaped with the loss of all that he possessed except his papers. At Jedda, whither he was carried ashore, too ill to prosecute his journey to Mecca, he was hospitably received on board a ship under English colours, which had arrived there from India. Through the kind and friendly attentions of her commander, Captain Boog, his health recovered rapidly: with him he sailed to Bombay; and after residing in India for several months, he again returned to Egypt by the same channel. He landed at Mokha, whence he made his passage up the Red Sea in native vessels, touching at every port and creek in his way from Babel-Mandel to Suez. His second stay in Egypt was very short: for, the 'mercantile community of India' being desirous of having some more explicit assurances of protection than they had yet received from the native government of Egypt; a treaty of commerce was concluded between Mohammed Ali Pasha, for himself, the British Consul, for the British subjects in Egypt, and Mr. Buckingham on behalf of his Indian friends. Of this treaty, our traveller was requested to become the bearer: and as the Red Sea was then shut by the prevalence of southerly winds, he took the route by Syria and Mesopotamia.

At this period, the travels, announced in the present volume, commenced: and the preceding abstract of his introductory narrative, as well as every page of his elegant and interesting volume, will shew that he undertook them, possessed of that *ardour in the pursuit of inquiry, that fortitude of mind, physical*

strength, competent knowledge of their native languages, and above all, that intimate acquaintance with the national habits and religion of the people with whom he was about to associate; and that capacity of adapting himself to foreign manners, which are so essential to those who wish to explore a country lying unhappily under the dominion of the Turks.

Mr. Buckingham embarked at Alexandria, on the 25th of December, 1815, on board a *shuktoor*, a three-masted vessel peculiar to the navigation of the Syrian coast, about thirty feet in length, by fifteen in its extreme breadth, and about forty tons burthen. The captain and his crew, altogether ten in number, were Syrian Arabs, professing the Greek religion, unskilful in the management of their vessel, and utterly ignorant of navigation. After a tedious and perilous voyage of thirteen days, the circumstances of which it is not necessary to detail, the vessel entered in safety the harbour of Soor, the ancient Tyre, whence he determined to prosecute his journey by land. Of the present state of this proud mart of antiquity, whose resources of wealth and power are enumerated with so much eloquence by the prophet when proclaiming its destined fall—*whose merchants were princes—whose traffickers were the honourable of the earth*—(Isaiah xxiii. 8.)—we have the following interesting particulars:—

“The town of Soor is situated at the extremity of a sandy peninsula, extending out to the north-west for about a mile from the line of the main coast. The breadth of the isthmus is about one-third of its length; and at its outer point, the land on which the town itself stands becomes wider, stretching itself nearly in right angles to the narrow neck which joins it to the main, and extending to the north-east and south-west for about a third of a mile in each direction. The whole space which the town occupies may be, therefore, about a mile in length, and half a mile in breadth, measuring from the sea to its inland gate.

“It has all the appearance of having been once an island, and at some distant period was, perhaps, of greater extent in length than at present, as from its north-east end extends a range of fragments of former buildings, beaten down and now broken over by the waves of the sea. Its south-western extreme is of natural rock, as well as all its edge facing outward to the sea; and the soil of its central parts, where it is visible by being free of buildings, is of a sandy nature.

“While this small island preserved its original character, in being detached from the continent by a strait of nearly half a mile in breadth, no situation could be more favourable for maritime consequence; and with so excellent a port as this strait must have afforded to the small trading vessels of ancient days, a city built on it might in time have attained the high degree of splendour and opulence attributed to Tyre, of which it is thought to be the site.” (P. 93, 94.)

“On approaching the modern Soor, whether from the sea, from the hills, from the north, or from the south, its appearance has nothing of

magnificence. The island on which it stands is as low as the isthmus which connects it to the main land, and, like this, all its unoccupied parts present a sandy and barren soil. The monotony of its grey and flat-roofed buildings is relieved only by the minaret of one mosque with two low domes near it, the ruins of an old Christian church, the square tower without, the town to the southward or south-east of it, and a few date-trees scattered here and there among the houses.

"On entering the town, it is discovered to have been walled; the portion toward the isthmus still remaining, and being entered by a humble gate, while that on the north side is broken down, showing only detached fragments of circular towers greatly dilapidated. These walls, both from their confined extent and style of building, would seem to be of less antiquity than those which encompassed Tyrus in the days of its highest splendour, as they do not enclose a space of more than two miles in extent, and are of ordinary workmanship. They do not reach beyond the precincts of the present town, thus shutting out all the range to the northward of the harbour, which appears to be composed of the ruins of former buildings. The tower to the south-east is not more than fifty feet square and about the same height. It is turretted on the top, and has small windows and loopholes on each of its sides. A flight of steps leads up to it from without, and its whole appearance is much like that of the Saracenic buildings in the neighbourhood of Cairo.

"At the present time the town of Soor contains about eight hundred substantial stone-built dwellings, mostly having courts, wells, and various conveniencies attached to them, besides other smaller habitations for the poor. There are, within the walls, one mosque, three Christian churches, a bath, and three bazars. The inhabitants are at the lowest computation from five to eight thousand, three-fourths of which are Arab Catholics, and the remainder Arab Moslems and Turks." (P. 47, 48.)

During the fair season, that is, from April to November, the port of Soor is frequented by vessels from the Greek islands, the coasts of Asia Minor, and Egypt, and a considerable trade is carried on in all the productions of those parts; Soor being one of the marts of supply for Damascus, for which its local situation is now, as it formerly was, extremely eligible. The mercantile people are chiefly Christians, whose dress resembled that of the same class in Cairo: the women were habited partly after the Egyptian and partly after the Turkish fashion. In the court of the house where our traveller lodged, he observed a female divested of her outer robes. "Her garments," he says,

"Then appeared to resemble those of the Jewish women in Turkey and Egypt: the face and bosom were exposed to view, and the waist was girt with a broad girdle fastened by massy silver clasps. This woman, who was a Christian, wore also on her head a hollow silver horn, rearing itself upwards obliquely from her forehead, being four or five inches in diameter at the root, and pointed at its extreme; and

her ears, her neck, and her arms, were laden with rings, chains, and bracelets.

"The first peculiarity reminded me very forcibly of the expression of the Psalmist: 'Lift not up thine horn on high, speak not with a stiff neck.' All the horns of the wicked will I cut off, but the horns of the righteous shall be exalted:' similar illustrations of which Bruce had also found in Abyssinia, in the silver horns of warriors and distinguished men. The last recalled to my memory with equal readiness, the species of wealth which the chosen Israelites were commanded to borrow from the Egyptians, at the time of their departure from among them; and of the spoils taken in their wars with the Canaanites whom they dispossessed, when it is stated that many shekels of silver and of gold were produced on melting down the bracelets, the earrings, and other ornaments of the women and children whom they had made captive. Most of the women that we saw wore also silver bells, or other appendages of precious metals, suspended by silken cords to the hair of the head, and large high wooden pattens, which gave them altogether a very singular appearance." (P. 49, 50.)

As the state of the country rendered it necessary to Mr. Buckingham's personal security that he should have a firman from the Pasha of Acre, he went thither by the common route, which has so often been described by preceding travellers, as to render any notice of it unnecessary. On his arrival at Acre, he found that Suliman Pasha, the second successor of the celebrated Djazzar, had departed thence early on the morning of the preceding day, with a large body of troops, to secure the possession of the districts of Galilee, Samaria, and all Judea to the southward; while one of his confidential officers had previously marched with another body towards Damascus (the pasha of which had lately died), in order to prepare the way for his master's entrance. As it was known that Suliman would make his first halt at Jerusalem, after securing possession of its neighbourhood, the English consul recommended that our author should proceed thither, and obtain from his hand the only protection under which he could now safely travel. While he was detained at Acre, Mr. Buckingham employed his unwilling leisure in embodying such observations on it as he had been able to make, together with the information which he had obtained respecting that place, from those who had been long resident there. In our review of Dr. Clarke's *Travels in the Levant*,* we gave some curious anecdotes of the character and conduct of the tyrant Djazzar, who then held the pashalik of Acre: we now subjoin a few particulars respecting the actual state of this once celebrated city, the Accho of the Scriptures, (Judg. i. 31.) as well as of its modern inhabitants, who have

* See Dr. Clarke's *Travels in the Levant*, pp. 120, 121.

changed the Greek name of *Ptolemais* for its original Hebrew name, *Accho*.

"The town of Acre is seated on the extremity of a plain on the edge of the sea-shore, and nearly at the bottom of a bay formed by the promontory of Mount Carmel on the south-west, and the skirts of the plain itself on the north-east. This bay, from the cape to the city, may be about ten miles across; from the extremity of the cape to the bottom of the bay, on the south-east, more than half that distance; but from the bottom of the bay to the town of Acre, on the north-west, scarcely more than two miles in length, which is widely different from the most modern maps, where the bay is made to extend at least ten miles inland to the south-east of the town.

"In fair weather the bay itself might offer a roadstead for large ships, but it could not be safely frequented by them in winter; and the port, which is a small shallow basin behind a ruined mole, is scarcely capable of affording shelter to a dozen boats moored head and stern in a tier. Vessels coming on the coast, therefore, either to load or discharge, generally visit the road of Caïpha, a place of anchorage within the bay at the foot of Mount Carmel, near which the river Kishon discharges itself into the sea. A vessel from Trieste was loading a cargo of cotton there, shipped by the British consul, the captain of which ship was of our party on the preceding evening.

"This city rose to higher consequence under the liberal auspices of the first Ptolemy, who, after enlarging and beautifying it, honoured it with his name. In after ages, it became a warmly contested port between the crusaders and the Saracens; was long possessed by the former, and adorned with cathedral churches, and other public works; and after passing from the Christians to the Mohammedans, and from the Mohammedans to the Christians again, it fell at length under the power of the Arabs, after a long and bloody siege. It is said to have been then laid utterly waste, in revenge for the blood it had cost its besiegers; after which, in the emphatic language of one of the most eloquent of our historians, 'a mournful and solitary silence prevailed along the coast which had so long resounded with the world's debate.' " (P. 71—78.)

At length it fell under the dominion of the late Djezzar Pasha, under whose government, and that of his successors, Ismael and Suliman, it has risen again from its ashes; and, since the period of the celebrated conflict between the English under Sir Sydney Smith, and the French under the late General Buonaparte, it has been strengthened, beautified, and improved. Few vestiges, however, are to be seen of Greek, Roman, Saracenic, or Christian edifices: even the three Gothic arches mentioned by Dr. Clarke,* and called by the English sailors, 'King Richard's palace,' have been razed to the ground; so that the very sites of all these monuments of early days will soon become matter of uncertainty

and dispute. The interior of the town presents a mixture of the gaudy and the miserable, the ill-contrived and the useful; in which, however, the latter may be said to prevail. The amount of population is not stated by Mr. Buckingham, but he describes the 'stationary inhabitants' as composed one half of Mohammedans, in equal portions of Arabs and Turks; one-fourth of Christians, including all their different persuasions, and the remaining fourth of Jews, whose chief priest, Mallim Haim, claims to be descended in the right line from Aaron, but who enjoys the still more substantial dignity of being the chief minister of Suliman, and the real fountain of all influence in Accho. The military force of the pasha is said to consist of about ten thousand cavalry and two thousand infantry. The trade of this place consists chiefly in the export of cotton raised in the neighbourhood, and in the importation of common wares, for the consumption of the inhabitants of the surrounding country. The bazars are well supplied with provisions at a moderate rate; the climate is healthy, and the government of Suliman is not considered oppressive. Several curious anecdotes are recorded by our author of the late pasha, one of which we transcribe, as it justifies the appellation of *Djexzar*, or the *Butcher*, by which that ferocious, cruel, and avaricious Moslem is generally known.

"Some short time before his decease, he was conscious of the approach of death; but so far was he from showing any remorse for his past actions, or discovering any indications of a wish to make atonement for them, that the last moments of this tyrant were employed in contriving fresh murders, as if to close with new horrors the bloody tragedy of his reign. Calling to him his father-in-law, Sheikh Taha, as he himself lay on the bed of death, 'I perceive,' said he, 'that I have but a short time to live. What must I do with these rascals in my prisons? Since I have stripped them of every thing, what good will it do them to be let loose again naked into the world? The greatest part of them are governors, who, if they return to their posts, will be forced to ruin a great many poor people, in order to replace wealth which I have taken from them; so that it is best both for their own sakes, and for that of others, that I should destroy them. They will be then soon in a place where proper care will be taken of them, a very good place, where they will neither be permitted to molest any one, nor be themselves exposed to molestation. Yes, yes! that's best! Dispatch them!'"

"In obedience to the charitable conclusion of this pathetic apostrophe, twenty-three wretches were immediately added to the long list of the victims of Jexzar Pasha's cruelty; and it is said they were all of them thrown into the sea together, as the most expeditious mode of execution." (R. 80, 81.)

On his departure from Accho, or Acre, Mr. Buckingham passed through Nazareth, of whose present state we have a

pleasing account), and while his mules were feeding at the little village of Deborah, he ascended Mount Tabor, on the summit of which is an oval plain, of about a quarter of a mile in its greatest length, covered with a bed of fertile soil on the west, and having, at its eastern end, a mass of ruins, seemingly the vestiges of churches, grottoes, strong walls, and fortifications; all decidedly of some antiquity, and a few appearing to be the works of a very remote age. The panoramic view from the summit of Mount Tabor is equally beautiful and extensive. Having with difficulty escaped being plundered by some of the marauding soldiers who, at this time, infested the country, our author, on regaining the village of Deborah, was obliged to retrace his steps to Nazareth; whence he resumed his journey towards Jerusalem on the 13th of January, 1816, taking his route over Mount Carmel, through Dora (in all probability the Dor of the Scriptures*) and Caesarea, by Joppa and Ramla, which town is supposed to be erected on the site of the ancient Ramah.

Of the ancient history of Jaffa, the Joppa of the sacred writings, we have a copious and well-written account. As it now appears, this place

"Is seated on a promontory jutting out into the sea, and rising to the height of about one hundred and fifty feet above its level, having a desert coast to the north and south, the Mediterranean on the west, and fertile plains and gardens behind it on the east.

"It is walled around on the south and east, towards the land, and partially so on the north and west towards the sea. There are not more than a thousand habitations in all the town, and the number of three mosques, one Latin convent, and one Greek church, will afford a guide to estimate the relative proportions of these religious bodies to each other.

"There is a small fort near the sea on the west, another on the north, and a third near the eastern gate of entrance, mounting in all from fifty to sixty pieces of cannon; which, with a force of five hundred horse, and nearly the same number of infantry, would enable the town to be defended by a skilful commander.

"The port is formed by a ledge of rocks running north and south before the promontory, leaving a confined and shallow space between these rocks and the town. Here the small trading vessels of the country find shelter from south and west winds, and land their cargoes on narrow wharfs running along before the magazines. When the wind blows strong from the northward, they are obliged to warp out, and seek shelter in the small bay to the north-east of the town, as the sea breaks in here with great violence, and there is not more than three fathoms water in the deepest part of the harbour; so accurately do the local features of the place correspond with those given of it by Josephus." (P. 157, 158.)

* See Josh. xvii. 11.—Judg. i. 27.

During his stay at Jaffa, Mr. Buckingham made minute inquiry concerning the fact of Buonaparte's having massacred his prisoners in cold blood; Mr. Buckingham was assured by the English consul's son,

"Damiani, himself an old man of sixty, and a spectator of all that passed here during the French invasion, that such massacre did really take place; and twenty mouths were opened at once to confirm the tale.

"It was related to us, that Buonaparte had issued a decree, ordering that no one should be permitted to pass freely without having a written protection bearing his signature; but publishing at the same time an assurance that this should be granted to all who would apply for it on a given day. The multitude confided in the promise, and were collected on the appointed day without the city, to the number of ten or twelve hundred persons, including men, women, and children. They were then ordered on an eminence, and there arranged in battalion, under pretence of counting them one by one. When all was ready, the troops were ordered to fire on them, and only a few escaped their destructive volleys. A similar scene was transacted on the bed of rocks before the port, where about three hundred persons were either shot or driven to perish in the sea, as if to renew the deeds of treacherous murder which the men of Joppa had of old practised on the Jews; and which their heroic defender had so amply avenged." (P. 159, 160.)

On his arrival at Jerusalem, Mr. Buckingham proceeded to the Latin convent of the Terra Santa, where he met with a hearty welcome from the procuratore, to whose holy care and protection the President of Nazareth had recommended him as a "Milord Inglese, richissimo, affabilissimo, ed anche dottissimo." The monks residing in this convent (with the exception of two Italians) were Spaniards, and displayed all the bigotry and ignorance for which the ecclesiastics of that country have long been pre-eminently distinguished.

Among the news of Europe, the re-establishment of the Inquisition was spoken of, and all exulted in the hope, that under so wise and pious a king as Ferdinand, the church would again resume its empire, and Christianity flourish. The brightest trait which they could find in his character was, that on any application to him for money to be applied to pious purposes, if the "Convento della Terra Santa" was named, he usually gave double the sum demanded. "Let the inquisition reign," said they, "and the church will be secure. Let the cross triumph, and the Holy Sepulchre shall soon be redeemed from the hands of infidels by another crusade, in which all our injuries will be avenged."

Instead of the comfort, apparent equality, and cheerfulness, which reigned at Nazareth, and even at Ramlah, all seemed here to stand in fear of each other; gloom and jealousy reigned throughout, and the

minors of the order superiors, and of the prostrations generally, were as much dreaded as they were respected.

"When we talked of the nature of their duties here, every one complained of them as severe in the extreme. The tinkle of the bell for service was heard at almost every hour of the day; and, besides getting up two hours before sunrise to celebrate a mass, they were obliged to leave their beds every night at half-past eleven, for midnight prayers. Nothing was talked of but suffering, and the difficulty of obedience, ardent desires to return to Europe, and a wish to be sent any where, indeed, on the out-stations; rather than to continue at Jerusalem.

"Not even in a solitary instance did I hear a word of resignation, or of the joy of suffering for Christ's sake, or the love of persecution, or of the paradise found in a life of mortification, so often attributed to these men.

"One complained 'I came here for three years only, and have been kept seven; God grant that I may be able to return home at the coming spring.' Another said, 'What can we do? we are poor; the voyage is long; and unless we have permission, and some provision made for our way, how can we think of going?' A third added, 'In Christendom we can amuse ourselves by occasional visits to friends; and, during long fasts, good fish, excellent fruit, and exquisite wines are to be had.' While a fourth continued, 'And if one should be taken sick here, either of the plague or any other disease, we have no doctor but an old frate of the convent, no aid but from a few spurious medicines, and nothing, in short, to preserve one's life, dearer than all beside; so that we must end our days unpitied, and quit the world before our time.'" (P. 179, 180.)

This convent is called '*Il Convento della Terra Santa*,' by way of distinction; and is at the head of all the religious establishments of the Romish faith throughout the Holy Land. The superior is immediately dependent upon the pope, but the inferior members are sent from Naples, Sicily, and the South of Spain, indiscriminately. The funds of the institution are chiefly supplied from Rome; but these supplies being interrupted during the late war, they were dependent on the charitable donations of their flock at Jerusalem. Legacies, however, are frequently bequeathed to them by the devout in Europe; and large sums are sent to them by the monarchs in that quarter of the globe. Among these, the donations of the present King of Spain are exceedingly liberal; so much so, that, when a secretary of the British ambassador at Constantinople was sent, in 1815, with a present of 1500*l.* from the Prince Regent of England, the monks did not give him the most flattering reception, telling him that the King of Spain had just before sent them about six thousand pounds sterling!

Upwards of one hundred pages are devoted to a description

and investigation of the Holy Places in Jerusalem, (including an excursion to Bethlehem,) the actual site of which places it is impossible to identify, at this distance of time. As our traveller has added very little to the previous descriptions of Dr. Clarke (on whom he introduces some rather severe animadversions,) and of Viscount Chateaubriand, of whose Itinerary we some time since gave an ample notice;* we shall not detain our readers with his accounts of these reputedly sacred spots, and of the various legendary tales connected with them. But the following particulars relative to the actual population and trade of Jerusalem, are too interesting to be omitted. From the most accurate estimate, which his means of information enabled him to form, it appears that

“The fixed residents, more than one half of whom are Mohammedans, are about eight thousand; but the continual arrival and departure of strangers, make the total number of those present in the city, from ten to fifteen thousand generally, according to the season of the year.

“The proportion which the numbers of those of different sects bear to each other in this estimate, was not so easily ascertained. The answers which I received to enquiries on this point, were framed differently by the professors of every different faith. Each of these seemed anxious to magnify the number of those who believed his own dogmas, and to diminish that of the professors of other creeds. Their accounts were therefore so discordant, that no reliance could be placed on the accuracy of any of them.

“The Mohammedans are certainly the most numerous, and these consist of nearly equal proportions of Osmanli Turks, from Asia Minor; descendants of pure Turks by blood, but Arabians by birth; a mixture of Turkish and Arab blood, by intermarriages; and pure Syrian Arabs, of an unmixed race. Of Europeans, there are only the few monks of the Catholic convent, and the still fewer Latin pilgrims who occasionally visit them. The Greeks are the most numerous of all the Christians, and these are chiefly the clergy and devotees. The Armenians follow next in order, as to numbers, but their body is thought to exceed that of the Greeks in influence and in wealth. The inferior sects of Copts, Abyssinians, Syrians, Nestorians, Maronites, Chaldeans, &c. are scarcely perceptible in the crowd. And even the Jews are more remarkable from the striking peculiarity of their features and dress, than from their numbers, as contrasted with the other bodies.” (p. 260—262.)

This account varies in some degree from the estimates made by other recent travellers in Palestine. Captain (now Colonel) Light, who visited Jerusalem in 1814, computed its population at twelve thousand;† but Mr. Joliffe,‡ who was there in 1817,

* See vol. iii. pp. 80—90. of this Journal.

† *Travels in Egypt, Nubia, &c.* p. 118. London, 1818.

‡ *Letters from Palestine*, pp. 101, 102. London, 1820, 8vo.

states, that the highest estimate makes the total number amount to twenty-five thousand; of these, there are supposed to be

Mohammedans	13,000
Jews	from 3 to 4,000
Greeks	2,000
Roman Catholics	800
Armenians	400
Copts	50

These numbers vary from the amount specified by Mr. Buckingham, but it is probable that the increased number of pilgrims, whom mistaken piety might conduct to Jerusalem in 1817, will account for the difference. Whether, however, we take its population at fifteen, or even twenty-five thousand, it is a very slender aggregate, compared with the flourishing population which the city once supported: but the numerous sieges it has undergone, and their consequent spoliations, have left no vestige of its original power. Jerusalem, under the government of a Turkish Aga, is still more unlike Jerusalem as it existed in the age of Solomon, than Athens during the administration of Pericles, and Athens under the dominion of the chief of the black eunuchs. We have it upon judgment's record, that before a marching army a land has been as the garden of Eden, behind it a desolate wilderness, (Joel ii. 3.) The present appearance of Judea has embodied the awful warnings of the prophet in all their terrible reality.* From Christmas to Easter is the period, in which Jerusalem is most populous, the principal feasts of the Christians falling between these great holidays.

At the latter festival, indeed, it is crowded, and the city exhibits a spectacle no where else to be seen in the world. Mecca and Medina offer, perhaps, a still greater variety of persons, dressed, and tongues; yet there the pilgrims visit but one temple, and are united in one faith while here, Jews, Mohammedans, and Christians, all perform their devotions within a few yards of each other, each proudly believing that this city of the Living God is holy and noble to himself, and his peculiar sect alone.

In Jerusalem, there is scarcely any trade, and but few manufactures. The only one that at all flourishes, is that of crucifixes, chaplets, and relics, of which, incredible as it may seem, whole cargoes are shipped off from Jaffa, for Italy, Portugal, and Spain. Religion being almost the only business which brings men of opposite quarters together here, there is much less bustle than would be produced in a trading town by a smaller number of inhabitants.

This city being included within the pashalic of Damascus, is governed by a Mutesellim, appointed from thence; and the nature of his duties, and the extent of his responsibility, is similar to that in other Turkish towns. No difference is created by the peculiar sanctity

* Jolliffe's Letters from Palestine, page 102.

of this place, as is done by that of the Arabian cities of Mecca and Medina; for while a governor of either of these is honoured by peculiar privileges, the Mutesellim of Jerusalem ranks only as the magistrate of a provincial town.

"The force usually kept up here consists of about a thousand soldiers, including horse and foot. These are armed and equipped in the common Turkish fashion, and are composed of Turks, Arabs, and Albanians. The walls of the city, added to the strength of its natural position, form a sufficient defence against any attack from the armies of the country; and some few cannon, mounted at distant intervals on the towers, would enable them to repel a besieging force of Arabs, but it could offer no effectual resistance to an attack conducted on the European system of war."

"From the general sterility of the surrounding country, even when the early and the latter rains favour the husbandman's labours, and from the frightful barrenness that extends all around Jerusalem during the parching droughts of summer, every article of food is much dearer here than it is in any other part of Syria. The wages of the labourer are advanced in the same proportion; as the lowest rate given here to those who perform the meanest offices, is about the third of a Spanish dollar per day; while on the sea-coast of this country, it seldom exceeds a sixth, and in Egypt, is never more than an eighth of the same coin. (P. 262, 263.)

The preparations for the prosecution of his journey being completed, our author had adieu to Jerusalem on the 28th of January, 1816, in company with Mr. Bankes, whom he had met there, and who (it is understood) is preparing for publication an account of his researches in various parts of Egypt and the East. The route, which they had marked out to themselves, was to cross the Jordan and pass through Jerash (the ancient Gerasa), and Gamala, two cities of whose ruins they had heard much. In this excursion they traversed the countries of Bashan and Gilead, on the east of the Jordan: and this portion of Mr. Buckingham's travels is not only the most interesting part of his volume, but may also be termed entirely new. For that stream has hitherto been the boundary of all our knowledge relative to the ancient Judea, no traveller having explored the countries beyond it, except the late Dr. Seetzen and Mr. Burkhart, whose discoveries are now scarcely known even by name.

Mr. Burkhart's Journal we believe is preparing for publication. Dr. Seetzen addressed some particulars of his researches to his friends in Saxony; a copy of which, having been sent to some members of the Institute at Paris, was by them transmitted to the late Sir Joseph Bankes. By him it was presented to the Palestine association, at whose expense it was translated into English, and published many years after the Doctor's death in a thin quarto tract, entitled "A brief account of the countries adjoining the Lake of Tiberias, the Jordan, and the Dead Sea. By M. Seetzen, Conseiller d'Ambassade de S. M. l'Empereur Russe."

—EDITOR.

The first place, that received the travellers, was Jericho, the road thither is rocky and wild, amidst grand and awful scenery; and it is still infested by robbers.

"The whole of this road," says Mr. Buckingham, "from Jerusalem to the Jordan, is held to be the most dangerous about Palestine, and, indeed, in this portion of it, the very aspect of the scenery is sufficient, on the one hand, to tempt to robbery and murder, and on the other, to occasion a dread of it in those who pass that way. It was partly to prevent any accident happening to us in this early stage of our journey, and partly, perhaps, to calm our fears on that score, that a messenger had been despatched by our guides to an encampment of their tribe near, desiring them to send an escort to meet us at this place. We were met here accordingly, by a band of about twenty persons on foot, all armed with matchlocks, and presenting the most ferocious and robber-like appearance that could be imagined. The effect of this was heightened by the shouts which they sent forth from hill to hill, and which were re-echoed through all the valleys, while the bold projecting crags of rock, the dark shadows in which every thing lay buried below, the towering height of the cliffs above, and the forbidding desolation which every where reigned around, presented a picture that was quite in harmony throughout all its parts.

"It made us feel most forcibly, the propriety of its being chosen as the scene of the delightful tale of compassion which we had before so often admired for its doctrine, independently of its local beauty."

"One must be amid these wild and gloomy solitudes, surrounded by an armed band, and feel the impatience of the traveller who rushes on to catch a new view at every pass and turn; one must be alarmed at the very tramp of the horse's hoofs rebounding through the caverned rocks, and at the savage shouts of the footmen, scarcely less loud than the echoing thunder produced by the discharge of their pieces in the valleys; one must witness all this upon the spot, before the full force and beauty of the admirable story of the Good Samaritan can be perceived. Here, pillage, wounds, and death would be accompanied with double terror, from the frightful aspect of every thing around. Here, the unfeeling act of passing by a fellow-creature in distress, as the Priest and Levite are said to have done, strikes one with horror, as an act almost more than inhuman. And here, too, the compassion of the Good Samaritan is doubly virtuous, from the purity of the motive which must have led to it, in a spot where no eyes were fixed on him to draw forth the performance of any duty, and from the bravery which was necessary to admit of a man's exposing himself by such delay, to the risk of a similar fate to that from which he was endeavouring to rescue his fellow-creature." (P. 292, 293.)

On quitting Jericho, the travellers crossed the Jordan, (it appears) pretty nearly at the same ford, as that which was passed by the Israelites when the river had overflowed its banks. Now, however, the stream appeared to be little more than twenty-five

* See Luke x. 30--34.

yards in breadth : it was extremely rapid, and its otherwise turbid waters were here tolerably clear, as well as pure and sweet to the taste, in consequence of its flowing over a bed of pebbles. From the valley of the Jordan, they proceeded through the mountains of Gilead, among which they found numerous lofty plains, bearing the marks of high fertility. They now entered the country of Decapolis, as it was called in the Roman division of Palestine (which is so often mentioned in the New Testament), or the province of Gaulonitis from Gaulon or Golan, its early capital. From Mr. Buckingham's description of this interesting region, we select one or two paragraphs, illustrative of the geography of the sacred volume.

" We continued our way over this elevated tract, continuing to behold, with surprise and admiration, a beautiful country on all sides of us ; its plains covered with a fertile soil, its hills clothed with forests, at every new turn presenting the most magnificent landscapes that could be imagined. Among the trees, the oak was frequently seen, and we know that this territory produced them of old. In enumerating the sources from which the supplies of Tyre were drawn in the time of her great wealth and naval splendour, the prophet says, ' Of the oaks of Bashan have they made thine oars.' Some learned commentators, indeed, believing that no oaks grew in these supposed desert regions, have translated this word by *alders*, to prevent the appearance of inaccuracy in the inspired writer. The expression of the *fat bulls of Bashan*, which occurs more than once in the Scriptures, seemed to us equally inconsistent, as applied to the beasts of a country generally thought to be a desert, in common with the whole tract which is laid down in our modern maps as such, between the Jordan and the Euphrates ; but we could now fully comprehend, not only that the bulls of this luxuriant country might be proverbially fat, but that its possessors too might be a race renowned for strength and comeliness of person.

" In our way, just as we came out from a thick wood and opened on an extensive view, we were surprised by a party of peasants on foot, to the number of thirty at least, all armed with muskets slung across their shoulders. These were Arabs, though they possessed scarcely any thing but the language in common with the Arabs whom we had been accustomed to see. The great features of difference observable in them were, that they were generally taller, more robust, and of finer forms, and fairer complexions. Some of them had even light eyes, and many of them brown and auburn hair, which they wore in tresses hanging over their shoulders. The dress of these men differed also both from that of the desert Arabs, and of the Syrian peasants. They wore long white shirts girded round the loins, but neither turbans nor other coverings for their heads. From retaining the beard while the hair was suffered to hang in long and curling locks over the neck, they resembled the figures which appear in the Scriptural pieces of the great masters, and many of them reminded us of the representation of Christ himself in the principal scenes of his life.

These men were cultivators of the earth, and had been occupied in the tillage of their lands, from which labour they were now returning. As they live in a state of complete independence of Pashas or other governors, there are no boundaries that mark any peculiar portion of the earth as private property. Rich land is so abundant in every direction near them, that the only claim to the possession of any particular spot, is that of having ploughed and sown it, which entitled the person so doing to the harvest of his toils for the present season. In all their occupations they continue to be armed, partly because their country is sometimes scoured by horse Arabs from the eastern deserts, against whom they are then called to defend themselves; and partly because it is the fashion of the country to be armed, insomuch, that the being without weapons of some kind or other, is always imputed to great poverty or to cowardice." (P. 327, 328.)

At length they reached the ruins of Jerash (or as Dr. Seetzen terms it, Dscherrasch), the ancient Geraza: of these interesting remains we have a long description accompanied by several plates and vignettes, without the aid of which it is impossible to give any account of the beautiful reliques of ancient art, that have escaped the united ravages of time, and of the Arabs. The discovery of a noble triumphal arch, though not of the chastest kind, a naumachia for the exhibition of sea-fights, a palace, baths, two theatres, four temples, and several Greek inscriptions, repaid the travellers for the trouble and risk which they had incurred in penetrating to this remote region. Mr. Buckingham is of opinion that Jerash is the Gergashi of the Hebrews.

On the 2d of February, 1816, nearly six weeks after their departure from Jerusalem, Messrs. Buckingham and Banks reached the modern Arab settlement of Oom-Kais on the site of the ancient Gamala, whose ruins they alighted to examine. In their ascent to the hill, on the summit of which the remains of the Roman city stand, they explored numerous sepulchres, excavated in the side of the grey limestone rock, which appear to have formed its necropolis. Although these repositories of the dead had been violated, and innumerable sarcophagi broken, yet they discovered not fewer than two hundred which were perfect; some of them were highly ornamented with garlands and wreaths; others, with heads of Apollo and little Cupids, or genii with wings, joining hands together beneath those heads; and some with shields, similar to those which the travellers had seen at Geraza.

The city of Gamala appears to have been nearly square, about half a mile in its greatest length, and its breadth, perhaps, one-fourth less: it stands in a very commanding situation, and from its height enjoys a grand and extensive view. The ruins are those of two theatres and an Ionic temple: the prevalent orders

of architecture are Ionic and Corinthian; though there are some few capitals of the Doric order. The stone was sometimes the grey rock of the mountain, and sometimes the black volcanic stone used in the tombs and sarcophagi. One of these ancient Roman tombs was used as a carpenter's shop; and another, into which the travellers entered, was cleansed out and used as a private dwelling; a perfect sarcophagus still remained within, which was used by the family as a chest for corn and other provisions. An affair of blood between our author's guides and the inhabitants of the vicinity of Tiberias, together with other circumstances, compelled him, instead of proceeding thither directly, to recross the Jordan and return to Nazareth, whence he proceeded to Tiberias, now called Tabareeah.

The fine piece of water, usually called the lake or sea of Tiberias, abounds with a great variety of excellent fish, but from the poverty and indolence of the people who live on its borders, there is not a single boat or raft throughout its whole extent: so that the few fish which are occasionally taken, are caught by lines from the shore, nets never being used. Mr. Buckingham made an excursion along the borders of this lake, in the course of which he visited Tal-hheun or Tal-hhewm (as it is variously pronounced), an Arab station standing on the site of the ancient Capernaum, around which he discovered various remains of what must have formerly been a very considerable settlement. The waters of the lake of Tiberias

"Lie in a deep basin, surrounded on all sides with lofty hills, excepting only the narrow entrance and outlets of the Jordan at each extreme; for which reason, long-continued tempests from any one quarter are unknown here: and this lake, like the Dead Sea, with which it communicates, is, for the same reason, never violently agitated for any length of time. The same local features, however, render it occasionally subject to whirlwinds, squalls, and sudden gusts from the hollow of the mountains, which, as in every other similar basin, are of momentary duration, and the most furious gust is instantly succeeded by a calm." * (P. 468.)

Mr. Buckingham bears testimony to the fidelity of Josephus's description of this lake,† the features of which, he says, are drawn by the Jewish historian with an accuracy, that could only have been attained by one who had resided in the country.

"The size is still nearly the same, the borders of the lake still end at the beach, or the sands, at the feet of the mountains which environ it. Its waters are still as sweet and temperate as ever, and the lake abounds with great numbers of fish of various sizes and kinds."

"In more early times, the sea of Galilee, or lake of Germeareth,

* *Lucas viii. 23, 24.* † *De Bell. Jud. lib. iii. c. 15. § 7.*

was called the sea of Chinnereth, from a city of that name situated on it, belonging to the children of Naphtali, and the edge of this sea on the other side Jordan, eastward, was made the western boundary of the portion of Gad, who occupied all the cities of Gilead, and half the land of the children of Ammon. Gennesareth is most probably the original name of this sea of Chinnereth, gradually corrupted; Galilee was the name given to the lake from its situation, on the eastern borders of that division of Palestine; and Tiberias, which is its most modern name, must have been bestowed on it after the building of that city by Herod. This last, both the town and the lake still retain, under the Arabic form of Tabareeah; and the present inhabitants, like the earliest ones, call their water a sea, and reckon it and the Dead Sea, to the south of them, to be the two largest known, except the great ocean.

"The appearance of the lake, as seen from this point of view at Capernaum, is still grand; its greatest length runs nearly north and south, from twelve to fifteen miles, and its breadth seems to be, in general, from six to nine miles. The barren aspect of the mountains on each side, and the total absence of wood, give, however, a cast of dullness to the picture; and this is increased to melancholy by the dead calm of its waters, and the silence which reigns throughout its whole extent, where not a boat or vessel of any kind is to be found." (P. 470, 471.)

The town of Tabareeah or Tiberias presents but few objects worthy of note, excepting the hot baths and some other remains of antiquity in its neighbourhood. Its total population does not exceed 2,000 souls, one half of whom are Jews, principally from Europe, and the remainder are Mohammedans, with the exception of about twenty Christian families of the Romish communion. The military force here rarely exceeds twenty or thirty soldiers, under the command of an Aga, and there are four old cannon mounted on different parts of the walls. Provisions are by no means abundant, and therefore are generally dear: and fish, when occasionally taken by a line from the shore, are sold either to the Aga, or to some rich Jews, at an exorbitant price.

Desirous of penetrating, if possible, to Damascus, whither he had heard that a caravan was about to proceed from Napolose, (which Mr. Buckingham calls *Nablous*), he hastened to the latter place, in the hope of joining it, as the most secure mode of prosecuting his way: but, on his arrival, he had the mortification to learn that it had departed three days before, that there remained not the least hope of overtaking it, and that no other would go for at least a month to come. He was, therefore, reluctantly obliged to retrace his steps to Nazareth, where the hospitable friars received him with as hearty a welcome as before: with his return to this place the volume concludes.

In his retracing his way to Nazareth, Mr. Buckingham deviated from the road, in order to visit Subussta, a humble village,

seated on a strong hill, in a commanding and pleasant situation, being surrounded by fruitful valleys and abundances of olive-trees. In its centre stood the city of Samaria, by Herod called Sebaste (of which its present name is a corruption). Here are some remains of ancient edifices, particularly of a large cathedral church attributed to the piety of the empress Helena.

Nablous, or Napolose (the Sichem of the Scriptures) is a populous town, containing nearly 10,000 inhabitants, all of whom, with the exception of about fifty Greek Christians, are Mohammedans: and the grounds around it bear the marks of opulence and industry. It fully occupies the valley between the two hills of Gerizim on the south, and Ebal on the north. Though a place of considerable trade with Damascus and the towns on the sea-coast, yet there were no Jews here, who remained as permanent residents. The Samaritans, of whom a remnant remained in Maundrell's time (the close of the seventeenth century), are now reduced to scarcely half a dozen, or a dozen families, who perform their sacred rites in studied seclusion and obscurity, and are, if possible, more despised here than the Jews are in other Mohammedan cities.

Before we conclude this article, we cannot but advert to the contemptuous epithets, which Mr. Buckingham very liberally pours forth, in some of his strictures on the reputed holy places, and on the gross and absurd impositions practised in Palestine on the credulity of pilgrims and travellers. We confess, that we could wish such epithets and remarks had been omitted, as we have heard, that they have been considered as 'displaying a contempt for religion itself.' As, however, this intelligent traveller, in his preface, disclaims any such intention, we have (to borrow his own expression) 'put the most favourable construction' upon the passages in question; especially as he has every where made a laudable application of his researches to the elucidation of the Scriptures, and (as our extracts will shew) has in many instances happily succeeded in throwing much light on sacred geography.

The volume is handsomely and correctly printed, and is enriched with a map of Palestine, chiefly from that of the accurate geographer, D'Anville, and also with several plates representing the plans of ancient edifices, and copies of inscriptions, besides a portrait of the author, and nearly thirty vignettes, beautifully executed on wood, exhibiting views of places, costumes, and ruins.

Part. I.—*Private and Original Correspondence of Charles Talbot, Duke of Shrewsbury, with King William, the Leaders of the Whig Party, and other distinguished Statesmen; illustrated with Narratives historical and biographical, from the Family Papers, in the Possession of her Grace the Duchess of Buccleugh, never before published.* By William Cox, F. R. S. Archdeacon of Wilts, &c. 4to. Longman and Co. London, 1821.

It is among the principal accomplishments of an English gentleman to be well read in the political history of his own country; not merely in the series and succession of great events, as they chase one another down the stream of time, but in the various scenes of conflict, debate, and fermentation, by which each of these events have been accompanied and characterised. It is only by thus examining the details of critical conjunctures, and studying each epoch with reference to the views of the parties, and the qualities of the persons chiefly concerned in its development, that we become practically acquainted with our constitution. One would be glad, because it would be honourable to our nature, to find that our political system had been the result of foresight and contrivance; that every good institution had owed its existence to its own merits, and a clear anticipation of its beneficial effects; but our constitution is no such creature. The English mind has no doubt largely impressed its intelligence upon it in each particular stage of its progress; but it has received very many of its most important accessions, and its ultimate complex formation, from fortuitous occurrences and critical emergencies, producing results often very different from, and sometimes entirely contrary to, those which were foreseen or intended. The thing, as it exists, has, in great measure, come about by an agency independent of human contrivance or controul,—the product of an involuntary development of latent tendencies, and of effects which human speculation has neither designed nor expected. A mighty moral order, mysteriously advancing through cloud and sunshine, stillness and storm, and all the vicissitudes of foul and fair, has educed by degrees that political phenomenon—a constitution in itself not luminous, but shedding light and glory upon the nation living under its practical influence. The more we thus regard the formation and progress of our happy polity, the more we shall become satisfied that man has not conventionally made it, and could not make it; and the more we shall be disposed to a timid forbearance from the dangerous work of undoing what can never be re-made, or re-enacted, or voted again into existence. It was this view of our constitution that appears to have regulated

the proceedings of those, who, at the glorious Revolution of 1688, embodied its prescriptive excellencies into the great settlement of our liberties which was then effected. As an historical fact, the Revolution of 1688 furnishes the strongest example possible, in support of what we have said above, of the danger of taking to pieces the product of circumstances which no human power can again summon into being. They treated the constitution as a contract, not of instrumental and simultaneous formation, but as one to which successive generations had put their seals, and which nature and experience had adopted and approved. And therein consisted their admirable discernment. They did not falsify history, by affecting to recur to any primitive scheme of political perfection; still less did they hold themselves at large to treat the settlement of the British constitution as a new creation: it was the principle and spirit of that great proceeding, neither to do or undo a jot more than the necessity of the case demanded;—to work upon the existing model; and to recognize as sparingly as possible the right of recurring to abstract and original principles. The whole of that extraordinary transaction stood upon the plea of necessity. The only right set up was the right of self-preservation—the great apology of nature—the eldest of all rights; always to be implied, and therefore never necessary to be promulgated. Nothing marks so decisively the clear views and cautious discernment of the great agents in the work of the Revolution, as the care they took to use no more violence than the occasion required; and to give to every procedure the semblance, as far as was practicable, of an effort of the constitution itself for its own continuance. Standing as it were upon the verge of the great magazine of original power, they were aware of the danger of explosion; and abstained as much as possible from the handling of any thing that carried fire in its composition. It would scarcely be too much to say, that the change in the political condition of the country effected in 1688, was less a revolution than an effort to avoid revolution. It was a happy combination of intellectual power to redeem the country from the plague of popery and arbitrary rule, and to secure it by a permanent barrier against future contagion. Morally speaking, the Revolution had been wrought by James the Second. The transaction of 1688 was in virtue and effect a restoration. King William came in, not as a conqueror, but as a continuator;—that sort of qualified and constitutional king, which Charles the Second, had the terms of his restoration been agreeable with the manly and sound propositions suggested and recommended by the best patriots of that juncture, would have returned to the seat of his ancestors.

Mr. Burke, in his "Appeal from the new to the old Whigs," has wisely referred us to the impeachment of Dr. Sacheverel, as affording to the Whig ministry, and Whig House of Commons of that day, a remarkable opportunity of putting upon record their political tenets on the subject of that great constitutional event of 1688, and of exhibiting to the world its true grounds and principles. The managers of that prosecution had also been the prime movers in that great event, and when the heat and agitation of its execution and accomplishment were over, they deliberately laid before the nation the motives and the maxims which had governed them and their colleagues upon that occasion. They made it clearly appear in all their speeches upon that celebrated trial, that though the Revolution supposed the right of resistance, it practically grounded itself on the argument of necessity.

We shall not trouble our readers with long quotations from the speeches of the managers of the impeachment of Dr. Sacheverel; one may suffice for all, for all are in the same strain of reasoning. "Your Lordships," says Mr. Lechmere, "were acquainted, in opening the charge, with how great caution, and with what unforgotten regard to her Majesty and her government, and the duty and allegiance of her subjects, the Commons made use of the words *necessary means* to express the resistance that was made use of to bring about the Revolution, and with the condemning of which the Doctor is charged by this article; not doubting but that the honour and justice of that resistance, from the necessity of that case, and to which alone we have strictly confined ourselves, when duly considered, would confirm and strengthen, and be understood to be an effectual security for an allegiance of the subject to the crown of this realm, in every other case where there is not the same necessity; and that the right of the people to self-defence, and preservation of their liberties, by resistance, as their last remedy, is the result of a case of such necessity only, and by which the original contract between the king and people is broken. This was the principle laid down and carried through all that was said with respect to allegiance; and on which foundation, in the name and on the behalf of all the Commons of Great Britain, we assert and justify that resistance by which the late happy Revolution was brought about."

In the same most admirable pamphlet the profound writer shews clearly, from the whole text of the Revolution, and the authority of its greatest exponents, who, as he reminds us, were not, "*umbratiles doctores*, men who had studied a free constitution only in its anatomy, and upon dead systems, but who knew it alive and in action;" that the Revolution made "no essential change in the constitution of the monarchy, or in any of its

ancient, sound, and legal principles; that the succession was settled in the Hanover family, upon the idea, and in the mode of an hereditary succession, qualified with protestantism; that it was not settled upon *elective* principles, in any sense of the word elective, or under any modification of election whatsoever: but, on the contrary, that the nation, after the revolution, renewed by a fresh compact the spirit of the original compact of the state, binding itself, both in its existing members and all its posterity, to adhere to the settlement of an hereditary succession in the protestant line, drawn from James the First, as the stock of inheritance." In treating of the true character of the Revolution of 1688, the great author of the pamphlet alluded to, has therein bequeathed to the British people maxims of more conservative value than are to be found in the collective wisdom of all its other political philosophers. "Their principles," speaking of the principles of the theoretic reformers, "always go to the extreme. They who go with the principles of the ancient Whigs, never can go too far. They may, indeed, stop short of some hazardous and ambiguous excellence, which they will be taught to postpone to any reasonable degree of good they may actually possess."—"The theory contained in his book (his own immortal book on the French revolution) is not to furnish principles for making a new constitution, but for illustrating the principles of a constitution already made. It is a theory drawn from the fact of our government."—"The whole scheme of our mixed constitution, is to prevent any one of its principles from being carried as far as taken by itself, and theoretically, it would go. To avoid the perfections of extreme, all its several parts are so constituted, as not alone to answer their own several ends, but also each to limit and controul the others: insomuch, that, take which of the principles you please, you will find its operation checked and stopped at a certain point. The whole movement stands still rather than that any part should proceed beyond its boundary. From thence it results, that in the British constitution there is a perpetual treaty and compromise going on, sometimes openly, sometimes with less observation."—"The British constitution has not been struck out at a heat by a set of presumptuous men; it is the result of the thoughts of many minds in many ages. It is no simple, no superficial thing, nor to be estimated by superficial understandings. An ignorant man, who is not fool enough to meddle with his clock, is, however, sufficiently confident to think that he can safely take to pieces, and put together at his pleasure, a moral machine of another guise, importance, and complexity, composed of far other wheels, and springs, and balances, and counteracting and co-operating powers. Men little think how immorally they act in meddling

with what they do not understand. Their delusive good intention is no sort of excuse for their presumption. They who truly mean well must be fearful of acting ill. Rational and experienced men tolerably well know, and have always known, how to distinguish between true and false liberty; and between the genuine adherence, and the false pretence to what is true. But none, except those who have profoundly studied, can comprehend the elaborate contrivance of a fabric, fitted to unite private and public liberty with public force, with order, with peace, with justice, and, above all, with the institutions formed for bestowing permanence and stability through ages, upon this invaluable whole.

From this almost sacred elevation on which we have been standing with Mr. Burke; with the principles of the great Revolution of 1688, and the genius of the British constitution developed to our view, how painful it is to draw our breath for a moment in the atmosphere of those men, styling themselves also Whigs, whose leader could so far sell his sober convictions to factious objects, as to pronounce the heartless and hollow system, if system it could be called, set up by the French revolution, "the most stupendous and glorious edifice of liberty, which had been erected on the foundation of human integrity in any time or country;" and whose other unprincipled organ could find it in his heart, for his head could not so far have betrayed him, to declare the revolution in France to be like that of England in all its leading points. While the French revolution was in its deceptions beginnings, florid and fair, and tricked out in the plumage of a vain philosophy, one may forgive even considerable statesmen for seeing less into consequences than Mr. Burke; but the callous moderation which could look with indifference upon the bleeding injuries that marked the progress of the revolution in France, at once decided the total estrangement of modern Whiggism from the principle, designated by the same name, by which the great achievement of our liberties in 1688 was effected.

The great exigency of the case, the dominating motive of establishing tempered liberty upon a protestant basis, united the best men in harmonious co-operation; but when the pressure was removed, opinions began to warp and separate. The great body, however, of the Whigs remained entire, strong and consistent enough to carry the nation forward in its career of prosperity, had the necessities arising out of the altered state of the prerogative, and the secret of that indirect influence; which was becoming essential to supply the practical diminution of executive authority, been sufficiently understood. But the nation had not yet fallen into this new train, and in the transition from a government of force to a government of favour, a temporary disorganization took

place, and the shock of parties and contending opinions nearly involved both people and monarch in a common ruin. The monarchical part of the system had long experienced the prerogative to be an unsafe dependence in its struggles with the democracy; from the commencement of the reign of Charles the First it had lost in a great degree its hold upon the interests and fears of the subject; and that unhappy monarch from ignorance of this change in the minds of the people, by a stately reliance on the sanctity of his tenure, and by vainly clinging to the staff of his prerogative amidst the wreck of his other resources, lost his crown and his life. From the death of that prince, an ill-managed influence, avowed, careless, and profligate, was in practice under the succeeding Stuarts; but after the Revolution, the nation erected itself against all abuses of power with so firm an attitude, and so prevailing an opposition, that direct influence became difficult and dangerous to be exercised. From that period the economy of another sort of influence, which may be called indirect, and which has grown out of the patronage and riches of the state, has been gradually perfected; and it is upon this secondary power, which is as necessary to be watched as it is to be preferred, that the political system of Great Britain is now driven to depend for the permanence, certainty, and consistency of its action. Without this all its movements would soon be suspended.

The embarrassments under which William the Third found himself by the retrenchment of the practical prerogative to which he was obliged to submit, put him upon the necessity (much against his inclination, for he was an honest man,) of resorting to the expedient of secret and indirect influence, and it served his purpose occasionally; but the patronage of government in his time fell short of the quantity necessary to supply it with effective means, and accordingly it failed of securing to the executive government a due counterpoise to the fictitious spirit of the great, and the tumultuary temper of the popular part of the constitution. The situation of the monarch was, therefore, a very uneasy one. His reign was embittered by the animosities of faction. The Whig party, which was his own, though composed of men equal, as they had indeed proved themselves, to the emergencies of a great crisis, were not yet possessed of sufficient experience in the new predicament and exigence of the empire, to manage that consolidation and application of influence which had now become essential to the machinery of government. At the present moment the appellations of Whig and Tory mean nothing more than calling names. The whole distinction of a Tory consists in his being in place, and helping to carry on the government; the whole policy of the Whigs lies in embarrassing and calumniating

others, the constituted authorities and administrators of the kingdom, troubling about, if possible, their disgrace and removal; admitting without scruple into the order of means for accomplishing such end, whatever can foment ignorant uproar, and ferocious discontent, among the people. But in King William's time parties were more sincere in their feelings, principles were more distinctly marked, and political attachments belonged more to things than names. The collision was greater, and the conflict more serious and continued. The king was a better soldier than politician, and was unequal to the task of so managing his influence as to decide the preponderancy, and controul the vacillations of power into steady and determined action.

In such a state of things to be respected by all parties, to be regarded by his own as their great centre of union and strength, and to be considered by his sovereign as the ornament and support of his government, was the distinguished fate of the nobleman whose political life and correspondence are the subject of this entertaining volume.

At the close of Queen Anne's reign, we find the Duke of Shrewsbury at one time possessed of the three greatest posts in the kingdom,—that of Lord Treasurer, Lord Chamberlain, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; and in the opinion of Smollet, "no noblemen in England better deserved such distinguishing marks of his sovereign's favour. He was modest," continues that historian, "liberal, disinterested, and a warm friend to his country." An eulogy in which the correspondence here presented to us will amply bear him out. We are not sure, that we have ever met with a series of published letters of so entirely a political a character which has excited in us so much interest; or so agreeably and instructively blended the man with the statesman. It has the merit also of bringing us nearer to King William than any representation of that deserving prince has yet brought us. It is no small credit to him to have duly appreciated such a character as the Duke of Shrewsbury. His letters to that amiable and great person are not more distinguished by their sound and manly sense, than by their condescending frankness, freedom, and affectionate respect; and the duke's in return are among the best models which we have any where seen of the style and spirit in which a subject should hold correspondence with his sovereign. The letters are well connected by a very judicious arrangement, so as to furnish a complete political memoir of the duke; and the work is interspersed with so many sketches of biography, genealogy, and political anecdote, as to render it a most useful appendage to the history of a period the most important, perhaps, of any in British annals to be well understood. The reader will find the character of Lord Somers

considerably developed in the course of the volume. His letters are peculiarly interesting; and that which we here meet with respecting him, tends to raise him in an Englishman's esteem. After perusing his part in the correspondence before us, we more cordially join Mr. Burke in the exclamation, "I never desire to be a better Whig than my Lord Somers."

The frontispiece of the volume exhibits a portrait of Charles Talbot, Duke of Shrewsbury, finely engraved, from a painting by Sir Peter Lely, and which, if it resembles the man, as there is good reason to think it does, attests him to have been as engaging in his countenance, as in the qualities of his mind. He was the twelfth Earl, and first Duke of Shrewsbury, son of Francis, eleventh Earl of Shrewsbury, (who was killed in a duel with the Duke of Buckingham, occasioned by that Duke's illicit commerce with his wife,) by Anna Maria, daughter of Robert, second Earl of Cardigan. He was born in 1660, and his parents being Roman Catholics, he was bred up as a member of the same communion. His education was a learned one, and he evinced the marks of it in his breeding and accomplishments. The religion which he had received from his parents did not stand the test to which he thought fit to expose it. Having entertained doubts, concerning its doctrines, he consulted the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Tillotson, on the question; and the method he took of extracting from that eminent prelate his best considered thoughts upon it, was by obtaining from his father, and several learned priests of the Romish communion, the principal arguments in favour of the church in which he had been educated, and submitting them to the Archbishop for his replies. The investigation ended in Shrewsbury's embracing the Protestant creed, and becoming a sincere and steady convert to the Church of England.

"The same conviction," says our author, "led him to be among the foremost of those, who opposed the measures of that monarch, for the re-establishment of the roman catholic worship; and as early as May, 1687, we find a letter, conveying professions of his zeal to the prince of Orange, who was then endeavouring to gain partisans, and ascertain the state of the public mind in England. He was likewise one of the illustrious seven, who signed the Association, in June, 1688, inviting over the prince. Convinced of the necessity of an immediate revolution, he even mortgaged his estates; and repairing to Holland, offered his purse and sword to our great deliverer.

"He accompanied the prince to England, and encouraged him with the hope of a general declaration in his favour. While William remained in suspense at Exeter, we are informed by bishop Burnet, that the earl of Shrewsbury was one of the nobles, in whom he chiefly trusted; and by whose advice he drew up his famous Declaration. In the progress of the Revolution he took an active part, and was one

of the three peers dispatched by the prince, to treat with those sent by James. In the convention parliament he espoused the cause of William, and opposed the impracticable measures of those, who wished to act in the name of James the second, to establish a regency, or to place the crown on the head of Mary. While things remained in confusion, the earl of Shrewsbury, the marquess of Halifax, and the earl of Danby were the peers to whom the prince opened his views, and intimated his resolution of returning to Holland, if the parliament should persist in the arrangements, which they seemed disposed to adopt.

"On the settlement of the new government, in which Shrewsbury had taken so active a part, he was nominated one of the privy council, appointed secretary of state, and entrusted with the lord-lieutenancy of three counties. His services, amiable character, deportment, and talents for business, endeared him to William, who considered him as the only person capable of conciliating the two rival parties; and from his general popularity, called him the 'king of hearts.'

"In his principles Shrewsbury was a moderate whig; but from the circumstances in which he was actually placed, he identified himself with the zealous members of that party, who were selected to fill the principal offices of state. After so sudden a change, however, it could not be reasonably expected, that all classes should long remain satisfied, or readily coalesce in the support of the new government. Cabals and machinations naturally arose. The king was alienated from the whigs, by a suspicion that they intended to diminish his prerogative, and reduce him to a mere cipher; and his feelings were peculiarly wounded, by their refusal to grant him a permanent revenue. The whigs, on their part, were jealous of the partiality manifested by the sovereign to his foreign favourites; disgusted with his cold and repulsive demeanor, and alarmed by his endeavours to extend his authority. Of these contentions the Tories adroitly profited. They expatiated on the bias of their principles in favour of the prerogative, and professed their anxiety, to grant those powers and advantages, which were withheld by their opponents. Scarcely a year therefore elapsed, before the king manifested a strong aversion to those, who had taken the most active part, in calling him to the throne; and an equal partiality to those, whose principles were considered as unfavourable to his title.

"Shrewsbury enjoyed too high a share in his confidence, not to be affected with this change in his sentiments: and foreseeing that he must either renounce his own principles, or withdraw from the party, with whom he was hitherto identified, he became anxious to retire from a situation, surrounded with perils, and ill adapted to his temper, naturally timid and indecisive." (P. 4—6.)

The total absence of ambition from the mind of a man so qualified in many respects for the conduct of affairs, is not a little remarkable; though, perhaps, his disinclination to ministerial responsibility, may be in part ascribable to the fierce aspect of the

contests of parties operating upon a sensitive, moderate, and disinterested mind. It is also surprising, that notwithstanding the manifestation of a temper unsuited to the region of political commotion, and a spirit of integrity and candour, as little accommodated to the cabals and intrigues of faction, it still should be thought, both by the prince and the party espousing his cause, as an object of the greatest moment to retain the Duke of Shrewsbury at the head of the administration. It is an extraordinary testimony to the worth and weight of his character, and the soundness of his judgment in the conduct of business. The various correspondences which passed between him and the king on his perpetually repeated desire to retreat from public life, and the unceasing anxiety and urgency of his royal master to retain him in the public service, have a very singular air; and when the character of William is considered, demonstrate so much peculiarity in the case, as not to be accounted for, but by ascribing to the minister a power of being useful beyond what is even on record concerning him, or by deducting a great deal from that phlegmatic reserve which has been always imputed to the monarch. In reply to one of the early solicitations of the duke to retire, the king writes the following letter, to solicit his continuance in office, which is a fair specimen of his majesty's feelings towards his minister, and of his customary simplicity and conciseness of expression; we will add also the minister's frank and manly reply, with the editor's connecting observations.

“ *Hampton Court, Sept. 5-15, 1689.* I should not have deemed it necessary to reply to your last letter, had I not perceived from that which you wrote to lord Portland, that you expect an answer. I therefore entreat you to relinquish at present your intention of resigning the seals, as it would be greatly prejudicial to my service, and to the welfare of my kingdom. I will use all my endeavours to render your post as little troublesome to you as possible, and I will speak to you on the subject, when I have the satisfaction of seeing you. I likewise assure you, that no man can feel more friendship for you than I do, of which I will strive on all occasions to give you the most convincing proofs.”

“ Thus disappointed in his wish to escape from the trammels of office, Shrewsbury observed with equal anxiety and regret, the increasing alienation of the king from the whigs; and his arrangements for proroguing the parliament, in which they were predominant, preparatory to a dissolution and change of ministry. Against this design he therefore remonstrated, in respectful, yet manly terms, in a letter, dated December 22, 1689.

“ *Sir;—* Since I received your majesty's commands by my lord Portland, I have considered, as well as I am able, the present posture of your affairs, and how they may at this time suit with an adjournment so long as he proposed, which, as I remember, was to the middle of

the next month. I think myself obliged in duty to lay before you my sense of this matter; and though I am very incapable to put any thing in writing, fit for your majesty to speak to your parliament, yet that is not the only reason makes me now decline it, but a thorough conviction that an adjournment for so long a time can be of no advantage, but will certainly prejudice your business. For the nation will reasonably conclude, either that you part with your parliament in anger, which is a bad preparation towards the meeting it again so soon; or else that you have not that pressing occasion for money, which you and your friends have often represented to them, since you defer their consideration of it for three weeks, without any apparent good reason. Besides, it will more and more exasperate the house of commons against those persons who have had the ill fortune to be named in this last address, since they will be pointed out as the authors of this advice.

“By what I find from my lord Nottingham the argument used for this delay is, to expect the church of England men to return, who are gone into the country, and, he says, so depend upon this recess, that they will think themselves unfairly dealt with, if they are foiled in this expectation. What encouragement they had to rely upon it I do not know; but supposing they had good grounds, I will say the same thing to your majesty I did to him, that your resolution in this, must be suitable to what you determine, either to join or not join with the church of England.

“I think your majesty does not suspect me to be so violently biased to either of these parties, as not to see the faults of both, and the dangers that may likely ensue in joining with each of them. I wish you could have established your party upon the moderate and honest principled men of both factions; but as there be a necessity of declaring, I shall make no difficulty to own my sense, that your majesty and the government are much more safe depending upon the whigs, whose designs, if any against, are improbable and remoter than with the tories, who many of them, questionless, would bring in king James, and the very best of them, I doubt, have a regency still in their heads; for though I agree them to be the properest instruments to carry the prerogative high, yet I fear they have so unreasonable a veneration for monarchy, as not altogether to approve the foundation your's is built upon. I hope, Sir, you will excuse this plain dealing, from a man that means your service honestly and heartily, and rather chooses to expose himself to your censure for these lines, than to the remorse of his own conscience, for having writ a speech to a purpose absolutely disagreeing with his own opinion.

“Sir, my humble advice to your majesty is, that you will be pleased not to adjourn the two houses beyond the Monday after Christmas-day; or else, that you will leave it to them to appoint their own meeting, which will probably be about the same time. My next request is, that you will pardon this presumption from one that is with all truth, duty, and respect, your majesty's,” &c.

“This firm remonstrance deferred, but did not prevent the purpose of the king, for on the 27th of January the parliament was prorogued

to the 22d of April. In the interval his majesty carried his design into effect by a dissolution, and the tories were enabled to gain a preponderance in the new elections. At the same time several of that party superseded the whigs in the offices of state.

"A vehement struggle accordingly ensued, between the two parties in the new parliament, which assembled in March, 1690. Among other expedients to embarrass their opponents, the whigs brought forward an act for abjuring king James, by which they hoped to reduce the tories to the predicament, either of offending the king by opposing it, or of contravening their own principles, by giving it their support. On this point the contest was carried to such a height, that the king was at length obliged to favour the scruples of the tories, by intimating his wish that the parliament would discontinue the discussion.

"Shrewsbury, who had warmly promoted this act, was disgusted with these measures, and determined to deliver up the seals. William, however, was still too partial to his favourite minister, to acquiesce in his resignation, and employed the influence of archbishop Tillotson, and other friends, to divert him from his purpose. But nothing could soothe the chagrin of the noble secretary, and it was not without great difficulty that he was dissuaded by bishop Burnet from repairing to the royal presence, in a temper of mind which must have provoked a personal altercation; he however conveyed the seals several times to the king, who refused as often to receive them. He remained without acting, till the agitation of his mind threw him into a violent fever, and the seals were delivered through the hands of lord Portland. He resisted all representations to retain this emblem of office, even till the return of the king, who was then preparing for his expedition to Ireland, and relinquished his post on the second of June.

"The ex-minister maintained his consistency by a vigorous opposition to the measures of the tory administration, and particularly distinguished himself, by the introduction of the bill for triennial parliaments into the house of lords.

"William had, however, advanced too far to recede, and therefore, before the close of the year, he removed the remainder of the whigs, to confide the helm of state entirely to the tories. But in the progress of events, he had cause to regret this hasty resolution, which threw him into the power of a party, many of whom were lukewarm in his cause, others adverse to his title, and all incapable of giving that energy to his government, which circumstances required. We find him, therefore, on his return from the campaign of 1693, disgusted with the mismanagement of his new ministry, and anxious to regain the confidence of the whigs. In this predicament he recurred to the intervention of Shrewsbury." (P. 13—17.)

The king's campaigns occupy no little portion of the correspondence. The interest we take in them is at this time hardly enough to move curiosity, but it is impossible not to read the King's short and modest accounts of his successful proceedings, and particularly of the siege and capture of Namur, without a

feeling of respect for his bravery of conduct, and the heroic brevity of his details. His letters, however, from the Continent, are, in general, replete with complainings of the niggardly supplies which the nation seemed in a disposition to grant him; and it must be admitted, that the treatment which, upon the whole, he received from his new subjects, fell somewhat short of his merits and sacrifices.

The events and measures relating to Sir John Fenwicke's conspiracy form a very interesting portion of the correspondence, and not the least pleasing part of it is the behaviour of the king, himself in repelling the endeavours used to implicate Shrewsbury. We will give a specimen of his noble and princely way of dealing with these base machinations.

" The Duke of Shrewsbury to the King.

" *Whitehall, Sept. 8-18, 1696.*—Sir; I want words to express my surprise at the impudent and unaccountable accusation of sir John Fenwick. I will, with all the sincerity imaginable, give your majesty an account of the only thing I can recollect, that should give the least pretence to such an invention; and I am confident you will judge there are few men in the kingdom that have not so far transgressed the law.

" After your majesty was pleased to allow me to lay down my employment, it was more than a year before I once saw my lord Middleton; then he came, and staid in town awhile, and returned to the country; but a little before the La Hogue business, he came up again, and upon that alarm, being put in the Tower, when people were permitted to see him, I visited him as often as I thought decent, for the nearness of our alliance. Upon his enlargement, one night at supper, when he was pretty well in drink, he told me he intended to go beyond seas, and asked if I would command him no service. I then told him, by the course he was taking, it would never be in his power to do himself or his friends service; and if the time should come that he expected, I looked upon myself as an offender not to be forgiven, and therefore he should never find me asking it. In the condition he was then, he seemed shocked at my answer; and it being some months after before he went, he never mentioned his own going, or any thing else, to me, but left a message with my aunt, that he thought it better to say nothing to me, but that I might depend upon his good offices upon any occasion, and in the same manner he relied upon mine here; and had left me trustee for the small concerns he had in England. I only bowed, and told her I should always be ready to serve her, or him, or their children.

" Your majesty now knows the extent of my crime, and if I do not flatter myself, it is no more than a king may forgive.

" I am sure when I consider with what reason, justice, and generosity your majesty has weighed this man's information, I have little cause to apprehend your ill opinion upon his malice. I wish it were as easy to answer for the reasonableness of the generality of the world. When such a base invention shall be made public, they may perhaps

make me incapable of serving you ; but if till now I had had neither interest nor inclination, the noble and frank manner with which your majesty has used me upon this occasion, shall ever be owned with all the gratitude in my power." (P. 147, 148.)

"The King to the Duke of Shrewsbury.

"*"Loo, Sept. 25, 1696.*—In sending you sir John Fenwick's paper, I assured you, that I was persuaded his accusation was false, of which I am now fully convinced, by your answer, and perfectly satisfied with the ingenuous confession of what passed between you and lord Middleton, which can by no means be imputed to you as a crime. And indeed you may be assured, that this business, so far from making on me any unfavourable impression, will, on the contrary, if possible, in future, strengthen my confidence in you, and my friendship can admit of no increase." (P. 151.)

We have the following interesting letters and statements respecting the close of the Duke of Shrewsbury's official life under William the Third, which present the king's conduct in a very favourable view, and disclose something like timidity and vacillation on the part of the minister.

"The Duke of Shrewsbury to the King.

"*"Dec. 10-20, 1698.*—Sir ; I cannot forbear giving your majesty this trouble, to return you my most sincere and humble thanks for the compassion you have been pleased to have of me, in giving me leave to surrender the seals, which Mr. Secretary acquaints me you have done in so generous a manner, as not to appear angry at my retiring ; though at the same time, you expressed yourself with such a kind partiality to me, as to imagine, I might be of some small use in your service, if not in the same employment, in some other. But, as every honest man will have a desire to do his duty both to his master, and the public, whilst he is in an office ; so the uneasiness of being forced so long to neglect what I owe to both, is so fresh in my memory, that I cannot resolve to undertake another, whilst I am persuaded I have not health to execute it, in a decent manner. One can hardly expect a more convincing proof of inability, than what befell me lately, when I designed paying my duty to your majesty, at your arrival : and, if a man cannot bear the air of London four days in a year, he must certainly make a very scurvy figure in a court, as well as in a ministry. Therefore, I hope, when your majesty is pleased to consider my circumstances, you will think what I do, not only reasonable with regard to myself, and my own reputation, but agreeable to that duty, and service, which I owe you, and which to the last moment of my life I will be ever ready to pay, being with as true a zeal and gratitude, as any person in your three kingdoms," &c.

"But, notwithstanding his positive refusal to accept an office, the deplorable state of the administration, and the violence of parties which marked the first sessions of the new parliament, induced him at length to yield again to the importunities of the king. On the return of William from the continent, in October, 1699, he was accordingly

appointed lord Chamberlain, though he received the staff with reluctance, and considered himself as a mere cipher, selected to fill the post, in order to prevent farther contention.

“ At this period his epistolary intercourse with the king was suspended, and we must therefore refer to the portion containing the correspondence with the whig chiefs, for an account of his situation and sentiments, in the momentous crisis, when the contests between the whigs and tories threatened the ruin of the country, and the subversion of the throne. His weak frame and timid mind were shaken by the anxiety arising from these storms of faction; and we find him at one time vehemently importuning for retirement, and at another yielding to the solicitations of his royal master, to take a part in the different schemes, which were suggested for the formation of an efficient ministry. He was successively offered the posts of lord treasurer, governor of Ireland, and groom of the stole, and lastly, his choice of any employment under the crown. The government of Ireland, in particular, was strongly pressed on his acceptance, conjointly with the vacant office of groom of the stole; and he once so far submitted to the necessity of the times, as to express a faint acquiescence in the offer. But he was soon discouraged, by the failure of all his attempts to restore harmony between the king and the whigs; and so much agitated by the struggle between his political fears, and his anxiety to gratify his sovereign and friends, that his health was severely injured, and he earnestly renewed his solicitations, for an absolute release from all public cares. The king at first treated his application as the result of spleen, and hoped to divert him from his purpose by a letter of railery. On the representations of Mr. Vernon, he, however, changed his design; and not only expressed a sincere sympathy in his sufferings, but gratified him with a kind and gracious approval of his earnest wishes.

“ The King to the Duke of Shrewsbury.

“ *Hampton Court, 22nd May, 1700.*—With great concern I hear that, notwithstanding all the remedies you have taken, you cannot stop the effusion of blood, which you very much attribute to the uneasiness of your mind, on account of my wish, that you should go to Ireland, and to which you do not feel yourself equal. I assure you I will not press you in any thing, but will leave you entirely at liberty, merely desiring you to attend to only the re-establishment of your health, and should it permit you, I shall be happy to see you here before I go to Holland, about the time I told you, when you went from hence.

“ *“ I hope you are well convinced of my friendship, and that you can easily judge, how sensibly I am affected by hearing of your illness. May God soon perfectly restore you.”*

“ The monarch thus kindly desisted, not only from a purpose, which he seems to have had long and earnestly at heart, but finally accepted the staff of chamberlain; and permitted his favorite minister to withdraw entirely from public life. The duke transmitted his key of office, through the hands of his friend Mr. Vernon, then secretary of state,

who, in two letters to his noble patron, given an interesting account of the gracious and feeling manner, in which his resignation was accepted.

“ June 22-July 2, 1700.—I did not write to your grace by last post, since you were like to be from home till next week. I was that day at Hampton Court, and read your letter of the 17th to his majesty; whose answer was, that he could not say he was well pleased with your renouncing all employments, and particularly if you would have gone for Ireland, it would have been of great use to his service, and at Dublin you would be freed from the disquiets people in the ministry are exposed to here; but he said, he was fully satisfied of your good intentions, that as he was always disposed to be kind to you, so he knew you would not be guilty of ingratitude. He believed you would do all you could to keep your friends in temper, but he questioned whether you would be able to prevail with them. He remembered you always preferred moderate ways, and endeavoured to bring others to it; but, he could give twenty instances where people's obstinacy were too hard for your advices; and he could not persuade himself you would have more power out of employment, than being in it. He rather feared you would give yourself up to the ease of a country life, and be unconcerned at what others are doing. I have hardly omitted any thing of what his majesty said on this occasion, by which you will see his majesty wishes he could have retained you in his service; but if you can make him amends, by taking your own way, he will forget all disappointments, and be pleased you should follow your own method, whether in business or out of it.”

“ June 25-July 5, 1700.—I delivered your key to his majesty on Sunday morning. He said he heard, that my lord Wharton made a triumph, that they had prevailed with you to quit every thing. I told him, more of those reports would run about, than were fit to be heeded; that you would never differ in the account you had given of the reason for your resigning. He said, he made no doubt of your integrity and affection. He was satisfied you would do all you could for his service and quiet; but, he still doubted how far you could influence others to be of your mind. The next day the key was given to my lord Jersey.”

“ Still, however, wearied with repeated importunities, and disappointed in his various efforts to restore harmony in the administration, Shrewsbury formed the resolution of retiring to the continent; and his purpose was strengthened by the dread lest the domestic feuds should terminate in a civil war, or produce a new revolution. He lingered in England several months, either to observe the contentions of parties, or to arrange his private affairs. On the return of the king from Holland, he obtained the royal permission to travel, and passed the evening of the 28th of October, at Hampton Court, in close conference with the king, a step which exposed him to the suspicion of having advised the change of ministry; which was then in agitation. The imputation, however, appears to have been groundless; for the duke had previously declared his decided disapprobation of many measures adopted by the king; and no less strongly, his determination to abstain

from any farther share in the contentions of the day. After taking an affectionate leave of his sovereign, he quitted London on the 1st of November, and on the 4th landed at Calais. He reached Paris on the 19th November, N. S., and paid his respects at Versailles, to the king of France, who, as he says, received him '*tolerably civilly*.' Short, however, as was the term of his visit at court, he did not escape some importunity from the friends of the abdicated monarch. He thus relates the incident; 'Nobody was so perfectly civil as my old acquaintance, the duke of Lauzun, for he began to tell me how kindly king James had always taken the civility I had shewn him, when I was sent on the message; and was grounding upon this some farther discourse, when I cut him short, and told him I confessed I had great compassion at that time for his circumstances, but desired that we might not discourse on that, but on any other subject. An hour after he took occasion to commend the prince of Wales; and wished that, by any means, I might have an opportunity of seeing so fine a youth. I told him I questioned not his merit, but had no great curiosity. But if I must see him, I would much rather it were here than in England. This reply dashed all farther discourse of this kind, though he continued extreme civil, walking with me all the time; invited the ambassador and me to dinner, and offered all civilities there, at Paris, or at Montpellier.'

"After a short stay of four days at Paris, the duke of Shrewsbury proceeded to the South of France, and on the eighth of December established his residence in the vicinity of Montpellier. He remained there little more than three months, and departing for Geneva, spent the summer in that city. In the commencement of September, he traversed the Alps into Piemont, and taking the route through Susa, reached Turin on the 5th. From thence, after a stay of only three days, he continued his journey through Genoa, Lucca, Pisa, and Florence, and arrived at Rome on the 20th of November, 1701.

"The retreat of a nobleman so much beloved by the king, so generally respected by men of all parties, and so highly endowed with personal and mental accomplishments, did not fail to occasion numerous speculations and conjectures. Some have supposed that he was more deeply implicated in the intrigues of the Jacobites than he ventured to avow; others, that his indisposition was merely political, and affected as a plea for withdrawing from a responsible post at a period when he expected the Stuarts would regain the throne. From the first charge, we think he may be fairly acquitted; but it is not improbable that his fears of a counter-revolution, and his abhorrence of party warfare, co-operated with the effects of bodily infirmity to drive him from his country, particularly when we consider the timidity inherent in his character, and the troubled circumstances of the times." (P. 181—186.)

The volume is distributed into three parts, of which the first consists chiefly of the correspondence of the duke with the king, specimens of which we have produced to the reader, and his intercourse by letters with the Earl of Portland and others, relative to his continuance in office, till his final resignation in 1700,

and his departure for the Continent. The second part contains three divisions; first, his correspondence with Admiral Russell, afterwards Lord Orford, during his command in the Mediterranean; second, the correspondence with Lord Galway, during the two last campaigns of the war in Italy; and third, the communications with the Earls of Portland and Jersey, and Sir Joseph Williamson, who were employed in negotiating the peace of Ryswick. Of this part we shall say nothing, but that Shrewsbury's part in the correspondence is worthy of his character. The letters are the least interesting of the collection, though it would have been a blameable omission in the editor not to have given them a place in his publication.

The third part into which the volume is divided, exhibits the confidential correspondence of the Duke of Shrewsbury, with the Earl of Sunderland, Lord Somers, and Wharton, Earl of Oxford, and Mr. Montague, Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was raised to the peerage by the title of Lord Halifax. "It embraces, as the editor observes, the period from 1695 to 1704. It opens a view of the transactions in the cabinet, and proceedings in parliament, and displays the jealousies which the king entertained of the Whigs, as well as the feuds which prevailed among themselves. It also unfolds the conduct of Lord Sunderland, exhibits his influence with the king, records the cabals which occasioned his disgrace, and traces the cause which led to the removal of the Whig administration."

Of this part of the book we would willingly have exhibited to our readers a larger proportion of extract, than we find upon calculating our space we shall be able to afford. We shall not, however, do justice to the editor, or do all we can for the reader's entertainment, unless we produce to him the interesting sketches with which we are favoured of the distinguished leaders of the Whig party.

"Robert, earl of Sunderland, who forms a prominent figure in the subsequent pages, was son of Henry, first earl of Sunderland, who fell at the battle of Newbury, in the royal cause, of which he was a zealous and distinguished supporter. The services of the father produced a predilection in favour of the son, and after the Restoration he was distinguished by marks of royal beneficence. His natural abilities being improved by a liberal education, and polished by foreign travel, he was initiated at an early period in public business, being sent, in 1671, as ambassador to the court of Madrid. From the satisfaction which he gave in this post, he was, in the following year, selected to fill the embassy to Paris, at a time when the negotiations with the court of Versailles were of the most secret and confidential nature. He was deputed as one of the plenipotentiaries to the congress of Cologne in 1673, and soon after his return to England, in the ensuing year, was made a privy counsellor.

"In 1678 he replaced Mr. Montague in the embassy at Paris; and having acquitted himself greatly to the satisfaction of the sovereign; during the negotiations for the peace of Nimeguen, he was, in 1679, promoted to the office of secretary of state, in conjunction with sir William Temple. A contemporary historian, who knew him well, observes, 'He was a man of great expense, and, in order to the supporting himself, went into the prevailing councils at court; so he changed sides often, with little regard either to religion or the interest of his country. He raised many enemies to himself by the contempt with which he treated those who differed from him. He had, indeed, the superior genius to all the men of business that I have yet known; and he had the dexterity of insinuating himself so entirely into the greatest degree of confidence, with three succeeding princes, who set up on very different interests, that he came by this to lose himself so much, that those who esteemed his parts, depended little on his firmness.'

"A nobleman of so subtle and insinuating a character, could not fail to acquire and retain power, under the crooked policy, which marked the reigns of the two last Stuarts. Accordingly, though he had, on several occasions, favoured the popular party, and at one time had even taken an active share in supporting the exclusion bill, he contrived to regain his influence; and, on the accession of the duke of York, under the title of James the Second, we find him in full possession of the royal favour, and holding the post of prime minister, with the two offices of president of the council and secretary of state. He even sacrificed his religion to his politics; and gratified his bigotted sovereign, by embracing the roman catholic faith, and by taking a leading part in the prosecution of the seven bishops. His sagacity led him, however, to foresee, that the precipitate counsels of James would speedily terminate in ruin; and we find the Proteus statesman caballing with the prince of Orange, and betraying to him the secrets of the cabinet. His infidelity being suspected, he was removed from all his offices, a short period before the Revolution.

"At that crisis he continued his secret correspondence with the prince of Orange, till the fear of detection prompted him to embark for Holland, at the moment when William was about to land in England. Here he gave a death blow to the cause of James, by publishing his celebrated justificatory letter, in which he developed the plans of that misguided monarch, and his roman catholic advisers, for subverting the religion and liberties of his country.

"He was, however, so unpopular, that, notwithstanding his services, he was arrested by the States; and, though liberated by order of the new sovereign, was excluded from the benefit of the act of indemnity passed in 1690. Having involved his fortune, by his expensive habits, he was reduced to great streights, in consequence of the loss of his lucrative offices; but his interests were supported by the earl of Marlborough, and other friends who had assisted in the Revolution, and who, by their influence with William, procured him a share of the royal bounty.

"During this part of his exile, his political sagacity, sound judg-

ment, and intimate acquaintance with the character of his countrymen and the temper of parties, won the confidence of William, who was chiefly guided by his advice, in the critical period which succeeded the abdication of James. On the change of sovereigns he again returned to the protestant church; and, as soon as a favourable opportunity offered, was recalled to his native country; and, by his suggestions, contributed to the reconciliation between William and the whigs, which led to the introduction of several of that party into the administration, and the subsequent appointment of Shrewsbury as secretary of state.

“He thus succeeded in conciliating the whigs; and though he remained for some time in a private capacity, was supported by a pension of 2,000*l.* per annum from the king. He continued to increase in favour, acted as mediator between the king and the whigs, on various occasions, and, in 1695, was honoured by a royal visit at Althorp, his country seat. This distinction was the prelude of his appointment to the office of lord chamberlain, in April, 1697, in which all the members of administration appear to have concurred, from a sense of the advantages likely to be derived from his personal influence and interposition with the king.

“From the ensuing correspondence we shall find him in the closest habits of intimacy with the duke of Shrewsbury, whom he resembled in political discernment and amenity of manners, as well as in timidity of character; but he could never vanquish the suspicion which the whigs naturally entertained of a nobleman who had been the favourite and confidential minister of James; and of whose influence with the actual sovereign they were jealous, even while they experienced its beneficial effects.

“Of this we have a remarkable proof, in the observations of admiral Russel to Shrewsbury, as early as August 1696, in reply to the information of the duke, that Sunderland was about to pay him a visit, and that he would find him ‘in good humour, mighty right, and more than ever for the whigs.’

“‘*Chippenham, Aug. 11, 1696.*—I am under some pain about the honour designed me by a great lord. I confess my fault and folly, that I cannot bring my tongue nor countenance to seem satisfied with a man I am not; but will do in it as well as I can. You say he is very much for us; it was plain that was his design to appear when he writ to Felton about coming hither, and complaining of some friend of his wanting friendship. It is an old saying, ‘when the fox is abroad, look to your lambs.’ No man is ever secure from his tricks; but he can play none very prejudicial, if he be not too much trusted and relied upon. If I had lord Marlborough’s art, I could use him in his own way; but I will do my best to learn as much as I can from the lord, and not let him know my thoughts; after which you shall be sure to know what has passed between us.’

“John Somers, so distinguished for his patriotism, politeness, talents, and legal knowledge, was born at Worcester, on the 4th of March, 1650. He was the son of an eminent attorney of that city, who, during the civil troubles, had served in the army of Cromwell, but quitted the

military life, after the battle of Worcester, and returned to his professional practice and the enjoyment of a competent fortune.

"The son acquired the rudiments of learning at a private school, and completed his education at Trinity College, Oxford; where he distinguished himself by his classical attainments, and is mentioned as author of several productions both in verse and prose. Entering at the Middle Temple, he prosecuted the study of the law with his characteristic assiduity, and became eminent as a counsel at the early age of thirty.

"The employment of his father, as agent for the Talbot property in Worcestershire, appears to have introduced him, at an early period, to the knowledge of the young nobleman, who was afterwards duke of Shrewsbury; and a similarity in principles, talents, and pursuits, led him also to an intimacy with lord Russel, Algernon Sydney, and other patriots of the time.

"Though he did not enter into the plots and machinations which were so fatal to his two friends, Sydney and Russell, he employed his pen in exposing the arbitrary measures of Charles the Second, and published several political tracts, which made a considerable impression. From his known hostility to arbitrary government, his zeal for the protestant establishment, and his legal celebrity, he was selected, in 1688, to plead the cause of the seven bishops; and his manly and pathetic speech on this memorable occasion, to use the words of a contemporary writer, 'will remain among those memoirs of our English constitution, which shall transmit the fame of worthy men to all posterity.'

"Nor did he belie, in his public conduct, the principles of which he was the advocate. He concurred in promoting the Revolution; and the confidence reposed in his zeal and patriotism was marked by his election, as one of the representatives of his native city, in the convention parliament. He took a leading share in the discussions on the new settlement; and, as one of the managers of the House of Commons, ably defeated the machinations of those who laboured to prevent the elevation of William to the throne. To his legal acuteness, and profound reasoning, we may chiefly attribute the insertion of the word **ABDICATED**, in the act of settlement, which was the foundation of William's title to the crown.

"Such services, joined to his high integrity, multifarious acquirements, influence with his party, and legal reputation, ensured the gratitude and esteem of our great deliverer. Accordingly, Mr. Somers was appointed solicitor-general in May, 1689, and attorney-general, in May, 1692. These promotions were the prelude to a higher elevation; for in 1693, when William was desirous of shewing his returning confidence towards the whigs, he gave a satisfactory proof of his favour to their party, by conferring on Mr. Somers the office of lord keeper, with the honour of knighthood.

"At the period when the correspondence commences, Somers was regarded as the leader of the whig party; and while his prudence and mildness checked the intemperate zeal of his more ardent colleagues, his rectitude, candour, and capacity for business, secured the conti-

dance of the sovereign. His early acquaintance with the Duke of Shrewsbury, now prime minister, had also mellowed into friendship; and their mutual esteem is marked in every page of their epistolary intercourse.

"Edward Russell, afterwards earl of Orford, was second son of Edward, earl of Bedford, and brother of the celebrated lord Russell. He was born in 1652, and, being bred to the sea, attracted the notice of the duke of York, and became one of the gentlemen of his bedchamber. On the execution of his brother, he quitted the court in disgust, withdrew from the service, and entered into correspondence with the prince of Orange, preparatory to the Revolution. For this purpose he removed to Holland, and accompanied the prince on his successful expedition to England.

"In reward for his attachment and services, he was nominated a privy counsellor by the new monarch. In 1688 he was appointed admiral of the blue, and soon afterwards created treasurer of the navy, and intrusted with the command of the fleet, on which the safety of the nation depended. He defeated the intended invasion from France, by his celebrated victory off La Hogue, in 1692; but, on the transfer of the administration from the whigs to the tories, his great services did not exempt him from sharing the fate of his party.

"The want of his energy and skill was, however, soon felt in every department of the naval service; and in restoring him to the command of the fleet, in 1693, the king did not less consult the public welfare, than his own wish to regain the confidence of the whigs. This proof of royal favour was soon followed by his appointment as first commissioner of the admiralty; and he was selected by the king to fulfil the arduous and responsible tasks of regaining the naval ascendancy in the Mediterranean, and of repelling the threatened invasion from France, in the year 1696; both of which services he accomplished with equal ability and success.

"Impetuous, aspiring, and interested, Russell continually offended the king, by his blunt and craving temper; and was himself an unceasing prey to fretfulness and discontent. Hence his frowardness frequently marred the merit of his great services; and, he so far manifested his spleen, that he was suspected of maintaining an occasional correspondence with the exiled family; though the actions of his life, and the frankness of his temper, perfectly exonerate him from the imputation.

"At this period he was esteemed by his party as their most distinguished leader, next to lord Somers; and united in his own person the incompatible offices of first lord of the admiralty and treasurer of the navy; though no one could have been selected, more competent to fill such important posts, nor more justly entitled to them by his eminent services.

"A long and intimate friendship had subsisted between him and Shrewsbury, which was cemented by a similarity in political principles, and by their joint labours in the cause of the Revolution; to which they were both, no less ardently than inviolably attached.

"Thomas, afterwards paron, earl, and marquis of Wharton, was

descended from a noble family, being the eldest son of Philip, lord Wharton. He was born about 1640, and brought up in the principles of the dissenters; while from his father, who had embraced the cause of the parliament, during the civil troubles, he imbibed notions of government approaching to republicanism. Conforming, however, to the established church, he served in several parliaments after the Restoration, and, though a companion in the revels of Charles the Second, he figured in the ranks of opposition to the court. In fact, he manifested so much violence, that in 1677 he was committed to the Tower, with the duke of Buckingham and the earl of Shaftesbury, for questioning the legality of the sitting parliament. With such a character he could not fail to be a warm, strenuous, and dangerous opponent of the arbitrary measures of James the Second. Accordingly, he was among the first who made overtures to the prince of Orange; and is said to have assisted in drawing up the plan of the celebrated declaration, inviting him to England. He joined the prince at Exeter, and took an active share in the settlement of the new government.

"His zeal and services were rewarded in February, 1689, with a seat in the privy council, and the post of comptroller of the household, and he zealously supported the whig administration. But on the introduction of the tory ministry, he was so offended with the dismissal of his friends, that he sent an anonymous letter to the king, penned in the most vehement style, and reproaching him with his ingratitude to those who had placed him on the throne. Notwithstanding the revolution in the ministry, he, however, still retained his office in the royal household; and was confidentially consulted by the king, when he determined to make a new change, in favour of the whigs, and was anxious to restore the seals to the duke of Shrewsbury. Wharton vigorously supported all the measures of his party, and, in particular, was selected to carry up to the lords the impeachment against the duke of Leeds. On the 24th of February, 1695-6, he took his seat in the House of Peers, in consequence of the death of his father.

"Wharton was of an ardent and impetuous temper, ambitious of distinction, and anxious to fill an elevated post in the state; for which he was doubtless qualified by his energy and abilities. He was a bold, able, and fluent, though coarse and turbulent speaker; but a master of the passions and prejudices of those whom he addressed, and calculated to shine in the tumult of elections and popular assemblies. He, however, disgusted the more sober part of mankind, by his open profession of infidelity; and he was disliked by the advocates of monarchy, for his tendency to republican manners and republican principles.

"Such a character sufficiently accounts for the antipathy conceived against him by William; who, though conscious of his talents and services, yet dreaded his aspiring temper, and was disgusted with his haughty demeanor.

"Notwithstanding his defects, Wharton stood high in the estimation of his party, who admired his inflexible adherence to their principles, and appreciated his abilities and activity. Hence we cannot wonder

that they supported his pretensions with indelible zeal and perseverance, and even sacrificed their own interests for the gratification of his wishes.

"Far different in temper and character was the last correspondent whom we shall have occasion to notice. Charles Montague, afterwards so honourably distinguished, under the title of earl of Halifax, was the grandson of John, duke of Manchester. He was born at Harton, in Northamptonshire, in 1661; and as his father, George Montague, was a younger son, no attention was spared, to enable him to maintain that rank by his talents, to which he was entitled by his birth. He commenced his education in the country; and afterwards removing to Westminster, he acquired the favour of the celebrated Dr. Busby, by his ready wit and classical attainments. At the university of Cambridge he was placed under the care of his relation, Dr. Montague, master of Trinity College, and formed an intimacy with sir Isaac Newton, which continued unabated till the death of that great philosopher.

"Attracting the notice of the earl of Dorset, the general patron of merit, he was introduced to the most celebrated wits of the age; and, among his other productions, joined with Prior, in the composition of the 'City and Country Mouse,' a parody on Dryden's Hind and Panther.

"Soon afterwards he sacrificed literature to politics, and, joining the other branches of his family, signed the invitation to the prince of Orange. He was chosen a member of the convention, and devoting himself to public life, purchased the place of a clerk of the council.

"He speedily distinguished himself in the House of Commons, by his splendid eloquence, sound judgment, and knowledge of finance. His solid acquirements were embellished by elegant taste, social qualities, and captivating manners; and he was no less beloved than esteemed by his party.

"After taking an important share in the debates on the new law for trials of high treason, he was appointed, in 1691, a commissioner of the Treasury, a post for which he was eminently qualified by his genius for finance. From the talents and diligence, which he displayed in this subordinate station, he was raised to the second place at the board; and appointed chancellor of the exchequer, in the year 1694, when the new ministerial arrangement was made in favour of the whigs.

"Notwithstanding the fervid eloquence of Wharton, Montague was regarded by his party, as their ablest champion in the House of Commons, and considered as their most skilful opponent to the tory leader, Harley, on questions of domestic economy and finance. Next to Somers, he was the whig most esteemed by the king, not only for his sterling sense, and useful talents, but for that amenity of manners, which his majesty so much admired in the duke of Shrewsbury." (P. 385—395.)

The short account given by Lord Somers of the King's
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resolution to leave his throne and the country, after the vote respecting the Dutch Guard, is too interesting to omit."

Dec. 29, 1698.—My lord; Your grace did extremely rightly judge where the difficulty would lie upon our friends, that is, in the point of the army. Their success in the Speaker gave occasion to some to say, every thing was possible, which they would attempt in good earnest. And the same persons are hearkened to, when they say, that their conduct, upon the debate in the House of Commons, was so far from aiming at what the king desired, that it was a downright delivering him up.

This has put the king upon great extremities in his purposes, as I doubt not your grace may have heard before this time. I have not acquainted you with his resolution sooner, because I thought it could not be taken up in good earnest. But I have had, this morning, such a sort of confirmation of it, that I cannot think it possible to have it carried on so far, if it be meant but as an appearance only, and to provoke us to exert ourselves.

His resolution is, when the next Wednesday's business is over, to come to the parliament, and tell them, that he came over to rescue the nation from the ruin impending over them, in which he succeeded, and had brought them to the end of a dangerous war, without any great misfortune; that now they had peace, and might provide for their own safety; that he saw they were entertaining distrusts and jealousies of him, so as not to do what was necessary for themselves; that he was, therefore, determined to leave England, but, before he went, would consent to any law they should offer, for appointing commissioners of both Houses, to administer the government, and, then they would not be jealous of themselves.

When he first mentioned this to me, I treated the notion as the most extravagant and absurd, that ever was entertained, and begged him to speak of it to nobody, for his own honour. He heard me patiently talk against it, for two hours, but concluded at last, as of a notion he still retained.

He has spoken of it to my lord Marlborough (which one would wonder at, almost as much as at the thing itself), Mr. Montague, and to my lord Orford, and, I believe, to divers others. The last time I saw him, he would not suffer me to argue with him, telling me plainly, he saw we should never agree, and he was resolved. I told him, I hoped he would take the seal from me, before he did it; that I had it from him, when he was king, and desired he would receive it from me, while he was so.

I should tell your grace, that, upon a meeting with Mr. Secretary, lord Coningsby, and divers others of the House of Commons, we all agreed in an opinion, that this business of the army could not be carried higher than 10,000, and that with the utmost difficulty, and not unless the country gentlemen would enter into the debate, which they would never do, unless it might be said to them, that it would be an acceptable service to the king, and that he would make the best of that number.

When this was told him, he was very much dissatisfied, and said,

he could not say a thing, which was but to deceive us, that he would leave all to Providence, having taken his resolution, and would go to Windsor, and stay till Saturday.

“What fruit the king is made to believe he may expect from such a proceeding, I know not, nor who are the movers to it. I think it infinitely prejudicial to him, and ruinous to the whole. I think, also, there is an extreme difficulty upon all our friends, who will, in the conclusion, fall under censure, however they act in this matter.

“I never wished for a thing, so passionately, in my life, as to have half an hour’s discourse with your grace, upon the subject. Is it not possible that I might receive a line or two of your’s, before this critical business is to come on? This is so considerable an incident, that I do not, at present, enter into the giving you my particular thanks, for the good advice in the last letter, which I had the honour to receive from your grace. I am sensible of it, as I ought to be, and will endeavour to make the best use of it, if the king’s purpose does not put me upon the necessity of being in no capacity of making any use of advice of such a nature.

“I do not know what Monsieur Tallard has said to the king, upon the news from Spain. He had an audience on Friday last. But I am told, from a very good hand, that at the court of France it is said, this resolution of the catholic king’s will make void the late treaty. Whatsoever the french king may have in his purpose, I take for granted, will not appear till after the winter is over. I am with all possible sincerity and respect, &c.

“The following is a copy of the speech, which king William intended to make to the parliament, inclosed in the preceding letter from lord Somers:

“I came into this kingdom, at the desire of the nation, to save it from ruin, and to preserve your religion, your laws, and liberties. And, for that end, I have been obliged to maintain a long and burdensome war, for this kingdom, which, by the grace of God, and the bravery of this nation, is at present ended in a good peace, under which you may live happily and in quiet, provided you will contribute towards your own security, in the manner I had recommended to you, at the opening of the sessions. But seeing to the contrary, that you have so little regard to my advice, that you take no manner of care of your own security, and that you expose yourselves to evident ruin, by divesting yourselves of the only means for your defence, it would not be just or reasonable, that I should be witness of your ruin, not being able to do any thing of myself to prevent it, it not being in my power to defend and to protect you, which was the only view I had in coming into this country. Therefore, I am obliged to recommend to you, to choose, and name to me, such persons as you shall judge most proper, to whom I may leave the administration of the government, in my absence, assuring you, that though I am at present forced to withdraw myself out of the kingdom, I shall always preserve the same inclination for its advantage and prosperity; and when I can judge that my presence will be necessary for your defence, I shall be ready to return,

and hazard my life for your security, as I have formerly done, beseeching the great God to bless your deliberations, and to inspire you with all that is necessary for the good and security of the kingdom."

"The intrepid and manly remonstrances of the chancellor, induced the king to forego his hasty resolution of withdrawing from England; but no representations could soothe his resentment against the whigs, for suffering their opponents to carry so odious a measure, as the reduction of the army. A deep sense of the royal displeasure, appeared to stimulate their zeal, but, when brought to the trial, they again shrunk from the contest, and suffered the bill to proceed, without a division. An attempt was, indeed, finally made to raise the intended establishment in England to 10,000 men, by proposing, that the number should be reconsidered in the committee: but this effort was feebly supported, and the proposal treated with contempt by the king, who considered so inadequate an addition as totally inefficient. At the last reading of the bill, however, an unexpected revulsion of sentiment appears to have taken place, among the independent members, and the measure encountered greater opposition than in any stage of its progress; but its advocates were still triumphant, for it was carried, on the 19th of January, by a division of 221 against 154." (P. 572—575.)

We shut up this entertaining volume with regret. We have from necessity omitted many letters of particular interest, for which the reader must take his revenge by resorting to the work itself. The learned and laborious editor is entitled to our best thanks, as members of the British public; feeling ourselves engaged by ties of gratitude, homage, and affection, to cultivate every opportunity of arriving at a better knowledge of the characters, principles, and course of action and exertion, which accomplished a revolution whereby this country has attained an elevation unequalled in the history of nations, and at which, in these times of reforming mummery and popular delusion, we proudly take our stand.

ARR. X.—THE EXISTING DISTRESSES OF THE COUNTRY.

The State of the Nation at the Commencement of the Year 1822. Considered under the Four Departments of the Finance—Foreign Relations—Home Department—Colonies, Board of Trade, &c. &c. &c. 8vo. Hatchard. London, 1822.

An Address to the Members of the House of Commons, upon the Necessity of Reforming our Financial System, and Establishing an efficient Sinking Fund for the Reduction of the National Debt; with the Outline of a Plan for that Purpose. By One of Themelves. 8vo. Richardson. London, 1822.

It is not our intention to occupy much space with the contents of either of these two pamphlets. The latter is employed in

recommending and explaining one of those crude projects of promoting the public welfare by plundering one class of the community for the supposed benefit of another, which do not merit a moment's attention from any thinking man, unless it be to brand them with that reprobation due to all that tends to familiarize the mind with plans of injustice. One of the proposals of this most sage member of parliament is, to reduce the legal rate of interest to four per cent., with a view to lighten the burden to landholders oppressed by mortgages. Will he deign to consider, what the effect of this well-meant aid would be? Every mortgagee would instantly file his bill of foreclosure; within a year the mortgagers would be foreclosed, unless they chose rather to borrow on annuity at what rate they could; and such a change would take place in the property of the soil, as England has not witnessed since the Norman conquest.

"The State of the Nation" is merely a vindication of the ministry. To a loose and clumsy, though affected and laborious style, it adds both the confusion arising from want of arrangement, and that which arises from excessive minuteness of division. Its statements of facts are seldom precise or complete; sometimes they are inaccurate, and sometimes inconclusive. The writer everywhere exhibits marks of a very partial and superficial acquaintance with political economy; but occasionally compensates for this deficiency by his sprightly ridicule of that which he so little comprehends:

"If ministers have not gone the full speculative length of those gentlemen, who in pamphlets and reviews out of parliament, and in speeches and essays within it (very commendable from their length and labour), have recommended the general adoption of all the theories of Smith and Turgot, they must not be denied, in the first instance, the praise of having listened to these speeches with a patience as commendable as the industry of the speakers; and in the next, of having supported, and personally attended, the appointment of the parliamentary committees for which they have asked. If these committees have, in most instances, had no other termination than in the publication of a long report, the cause is, doubtless, to be sought in the difficulty of the subject, and in the wide difference between theory and practice—between diagrams of navigation upon dry land, and practical courses rendered necessary by sea and winds. It is not requisite to inform his Majesty's ministers, that the first and best principles of commerce would be a perfect freedom of trade, and that in almost all cases legislators would act wisely in leaving it to find its own way. The same text-books and common-places were open for them as for their political adversaries. It was as easy for them, upon a petition from Manchester or Birmingham, to give a laborious summary of the three volumes of the *Wealth of Nations*. It was as easy for them to refer all national principles to the language of the exchange

and the bullion-market. But, having been educated in another school, they have learned that a nation has other interests besides those of money-making. They have learned that the first interest of the empire is in its national defence, and in the maintenance, in their full integrity, of those funds of our maritime greatness and revenue, under which we have attained our actual condition." (P. 63, 64.)

True; and what are those funds of our maritime greatness and revenue, except the national wealth! However contemptible the art of money-making may be, it should have been treated with more respect, from a consideration of its subservience to the great public concern of *tax-paying*. Since it would have been so easy for ministers "to make a laborious summary of the three volumes of the *Wealth of Nations*," it is a pity that one of the cabinet did not complete it for the use of their advocate. Their summary would have done him more good, than his defence will do them. So striking a proof of ministerial partiality for, and proficiency in, political economy, would have calmed the irritation naturally felt by every official mind towards a science, which has the disgrace of being better understood by Mr. Ricardo and Mr. Brougham than by the clerks of the treasury.

We shall satisfy ourselves with one specimen of the imperfect representations, by which this author supports his conclusions. To prove our increasing prosperity, he compares the exports and imports of 1821 * with those of a preceding period. Here every thing depends on the standard with which the comparison is made: and it should obviously have been made with the most seemingly prosperous of former years. Rejecting, however, 1815 and 1816, as times of "intemperate and unparalleled speculation," he takes, as his criterion, sometimes the year 1817 (the year immediately following what he had characterised as a season of extravagant commercial adventure, and which, therefore, would probably be a time of languor and exhaustion); and sometimes, if it suits his purpose better, an average of some of the years of the war. The point, therefore, which he has established is merely, that during the last year we exported and imported more than in some preceding year; and undoubtedly we must have made large strides towards ruin, before that proposition shall cease to be true at every successive stage of decay. What renders the fallacy of his principle still more apparent is, that, between the periods which he compares, a year may be found (1819), which, if admitted into his calculations, would have given results totally different from those which he has presented to us,

* When we speak of the exports of 1821, we mean the year ending on 5th January, 1821. It is in this sense that it is generally, though not uniformly, taken by the author of *The State of the Nation*.

In 1817, the official value of flax and hemp, the materials of our linen manufacture of all kinds, and therefore a more just criterion of the state of these manufactures than the quantity of the manufactured article, was in round figures 700,000*l*. In 1821, the official value of the same articles was 1,200,000*l*. In raw silk, (an article of the first consequence, inasmuch as it is the material of a manufacture now about to become one of the staples of the kingdom, and to push aside its former rivals, the silks of Italy and Lyons) the state of our imports through the above successive years has been equally promising." (P. 55.)

"Without going through the minute detail of figures, it will be sufficient to add, that, from 1816 to 1822, the amount of raw and thrown silk imported has increased from about half a million to nearly a million and a half; that is, to three times its former amount. This increase of importation is of so much the more consequence, inasmuch, as above said, it is the increase of a manufacture now rising amongst us from its former subordinate state, to the condition of one of our staples. In cotton, the comparative state of our imports is equally promising." (P. 56.)

"Within the same period of years, our importation of cotton, now the leading manufacture of the kingdom, and destined doubtless to become the clothing of the world, has increased from three millions to five, and in the year now about closing (1821), will exceed six millions." (P. 56.)

"The import of tobacco has in

In 1819 the importation of flax and hemp exceeded 1,400,000*l*. If we include raw linen yarn, which is surely one of the materials of our linen manufacture, the difference will be still greater. The importation of that article in 1819 was 255,697*l*.; in 1821, only 111,190*l*.

The importation of this article was, in 1819, 1,250,000*l*.; in 1821, 1,385,000*l*.

The importation of this article, in 1819, amounted to 5,767,547*l*. Here the year 1821 means not the year ending on January 5th, 1821 (which is the year commonly denoted by our author as the year 1821), but the year ending on January 5th, 1822. The reason probably is, that the importation of cotton in 1821 was comparatively small:

The importation of tobacco, in

exceed nearly by one-third from 1817 up to the present time." (P. 57.)

"From 1817 to 1821, the value of our cotton manufactures, exported, rose from 16,000,000 to 21,000,000. But in no year of the war had the value of these exports exceeded 18,000,000. When the accounts shall be made up for the year now current, namely, to January 1822, the value of our cotton exports will be found to exceed 23,000,000; such at least is the promise of the quarter now current." (P. 58.)

"Our linen manufactures have risen, between 1817 and 1821, from one million and a half to two millions, being double the amount of the same exports during either of the three last years of the war, 1811, 1812, and 1813." (P. 59.)

"Our exports in silk, though as to exports only an incipient manufacture, have gradually become in annual real value half a million, about one-fourth the amount of our linen exports." (P. 59, 60.)

"Our exports of iron and steel, wrought and unwrought, in the year 1821, maintain their average produce during the war, and in January 1822 will exceed the export of any former year." (P. 60.)

"From 1817 to the year 1821 our exports of refined sugar have increased from a million and a half to two millions, and have nearly doubled their amount in any year of the war." (P. 60.)

"Our tin, pewter, and plated goods, exceed, together, half a million in annual value, and exhibit an increase of nearly one half of their total amount above the war years of 1811, 1812, and 1813." (P. 60.)

1819, was 421,253*l*.; in 1821, 347,667*l*.

The exportation of cotton, in 1819, exceeded 23,000,000*l*.

The exportation of linen from Great Britain, in 1819, amounted to 2,174,594*l*.; besides, the exportation from Ireland, in that year, was much greater than in the year 1821.

This assertion is totally unfounded. In 1819 the exportation of silk was 213,480*l*.; in 1821, 164,703*l*.

These exports amounted, in 1819, to 1,469,098*l*.; and in 1821 to 1,214,426*l*.: and along with them the author should have classed hardware and cutlery, the exportation of which, in 1819, was 644,000*l*.; in 1821, 400,234*l*.

The exportation of this article, in 1819, exceeded 2,000,000*l*.

If we include with these articles jewellery and watches, the exportation of them, in 1819, amounted to 890,000*l*.; in 1821, it fell short of 600,000*l*.

"The average value of our India piece goods, exported, is gradually advancing from its amount of one million during the war, to a million and a quarter." (P. 61.)

The India piece goods, exported in 1819, amounted to 1,770,000*l.*; in 1821, to only 1,190,260*l.*

The comparison in "The State of the Nation," is likewise fallacious in the selection of the articles which are mentioned. The important articles which are omitted, are generally such as would have turned the scale against the author's argument, and therefore he suffers them to sleep in silence. For instance, the following is the comparative value of some of the omitted imports in the years 1819 and 1821.

Imports	in 1819	in 1821.
Wine.....	£896,346	£561,668
Madder and Madder-roots.....	721,712	236,570
Indigo.....	777,546	668,996
Dye-woods.....	above 250,000	about 90,000

The total exports in 1819 were nearly \$7 millions sterling; in 1821, they were under 32½ millions. The coffee exported in 1819, amounted to 2,151,118*l.*; in 1821, to 2,759,347*l.* In the latter year the exportation of earthen ware was lessened by nearly one-half, and of miscellaneous articles by one-fourth: that of leather, linen, and stationery, also fell considerably. In these observations we have taken, as the author has done, the official value as our standard. The real or declared value would have given us a still stronger case. For, according to the official valuation, the exports of 1819 amounted to 53,559,711*l.*; in 1821, to 48,951,467*l.*; and yet the values, as declared in these two years, respectively, were 46,611,348*l.* and 36,424,652*l.* While we object to the comparison of our export and import trade in 1821, with that of preceding years, as fallacious, we are far from asserting that our commerce has not been prosperous. The exports and imports for a single year prove little or nothing with respect to that particular year. It does not follow that the merchandise which is sent out of the kingdom is immediately sold at a profit, or that the goods brought in are in actual demand. The real extent of commercial transactions may be larger in years when it is in appearance somewhat less.

Instead of further examining the statements and semblances of reasoning contained in "The State of the Nation,"—an inquiry, which, as the subject is there discussed, could, at the most, enable us only to form an opinion on the conduct of ministers,—we propose to turn our attention to the actual situation of the country. We shall ascertain, if we can, the nature of the distresses now complained of; we shall examine, whether the events

of late years exhibit any circumstances, that will account for the peculiarities of our present state; and we shall try to conjecture, what are the hopes or fears, which may be most reasonably entertained with respect to the future. Such inquiries have a much higher claim upon us, than the eulogies or the philippics of party. Though the system of political administration has a great and direct influence upon the condition of a country, it is a most dangerous error to look upon it as the sole cause of national welfare or distress. There are sources of sweet and bitter waters, which rise much higher than any scheme of finance. While we watch with jealousy every proceeding of the rulers of the state, let us not imagine, that, when we have estimated their conduct correctly, we have taken a complete survey of the causes of the good or evil which actually exists among us.

We are not aware of any reason for supposing, that the wealth of the country, or the amount of its annual production and consumption, has of late years been, or is now, in a course of diminution. We have heard of lands thrown, or about to be thrown, out of cultivation; but we have not yet seen them: no visible marks of decay are to be found; nothing that shows that we have begun a retrograde career. The consumption of exciseable commodities, and consequently, it may be presumed, of necessaries, has increased. That the circumstances of the labouring population (notwithstanding the enormous addition made to their numbers within the last ten years) have not become worse, is proved, both by the absence of any unusual degree of mortality, and by the diminution in the poor's rates: how much of this diminution is to be ascribed to improvement of their condition in consequence of an increased demand for labour, and how much of it to the rise in the value of money, we do not stop to inquire. Our manufactures are evidently not in an unprosperous state; for our manufacturing population is in full employment, and liberally paid. Mr. Brougham, indeed, to prove the depression of our manufactures, has mentioned in parliament, that, at a late meeting of persons concerned in the iron trade, a proposal was made for reducing the number of their furnaces, that, by lessening the supply of the article, its price might be raised, and they might obtain a larger profit. The plan, as might have been expected, was rejected. Under the sheltering wings of a monopoly it might have had some success: but where a free competition existed, it could not be otherwise than injurious to those who should adopt it; for what else was it, than a scheme to gain more by leaving capital idle, than by employing it at a low rate of profit? Such a proposition proves only, that the persons who made it would be glad to get a larger rate of profit, if they could: and Mr. Brougham does not

not to be reminded, that the diminution of the rate of profit, far from being a symptom of decay, is the necessary effect of a more abundant accumulation of capital. It has sometimes resulted (and such is said to have been the state of things in France, in the latter period of Bonaparte's tyranny) from the blocking up of channels, that were before open to industry: but, among us, it clearly proceeds from the rapid accumulation of capital since the cessation of our immense war expenditure. The complaints which are often heard of the stagnation of foreign trade, are sufficiently accounted for by the same cause. He who can gain no more than 6 or 7 per cent., where lately he gained 10 per cent., may be forgiven, for not being aware that the declension of his profits is the effect of abundant national wealth. And if he has been trading on borrowed capital, for the use of which he is obliged to pay a fixed rate of interest, he has still greater reason to be dissatisfied.

In the midst of this unimpaired prosperity, there has been a general fall in the prices of commodities, different of course in different articles, but not estimated beyond the truth, if taken on an average at 25 or 30 per cent., and extending to other countries as well as England. "Many commodities," says the Report of the Committee on the State of Agriculture, "of extensive and general demand, the staple productions of other countries, such as corn, cotton, rice, and tobacco, in the United States of America; sugar and rum in the West Indies; tallow, flax, hemp, timber, iron, wool, and corn, on the Continent of Europe; appear to have fallen in price, in some instances more, and scarcely in any less, in proportion to the prices of those articles prior to 1816, than the fall on the price of grain in this country." The French farmer has of late been as loud as the English in his murmurs at the state of the markets, and as clamorous for protection against the influx of foreign grain. In consequence of this single circumstance, a heavy loss must have been sustained by all whose capital was invested in commodities that have thus fallen in price: and the distress thence arising must have been aggravated by the diminution in the rate of profit, which has accompanied it. A capitalist with 10,000*l.*, which he employed at a profit of 10 per cent., would have a yearly income of 1000*l.* That capital is reduced in value perhaps to 7000*l.*, on which he may find it difficult to gain more than seven per cent.; so that his yearly profits do not now amount to more than 490*l.*, or less than one-half of their former amount, while his debts, remaining undiminished, are ready to overwhelm him. There is, therefore, little wonder that there should be a general cry of distress among the greater number of those, who employ their own or borrowed capital in agriculture, manufactures, or commerce. Without any

diminution of the total wealth of the country, a great change has taken place in its distribution. While the holders of commodities have been losers, they who held money, or what gave them a right to demand money, have gained: debtors have paid, and creditors have received, more than they otherwise would. Fluctuations in the value of money necessarily occasion a very extensive alteration in the circumstances of individuals; but the alteration is accompanied with much more distress, when the value of money rises, than when it falls. When it falls, the holders of commodities, and all who have sums of money to pay, are gainers: purchasers and creditors,—men with money, or securities for money, in their hands—alone sustain inconvenience; and this inconvenience comes upon them, not so much in the shape of positive loss, as of want of participation in the gains of other classes. But when money rises in value, the losers are those, who are indebted, and consequently most likely to be embarrassed—who are actively engaged in supplying funds for the maintenance of productive industry, and whose embarrassments, therefore, are most likely to be felt through a wide circle. Their loss, too, presents itself in the most appalling and least ambiguous aspect—that of a positive diminution in the money value of their property.

The loss of the capitalist may much exceed the limits which we have hitherto traced. A part of his capital may have been so laid out, that it cannot be withdrawn, or have a different application given to it. It may have been expended, for instance, in buildings and machinery, which, in the new situation of things, would sell for a mere trifle. Instead of being the owner of the buildings, perhaps he only holds them under a long lease, and at a high rent. In this case, too, his embarrassments are augmented. His diminished profits are exhausted by these annual payments; and he is obliged to encroach upon his trading capital, which, unless a timely bankruptcy intervene, passes piece-meal into the hands of his lessor.

Such is, and, for some time, has been, the situation of the farmer. The business of the farmer consists in the employment of his own, or borrowed, capital, in the cultivation of the soil. A large portion of his capital must generally be laid out in permanent improvements, which it is physically impossible to withdraw from its agricultural application; and for which, in the event of a general fall of prices, he can obtain no adequate return.*

* The agricultural distress seems to be felt the least in those districts where the farmers are little superior to labourers; probably because there little capital has been expended on the soil. The distress has never been considerable in the West Riding of Yorkshire, and probably from the same cause. The want of leases discouraged the farmers from laying out their savings in permanent improvements, and the immediate vicinity of large manufacturing towns gave them great facilities for investing their money advantageously. It used to be a common complaint of landlords in that district, that the farmers never employed the money which they saved in improving the land.

He has, at the same time, to pay a fixed annual sum to the owner of the soil, which, if originally just, having been calculated according to the price of produce, must be greater than he can afford, now that the price has fallen. The landlord, especially after a period of considerable profits to the cultivator, and of gradually increasing rents, is unwilling to submit to a diminution of income. As the farmers have had the benefit of an occasional rise of prices, so they must bear the loss of what he conceives to be an occasional fall. The tenant, if bound by a lease, has no means of resisting the proprietor; and so long as he has a farthing in the world, may be compelled to fulfil his engagements. If he holds from year to year, he is fettered, not indeed by any legal necessity, but by circumstances not less irresistible than the obligations of law. If he gives up his farm, he loses the capital invested in it. The utmost compensation which will be allowed him for his improvements, (and it is only a liberal landlord who will, and only a wealthy landlord who can, make him any compensation,) will be extremely inadequate to the sums expended. He must dispose of his furniture, his implements, his cattle, all the various articles of his stock, and that, too, at a time when it will be scarcely possible to obtain a price for them. If his farm and stock were considerable in extent and amount, he sees himself forced to descend by these steps to poverty: if he had little beyond the scanty stock on a few acres, he beholds himself on the point of being reduced to beggary, and thrown out a vagabond upon the world. The former knows not how to employ the little which he has saved from the wreck—the latter knows not whither to fly for daily bread for himself and his family. Is it wonderful, that, in such a situation, the cultivator should hesitate to abandon his farm, till pressed by the most extreme necessity; and that he should lend a willing ear to the delusions of hope, which whispers that the fall of prices is only transient? If he has employed borrowed capital, his distress is greater, and his motive for struggling with and concealing his embarrassments still stronger. Were he to take steps for quitting his farm, he would immediately be called upon to repay what he had borrowed, and the sudden enforcement of such a claim would be his ruin. He, therefore, borrows on every side, or draws, from his capital, funds for the payment of accruing rent and interest. Part is paid—part runs into arrear: the rent is at last reduced; but his credit and his capital are already exhausted, and his previous embarrassments prevent him from paying a rent, which, were he unencumbered with debts, he could easily afford. The tenant being ruined, the landlord loses part of what was due to him, and is left with the farm on his hands. After a short time, a fresh occupier enters upon it, who, coming in with unimpaired resources, can pay a

considerable rent without inconvenience; though the former tenant, impoverished by the loss which fell upon him in consequence of the fall of prices, would probably have been unable to cultivate the land, even if it had been let to him at a rent merely nominal.

While the proprietor is thus exposed to heavy losses, in consequence of the non-payment of arrears, and the change of tenants, his expenditure goes on according to its usual scale. He is probably loaded with annual payments which he cannot diminish—such as jointures, and the interest of mortgages, or of the portions of younger children, charged upon his estate. When his rents are reduced, charges like these, and the debts in which he will probably have become involved during the transition from the former state of prices, will render him a distressed man, even if his family and personal expenditure should be diminished in the same proportion with his rental.

In the absence of taxation the distress would gradually pass away. As soon as the fall of prices was at an end, the merchant would go into the market with his capital, reduced indeed in money value, but capable of procuring as much of all commodities, except money, as before; and any permanent deterioration of his condition, could arise only from the fall of the rate of profit—a circumstance which, in England, has accompanied, though it has no necessary connection with, the fall of prices. The manufacturer, in consequence of his greater proportion of fixed capital, would suffer both for a longer time, and more severely. From the same circumstance, in concurrence with the other causes which we have mentioned, the distress of the farmer would come on still more gradually, would last still longer, and be felt still more severely: nor would it pass away completely, till the lands were in the management of farmers free from debts contracted during the period of high prices, possessed of disposable capital either belonging to themselves or recently borrowed, and paying rents proportional to the actual price of agricultural produce. As soon as this should happen, every class of persons (putting any variation in the rate of profit out of the question) would be as much at their ease as before, because their expenses would be lessened in the same proportion with their incomes. All articles of home production would, of course, have partaken, and partaken uniformly, in the general fall. As to foreign imports, if the country which furnished them had experienced the same alteration in the value of money as England, they would be proportionably cheaper here. If money there had risen more than here, they would fall in more than their due proportion, and in less, if money there had not risen so much as here. But in either case the variation from the general rule would be

temporary, and the commodities of foreign growth would, by the necessary operation of commerce, fall ultimately in the same degree with our home productions.

Taxation alters the case materially, inasmuch as it constitutes a part of every man's expenses, which will not be diminished in the same proportion with his income. So far as the taxes are direct, it is clear that they absorb, after a general fall of prices, a larger portion of his income, and leave him less for the supply of his wants and the purchase of enjoyments. So far as they are laid on commodities in the shape of customs, excise, &c. they prevent these commodities from falling in price in the same proportion as those which are untaxed. Let a yard of woollen cloth be worth 20s., and a yard of silk worth 12s.; impose a tax of 8s. per yard on the silk, its price must rise to 20s. per yard.* After some time let money rise one-fourth in value, the yard of woollen cloth will fall to 15s., but the yard of silk will fall only to 17s.; because the 8s. paid as a tax remains a constant quantity, and the variation in the value of money can affect only the price, at which the commodity would sell if not taxed, that is, 12s. In the event, therefore, of a rise in the value of money, the consumers of taxed articles sustain a loss equal to a part of the amount of the tax, proportional to the rise in the value of money. In the case which we have put, the consumers of silk lose 2s. ($\frac{1}{3}$ of 8s.) in every yard which they purchase. If the tax be diminished at the same rate at which money rises in value, the circumstances of individuals will not be affected by the rise, because every article will be cheaper in a corresponding degree.

Upon the whole, the fair inference from the analysis of the effects naturally flowing from a rise in the value of money, is; that the existing distress has proceeded from such a rise, as its principal, and indeed sole original cause: and that it may have been aggravated by taxation, in so far as our public burdens have not suffered a corresponding diminution. Whether they have suffered such a diminution, we shall not pretend to determine. The taxes, which have been taken off since the end of the war, amounted to a full fourth of the public revenue; and they were of a nature to affect most those who are now the principal sufferers—the capitalists and the landlords. It is vain to object, that our remaining taxes have risen in effective value, so that our burdens have not in reality been lightened. Whatever the mischiefs of taxation may be, our taxes, if not in reality greater now than during the war, cannot be the cause of the existing distress. In attempting to account for the difference between the former and the present situation of certain classes of the com-

* Strictly speaking, it will rise to more than 20s.; because the manufacturer or merchant, who advances the tax, must be allowed profit on the sum so advanced.

unity, we cannot, by dilating on circumstances, as we do in both periods, make a single step towards the knowledge of the truth, however much we may thereby promote the purposes of faction. It is very conceivable, that the whole of the distress, now complained of, in England, might have existed, though we had not paid one farthing of taxes during the last century: that the diminution of taxation, to a large amount, would, undoubtedly, give a certain degree of relief: not however, because taxation is the root of the evil, but because an improvement would thus be effected in every man's situation, which would, in some degree, counterbalance the individual distress occasioned by the alteration of prices. On this subject two errors prevail among different classes, and we know not which of the two is the more dangerous:—the one, that taxation is the cause of the existing distress; the other, that the removal of taxes would not operate as relief.

Having now traced back our present embarrassments to their immediate source, the next inquiry which presents itself is, what is the cause of the general alteration of prices. The hypothesis of those who ascribe it, to our return to cash payments, is overturned by the simple fact, that for more than two years and a half before the enactment of Peel's Bill, the average depreciation of our currency did not exceed 2½ per cent., and, consequently, our return to cash payments could not affect our currency to more than that amount. The question is, how comes an ounce of gold to be equivalent to a greater quantity of commodities now, than six or seven years ago? It is no explanation to say, because we can now exchange our paper currency to a level with the metallic, but cannot account, *except in a very slight degree*, for the increase which has taken place in the value of the precious metals themselves. We have said, *except in a very slight degree*; because our return to cash payments, by increasing the demand for gold and silver in the European market, may have produced some inconsiderable rise in their value. On the other hand, the demand for the precious metals, occasioned by our great foreign expenditure, has ceased. Whichever of these two opposing circumstances may have prevailed, in neither case can the excess of influence have been great.

Others ascribe the general alteration of prices, sometimes in part, sometimes in whole, to the disturbance or obstruction of the old channels of trade. *Transition from war to peace, loss of continental monopoly*, are sonorous and indefinite phrases, which may well be supposed capable of accounting for every thing. The satisfactory reply to all such hypotheses is, that our trade is

greater than during the war; and, consequently, no part of our distress, and, least of all, of our agricultural distress, can be ascribed, by any chain of broken metaphors, to a supposed derangement in the channels of commerce. It is curious, that the loss of the continental monopoly, so much regretted by some clear-headed politicians among ourselves, is equally the subject of regret among the French, who imagine, that they, and not we, enjoyed the benefit of that monopoly. A year and a half ago, the manufacturers and shopkeepers of Normandy universally ascribed their diminished gains to the interference of England with those markets, which France had supplied exclusively during the war.

The peculiar circumstances of the present situation of the world, should, and may be accounted for on much more general principles.

“Whenever the value of money has either risen or fallen (the quantity of goods against which it is exchanged, and the rapidity of circulation remaining the same), the change must be owing to a corresponding diminution or increase of the quantity; and can be owing to nothing else. If the quantity of goods diminish, while the quantity of money remains the same, it is the same thing as if the quantity of money had been increased; and, if the quantity of goods be increased, while the quantity of money remains unaltered, it is the same thing as if the quantity of money had been diminished. Similar changes are produced by any alteration in the rapidity of circulation. By rapidity of circulation is meant, of course, the number of purchases made in a given time. An increase in the number of these purchases has the same effect as an increase in the quantity of money; a diminution, the reverse.”—(Mill's Elements of Political Economy, p. 27.)

Now, the enjoyment of profound peace throughout the world must have increased every where the powers of production. Causes of destruction, that were in constant operation during the war, have ceased to act: industry has in many cases received a more useful direction: land and capital, for instance, that were formerly devoted by our continental neighbours to the culture of tobacco; or of substitutes for tropical produce, are gone back to a cultivation better adapted to the soil and climate: the expenses of carriage have been lowered, and a surplus capital thereby left at liberty to seek other employment: the diminished annual expenditure too of the different governments leaves in the hands of the members of each community greater funds for the maintenance of labour. There can, therefore, be no doubt, but that there has been an increased production in every part of the world; and, according to the admitted principles of political economy, as explained in the passage quoted above, this increased production, not counterbalanced by a correspond-

ing increase in the quantity of the precious metals, must have added to their value throughout Europe.

On this subject, it is of great importance, that we have an accurate conception of the effects of the diminution of the expenditure of government. In every country, a certain ratio exists between the production and the consumption on the one hand, and the total consumption, and that part of it which is unproductive, on the other. As the expenditure of government is unproductive; the cessation of that expenditure diminishes the unproductive consumption of the country, and additional funds remain in the hands of individuals. An unproductive individual consumption, equal to that which has just terminated, cannot spring up suddenly; and though the reproductive consumption may be increased, so as to render the total consumption greater than before, yet, this additional reproductive consumption is counterbalanced, as to its effect on the markets, by the additional quantity of commodities which it creates. Thus, the diminution of the unproductive consumption, must necessarily be followed by a more abundant supply in proportion to the demand, than existed before. The consequence must be a general fall of prices, the inconveniencies of which will be aggravated by the loss and embarrassment occasioned to capitalists, by their inability to dispose of their stock on hand.

These two circumstances—increased production and diminution of unproductive consumption—are quite sufficient to account for the distress which has been experienced in this country, as well as in every other part of Europe. If the pressure is now felt most severely by the agriculturists, the cause will be found in those peculiar circumstances in their situation, which we have already pointed out. Perhaps, too, the agricultural improvements of preceding years may now be coming completely into effect, and, coupled with a succession of good harvests, may have depressed the price of produce below its natural level. The distress, therefore, originates from causes temporary in their nature, and will, of course, be temporary in its duration. While it does last, those who are exposed to suffer from it, are not within the reach of legislative aid. Parliament cannot, by the force of words, restore capital, which has been exhausted by a change in the value of money; and by the necessity of paying, out of diminished funds, the interest and principal of loans, and rents raised for some time above their natural level. Parliament cannot, without injustice, free men from the debts which they have contracted. Parliament cannot, by any artifice, short of the destruction of capital, increase the rate of profit. But, if the present distress is such as the legislature would in vain attempt to relieve, it is a consolation to reflect, that its continuance and ex-

ment are limited by a power higher than that of artificial law. Our capital, far from being diminished, exhibits symptoms of rapid increase, and a due portion of it will necessarily flow towards the cultivation of the soil. A change injurious to the present farmers has taken place; but, in this respect, they are merely unlucky speculators, whose misfortunes are no proof of the unprosperous state of the country.

Some men, indeed, whose opinions are entitled to the highest respect, believe, that the poorer soils now under the plough, must be thrown permanently out of cultivation. If there is for the moment an accidental over-production of corn, so that the supply exceeds the demand, the growth of it may, and should, for a time be diminished. But this diminution can be only temporary. In consequence of the increase of population which must take place under such circumstances, the demand will soon come to bear the same proportion to the supply as before; and as, whatever may be the value of money, the exchangeable value of corn, compared with that of commodities consumed in producing it, will not be permanently diminished, cultivation will soon reach its former extent. The poorest lands lately in cultivation must have afforded a return equal to the consumption of the cultivator, and the profits of his stock. The expense of the cultivation of corn, as compared with that of the production of other commodities, has not increased. Consequently, every soil, which has afforded a surplus hitherto, must afford a surplus in time to come. Nay, there are circumstances which must gradually bring under the plough soils, which, as yet, it has not been possible to turn to advantage. Such is the diminution of the rate of profit. A piece of land which will yield twelve bushels of corn, eleven bushels having been expended in the cultivation, cannot be cultivated, while profits remain at 10 per cent.; but let them fall to 9 per cent., and the cultivation of it then becomes lucrative; first, because even if the expenses were the same as before, the excess of the produce is greater than the requisite rate of profit; and secondly, because the diminution of the rate of profit lowers the value of the articles consumed in cultivation; in other words, lessens the expenses of cultivation, and by that means creates an additional surplus. Improvements in agriculture, whereby an equal return is obtained at a diminished cost—improvements also in the manufacturing or commercial arts, in consequence of which, articles consumed in cultivation are supplied at a cheaper rate—all have a similar tendency. They all contribute to enlarge the circle over which cultivation may extend. They are all favourable to the landlord by increasing his surplus, or creating a surplus for him where none existed before, and improvements in manufactures and

commerce are more especially beneficial to him; because, at the same time that they add to the quantity of his surplus, they increase its exchangeable value as compared with that of the articles to the production of which they contribute.

The only thing which can interrupt this favourable course of events, is an increase of taxation affecting the expenses of cultivation. Such an increase operates like a diminution of fertility. By transferring to government a portion of the produce, it diminishes the fund out of which the expenses of cultivation are to be defrayed; and must, therefore, tend to render it impossible to cultivate soils, which, before the increase of taxes, afforded merely a bare profit. Probably, our taxation, as affecting the growth of corn, has not been reduced in proportion to the rise in the value of money, and, therefore, has in effect increased; for though landlords and farmers have been freed from the income tax, that imposition merely diminished rents and profits, without altering the expense of cultivation. The fall in the rate of profit, however, will be found to be an equivalent for the slight increase (if any) in the real amount of the taxes which enter as ingredients into the cost of growing corn; and consequently there is no reason for supposing, that the cultivation, even of the poorest soils which have been brought under the plough, will be permanently unprofitable hereafter. Unless the whole course of national affairs be altered; unless our capital shall be destroyed; or our manufacturing, and commercial arts, lost; unless the nature of our soil be impoverished, or the power of industry over it cease; our agriculture must not only maintain itself at the height which it has reached, but it must go on gradually increasing, and the situation of the landholder must in the same degree become more advantageous. The prospects of the farmer are different. Except in so far as, by his personal toil and that of his family, he comes into the class of labourers, he must be in the situation of other capitalists. As the rate of profit becomes less, his income must be impaired, and his circumstances deteriorated.

With this conviction, that the existing distress is of a very temporary nature, and is not such as to stop our career of national prosperity, we shall now examine the schemes by which it has been proposed to apply an artificial remedy to present evils; and we shall be prepared to bear the disappointment with patience, if we find their efficacy to be much below that which their proposers expect.

We shall begin with the scheme, which, having been proposed by ministers, will probably be adopted—that of loans to parishes upon the security of their rates. It cannot be meant, that the loan should be employed by the parish itself; for in that case, it

would amount merely to a present increase of parish expenditure upon the credit of future rates, in opposition to the best established doctrines of law, and all the dictates of common sense. If, again, the loan is advanced by the parish to individuals, it can be useful only to those, who, by the time of repayment, shall be able to have funds sufficient for the cultivation of their farms, but who could not obtain these funds in the intervening period. To a farmer, for instance, who has a large stock of grain on hand, which he cannot dispose of, such a temporary relief might be of service. In general, however, we can see no mode in which it can be expected to confer essential benefit: while, on the contrary, we cannot help apprehending, that it may prove to many the occasion of plunging still deeper into embarrassment. It may give them the means of clearing off some of their arrears of rent, and other pressing debts; and when the time of repayment arrives, individuals and parishes will suffer together. The rates are a fund for the payment of certain inevitable expenses. They are appropriated, by their very nature. To mortgage them, therefore, is, in other words, to expose a parish to the payment of double rates. The former loans to the commercial interest stood upon a principle entirely different. They were advances upon the security of property exceeding in value the sum lent. The proposed loan is to be made to men, who, being without property, have no security to give. We cannot even imagine in what respect this remedy can meet any of the peculiar circumstances of the evil. Its greatest praise is, that it is not likely to do much harm. It has often been said, that an ambassador must know how to talk without saying any thing; and we are almost tempted to believe, that one of the first requisites in a minister is to seem to be doing something, when he is in reality doing nothing.

Another scheme, which has been frequently mentioned, is, to change our system of taxation, and replace the greater part of our excise duties by an income tax. Articles, which now contribute to the excise, would become cheaper, and, the expenses of cultivation being thereby diminished, poorer soils might be brought under the plough, if an increasing population should require an increasing supply of corn. As a remedy for a temporary evil, it is liable to the objection of throwing additional pressure upon the classes who have already suffered and continue to suffer—the landholders and capitalists; and of these two it presses most heavily on the latter, who, in fact, are the persons who stand most in need of relief. To the capitalist it would diminish his profits, and that to an amount probably greater than the tax; since by lessening the quantity of capital requisite for cultivation, it would expose each portion of capital to an in-

creased competition. So far as respects the landlord, though immediately oppressive, it might ultimately be advantageous to him; because it would increase both the quantity and the exchangeable value of the surplus which constitutes his rent. Considering the scheme as a permanent system of taxation, it is sufficient to remark, that the profit on capital, having in a progressive state of society a constant tendency to become less, should be spared in taxation; and that, on the contrary, rent, always increasing, is a fund peculiarly fit for yielding contributions to meet the public exigencies.

All the other plans of relief resolve themselves into a diminution of taxation; and it is demanded on the ground both of justice and policy, that those burdens should be removed first, which affect agriculture directly. The claim is supported on the ground of justice, because the farmer, it is said, pays more than his due share of the public burdens. When you call for proof of this assertion, reference is immediately made to the poor's rates. The amount of the poor's rates is however greater in appearance than in reality, for in many parts of the kingdom a considerable portion of the wages of agricultural labour is paid in the shape of rates. Nor does the amount, such as it is, fall exclusively on the landed interest. A very large proportion of it is borne by the other classes of the community; for proof of which we appeal to the rates raised in London; and in all our manufacturing and commercial towns and villages. But whatever be the amount of the burden borne by the landed interest, it is not paid by the cultivator; for it is impossible to subject capital employed in agriculture to any peculiar disadvantage. It is a charge upon the rent; and for this charge the proprietor is perhaps more than indemnified, by the tendency of the poor laws to diminish the recompense of labour, and thereby the expenses of cultivation.

But even if there were taxes which affected agriculture directly, we should question the policy of repealing these in preference to others. A tax on soap raises the price of that article. So the taxes in question must raise the price of corn; and the repeal of them, by lowering that price, would aggravate the inconveniences which the farmer has experienced from the alteration in the value of money. Indeed, we are inclined to believe, that the principal reason why agricultural produce has sustained a greater fall of price than most other commodities, is, that it has been less burdened with taxation. Let two articles sell each for 10*l.*, and let the taxation which enters into the price of the one be 6*l.*, while that on the other is only 2*l.*: if money rise in value one-fourth, the former will fall to 9*l.*, the latter to 8*l.*; and the dealers in the latter will be exposed to more inconvenience, than those who have invested their capital in the former.

On the other hand, by the removal of excise duties, the commodities subject to excise fall in price, and the exchangeable value of agricultural produce is augmented, at the same time that the expences of cultivation are diminished. Any advantage that might be expected from the other scheme in consequence of an increased demand for corn, occasioned by the diminution of its price, will be equally obtained by this plan; for, less being spent in excoiseable commodities, there remains a surplus which may be applied either in procuring more agricultural produce, or in any other manner, according to the particular circumstances of the society and of each individual in it. On these grounds we are inclined to believe, that the removal of taxes on articles of general consumption would be more beneficial to the agricultural interest, than the repeal of burdens directly affecting the production of corn.

The advantages, however, that would accrue from a diminution of taxation, would neither be so great nor so immediate, as is generally imagined. Even if that boon were conceded to us instantaneously, its effects would be slow and gradual, and it would have no peculiar operation in favour of the agriculturists: It would not restore any part of their lost capital; it would not relieve them from their contracts; it would not augment their rate of profit. Indeed, by contributing to bring prices even lower than the present level, it would make the pressure of the fixed money-payments, to which they are subject, still more heavy. It should farther be considered, that taxation, so far as it affects rent, has no operation upon those among whom the existing agricultural distress originates,—we mean the farmers; and that the consumption of those articles, which contribute most largely to the public revenue, is more general among the commercial and manufacturing classes, than among the agricultural. To convince ourselves that the present embarrassments have little connection with taxation, we have only to look to the situation of Ireland. The whole revenue of Ireland is about four millions, of which one half arises from the excise and assessed taxes; yet the distress is infinitely greater there than among us. Were every contribution to the state to be taken away to-morrow, is any man visionary enough to believe, that any great or sudden improvement in the situation of that country would take place? Scotland, with a population not exceeding one third of that of our sister island, and with a soil and climate comparatively unfavourable, pays, in excise alone, a sum nearly equal to half the total revenue of Ireland, and yet has not one tenth part of the distress. Ireland is, perhaps, more lightly taxed than any country in the industrious parts of Europe,—much more lightly than France, and most parts of Germany and Italy; and one impor-

tant truth, for the consideration of the English agriculturist is, that if he can stand the competition of the Irish grower of corn, he has little reason to dread the competition of countries more remote and more heavily burdened.

Though we cannot ascribe to the diminution of taxation all the various virtues which it is commonly supposed to possess, it is still a most important advantage; and it is pleasing to be able to entertain a firm assurance, that it is an advantage which, if Europe remain in tranquillity, we must ere long enjoy to a considerable extent. Now, for the first time, we find ourselves with a revenue more than sufficient to meet the current expenses of the year. The annual charge of our funded and unfunded debt is under 31 millions, which, by the proposed reduction of interest in the 5 per cents*, will be brought down to less than 29½ millions: the expenses of our government will be about 19 millions; so that our total expenditure will be under 49 millions. The net revenue of the last year was 55 millions; and, allowing a million and a half for the proposed repeal of part of the duty on malt, and without supposing any increase, our income may be taken at 53½ millions. There will consequently be a surplus of 4½ millions, applicable to the reduction of the public debt. Hitherto we are acquainted only with the results of a debt, either stationary or increasing more or less quickly; for, up to the present time, the operation of our nominal sinking fund has been counteracted by a contemporary equal or greater increase of debt. Now that there is an effective surplus to be applied in the actual reduction of debt, the effect on the capital of the country will be such as it would seem almost extravagant to conjecture, and the time cannot be far distant, when government will find no difficulty in borrowing at 3 per cent. By that means the charge of the debt will be lowered to between 26 and 27 millions *par annum*. How far the annual expenses of government may be reduced below their present amount, it is not equally easy to tell. Of all duties which fall to the lot of rulers, that of retrenchment is the most difficult and severe. Look only at the private establishment of an opulent nobleman at his country seat; see what difficulty there is in regulating it, so as to keep the cost of its maintenance within moderate limits, though the master's eye, quickened by a strong and immediate interest, is constantly present; and, after all that can be done in the way of prudent management, how much waste there still is, how many

* The policy of converting the 5 per cents into 4 per cents when the 4 per cents are under par (say at 97), may be questioned. However much the rate of interest may fall, we shall not be able to avail ourselves of it until after three years, without incurring a loss in consequence of the nominal capital created, which will be greater than the intermediate saving of interest.

persons and things, whose services are not wanted, and how much superfluous expense insinuates itself into even the necessary arrangements of the household. He who takes these things into consideration, and then reflects on the multitude, the variety, the complexity, in many cases the distance of the establishments for conducting and protecting our public administration in different parts of the world, will not be hasty to condemn our rulers, because the work of retrenchment does not proceed so rapidly as he might wish. It is a work, which, above all others, requires time and investigation: rapidity there, is for the most part cruelty and injustice. The most important species of economy is that, which, without diminishing the services obtained, but distinguishing between what contributes effectively to them, and that which is mere incumbrance or superfluity, accomplishes the same ends at a diminished expense. This species of economy requires a minute knowledge of the smallest details in every branch of the public service, which can scarcely be expected to be found in the principal functionaries of state, and which subordinate officers will often have an interest in suppressing. It is for this reason that we owe much gratitude to that indefatigable individual, whose searching industry brings almost every part of our public establishments before the view of the public, and forces upon ministers a knowledge, of which, but for him, they would not feel the want. Without proceeding in the career of retrenchment quite so far as this laborious pioneer has proposed, no doubt can be entertained, but that our expenditure may still be diminished considerably. Several large heads of it consist of payments to individuals who served in the late war, and must naturally diminish in every successive year. Other charges must be affected by the change in the value of money. Upon the whole, we make no extravagant supposition, if we conjecture that, in a short time, our permanent annual expenditure will not exceed 16 or 17 millions: so that, with the interest of our debt, as estimated above, our whole yearly outgoings will be about 43, or 44 millions. We shall then have nearly a sum of 10 millions, increased by the accumulations of interest on the sums which shall, in the mean time, be redeemed, and by any intervening improvement that may take place in the revenue, applicable annually to the reduction of our national debt.

With these prospects, it may fairly be made a matter of grave deliberation, whether it would not be prudent, immediately to remove taxes to nearly the amount of the probable surplus of the year. The principle, on which such a measure would be recommended, is, the superior value of present relief, and the unnecessary hardship of paying off any part of the debt in a time of distress. The objections to it are, its tendency to delay the arrival of the

time, when we shall be able to enjoy the relief arising from the diminution of the interest of the debt, and the probability that, on the same grounds, every successive surplus of income will hereafter be looked on, not as a fund for lessening our debt, but as a means of lessening our taxes. At the present moment either alternative may be adopted without serious detriment to the country. Even with its present taxes it will prosper. And should these taxes be lessened by 34 millions more than ministers propose to take off, a surplus revenue will still exist, small, indeed, at present, but likely to increase rapidly. Ministers, however, in limiting the relief from public burdens to the saving which accrues from the reduction of the interest on the debt, have adopted a rational and prudent principle. If they are in an error, it is the very uncommon error of preferring a greater distant to a less present good—the permanent welfare of the country to their own popularity.

With such prospects before us, what shall we say of those men, who presume openly to recommend a national bankruptcy? The time has been, when even political adventurers would have been ashamed to hold the language, which is now constantly in the mouths of our country gentlemen. They, who in times past were always revered as the soundest part of the community, have allowed their fancy to be stimulated by the project of plundering the fundholders, in order to gain a little for themselves. They are ashamed, however, publicly to proclaim themselves robbers, and they therefore endeavour to varnish over their injustice with a kind of diluted equity. They pretend, for instance, that it is not fair to pay, in our present money, the interest of sums borrowed in a depreciated currency. But, even on their own principle, they must indemnify the public creditor for the loss he has sustained in past times, in consequence of the temporary depreciation of money; they must increase the interest on the whole of the old debt, contracted when the money-prices of articles were even lower than at present; and they must protect the fundholders against every future fall in the value of money. By such arrangements the nation would lose instead of gaining by her fraud:—for fraud it most undoubtedly is, to interfere on any pretext with the faith of contracts. Did you specify in your contract with the public creditor, that he was to have all the loss, but none of the benefit, that might accrue from a variation in the value of money? And if you had introduced such a condition into your bargain, could you have borrowed on the same terms? Surely there is nothing in the situation of the fundholder, which should exclude him from his share of benefit in the vicissitudes of human affairs.

One set of projectors (and among them is the author of the

second of the above-mentioned pamphlets) propose, that we should pay, not the nominal capital of the debt, but only the sums actually advanced to government, with an equitable allowance for the higher rate of interest, which would, in that case, have been paid; or, in other words, they propose to augment our present burdens by increasing the annual charge of the debt, and to gain a distant future advantage, by annulling the terms of the contract between the nation and the public creditor, and by substituting, in its stead, such an agreement as shall to them seem meet. The wisdom and morality of this scheme are in admirable unison, "*quales decet esse sorores.*"

We cannot condescend to enter into a minute discussion of the absurdities and villany of such schemes of fraud: nor is it worth while. Far from being carried into effect, they will never be even listened to in Parliament. Whatever may be the temporary delusion of a few country gentlemen overwhelmed with mortgages, our great aristocratical interests, whether Whig or Tory, will support ministers in the maintenance of the public faith, and England will have another instance to add to the many already recorded in her history of the inestimable benefit accruing to a country from the compact political influence of opulent nobles. They have been called the ornamented Corinthian capital of society. The metaphor does not do them justice. They are, in fact, the key-stone of the political arch. They will not tolerate, that the fame of England should be tarnished, and that, too, in circumstances which hold out no motive or excuse for a public breach of faith.

To those who are willing to sacrifice public honour to their own imagined interests, we would suggest, that crimes, to accomplish their purpose, must go on in a long train, and that it would be well for them to consider, how the policy they recommend may probably terminate. If legislators, hurried by the impetuosity, or awed by the influence of one class, violate the legal rights of any part of the community, they must make more than one step in the career of injustice. The road will become rough and more thorny, as they proceed; and the final result will bring the heaviest destruction upon those, whose engrossing selfishness and mole-eyed ignorance first urged a deviation from the clear path of integrity.

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THE
BRITISH REVIEW,

AND
LONDON CRITICAL JOURNAL.

JUNE, 1822.

ART. XI.—*Memoires of the last Ten Years of the Reign of George the Second, by Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford, from the Original MSS.* 4to. 2 vols. Murray. London, 1822.

WE thought we had done with Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford, the publication of whose vain and vicious correspondence we have treated in a former review, we trust, as it deserved; but as long as he is made to sin in his grave, so long must we continue to be at war with his manes. We will not say that the late Earl of Orford was the Voltaire of our own country; for it somehow seems as if for the formation of a Voltaire the British mind and character does not possess the materials:—nothing in temper and composition so indefatigably mischievous, so flipperantly profane, so animated and earnest in promoting the ruin of the soul, is registered among the moral births of our country. Neither will we deny that many of our men of letters have more nearly than the author of these volumes approached the character alluded to in its darker qualities. We would willingly think that Lord Orford was kept from being the author of as much mischief as Voltaire, more by his better nature than by his weaker capacity. In levity, illiberality, conceit and contempt of religion, the coxcombr of profane ridicule, the impertinence of inflated egotism, and the tricks of self-adulation, the author of the work before us stands upon the same “bad eminence” with the French philosopher; and is as proper a parallel to him as can be selected from among our most enlightened *esprits forts*, or intellectual reformers of the last century.

The character of the Earl of Orford’s mind, so clearly and decidedly displayed in the letters to Mr. Montague, which it costs us so much to get through, did not allow us to expect from his historical pen a production of any value or vigour, much less of

instruction or utility. A work, however, which was written with a view to publication after the death of the writer, at a period so far, one would think, beyond the reach or aim of ridicule or resentment, or of public or private malice, we did expect to be at least of a serious and subdued character; such as the view of the awful event which was to precede its appearance was calculated to impress on the written thoughts of a thinking being. We were mistaken. The history before us borrows no sincerity of colouring, no sobriety of thought from the grave which yawned between the author and his work. Indecent gossip, personal scandal, demoralizing and disorganizing observations and sentiments, private amours, sarcasms on bodily infirmity, and, as the editor informs us, "one such gross, indelicate, and ill-authenticated story," (see Pref. xxxii.) that it was cut out by Lord Waldegrave before the MSS. came to the editor, were deliberately prepared by this noble author, this hereditary pillar of his country, to vitiate the coming generation after his own imperishable soul should have passed to its terrible and eternal account.

One of our quarterly journals, in good moral repute, and in many respects deservedly so, found something extremely pleasant in the posthumous volume of letters to Mr. Montague from the same author, to which we have already alluded, and supplied a short pithy sentence of unmodified praise of that work, (we are sorry we have forgotten it) which figured in every advertisement of the work for many months. If the eulogy in question was pronounced by a clerical contributor to the journal alluded to, we will in candour conclude that not above half the volume was read by the critic: for certainly, with two or three exceptions, no production of any distinguished writer has appeared in this latter age of literature, so framed to offend the manly and moral heart of a right-minded Briton. For the vindication of which assertion, we refer our readers to a former part of this journal—p. 266, vol. xiii. We really do hope that the present work will not be safe under the umbrage of any bookseller's name, but will receive the castigation which is its due from the hand of the decorous reviewer. A proper treatment of the present publication seems to be the more important, as it is intimated by the Editor that other posthumous works are behind, of a more censurable description, with respect to the decencies of morality. After advertizing, in his preface (p. 32), to the excisions of gross and offensive passages, which had been necessary out of common respect to the reader, he adds, "such liberties would be still more necessary if the remaining historical works of Lord Orford were ever to see the light." The only light proper for them to

see is the light of a conflagration: but if we are destined to undergo another visitation from the same quarter, we will hope that should it be under the controul of the same editor, he may grow, in the mean time, somewhat more fastidious, and permit the insertion of no such despicable trash as that which the appendices to the present volumes have preserved;—too disgustingly gross for the historian of the Decline and Fall to have introduced, unless under the disguise of a Greek note.

It must be admitted that the editor appears to be not a little ashamed of the character and tendencies of the work which he thus introduces to the public.

“The work now submitted to the public as ‘Memoirs of the last Ten Years of the Reign of George the Second,’ is printed from a manuscript of the late Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford.

“Among the papers found at Strawberry Hill, after the death of Lord Oxford, was the following memorandum, wrapped in an envelope, on which was written, ‘Not to be opened till after my will.’

“In my library at Strawberry Hill are two wainscot chests or boxes, the larger marked with an A, the lesser with a B:—I desire, that as soon as I am dead, my executor and executrix will cord up strongly and seal the larger box, marked A, and deliver it to the Honourable Hugh Conway Seymour, to be kept by him unopened and unsealed till the eldest son of Lady Waldegrave, or whichever of her sons, being Earl of Waldegrave, shall attain the age of twenty-five years; when the said chest, with whatever it contains, shall be delivered to him for his own. And I beg that the Honourable Hugh Conway Seymour, when he shall receive the said chest, will give a promise in writing, signed by him, to Lady Waldegrave, that he or his representatives will deliver the said chest unopened and unsealed, by my executor and executrix, to the first son of Lady Waldegrave who shall attain the age of twenty-five years. The key of the said chest is in one of the cupboards of the green closet within the blue breakfast room at Strawberry Hill, and that key, I desire, may be delivered to Laura, Lady Waldegrave, to be kept by her till her son shall receive the chest.

“March 21st, 1790.

“HOR. WALPOLE, Earl of Orford.

(Signed)

Aug. 19th, 1796.”

“In obedience to these directions, the box described in the preceding memorandum was corded and sealed with the seals of the Honourable Mrs. Damer and the late Lord Frederick Campbell, the executrix and executor of Lord Orford, and by them delivered to the late Lord Hugh Seymour, by whose representatives it was given up, unopened and unsealed, to the present Earl of Waldegrave, when he attained the age of twenty-five. On examining the box it was found to contain a number of manuscript volumes and other papers, among which were the Memoires now published.

“Though no directions were left by Lord Orford for the publication of these Memoirs, there can be little doubt of his intention that they should one day or other be communicated to the world. Innumera-

some passages in the Memoires show they were written for the public. The precautions of the Author to preserve them for a certain number of years from inspection, are a proof, not of his intention that they should remain always in the private hands of his family, but of his fears lest, if divulged, they might be published prematurely; and the term fixed for opening the chest seems to mark the distance of time when, he thought, they might be made public without impropriety. Ten years have elapsed since that period, and more than sixty years since the last of the historical events he commemorates in this work. No man is now alive whose character or conduct is the subject of praise or censurè in these Memoires." (Preface, p. iv.—viii.)

Many arguments are then offered by the editor to make it clear to the reader that the author intended his work for publication; of which no man could doubt, and therefore they are wholly unnecessary. But he seems to rest the question concerning the propriety of the publication upon the fact of the author's intending it; as if the intention or wish of the man ought to weigh a feather against the expediency of the thing,—as if any man were competent to impose an obligation upon his posterity to do any thing to the prejudice of their own souls,—or as if, because a man intended a posthumous mischief to the rising generation, that generation were pledged to carry out such intentions into acts, and worship the will and memory of a departed sinner with the incense of his own abominations. We have said thus much of the inexpediency of gathering up with minute assiduity all the crumbs and fragments of such a busy loiterer as the late Horace Earl of Orford, because we collect from intimations given us in the preface to the present work that there is yet a quantity of unpublished correspondence, which it would be worse than useless to produce to the world. It is due, at the same time, to the editor of these Memoirs, to acknowledge that he is far from mixing himself with his author, or adopting his sentiments. On the contrary it appears that he has, to the credit of his taste and feeling, left out many offensive passages, and severely animadverted upon others which he has suffered to remain. He has moreover acknowledged, what we think must be admitted in no inconsiderable degree to affect the competency of this writer to compile memoirs of the political transactions of his day, that he was "under the guidance of personal feelings and resentments, and too apt to sacrifice his friendships to his aversions,"—that these aversions "were often excited by trivial causes,"—that "his political conduct was fluctuating and uncertain,"—that "his judgment of men was variable and capricious,"—that "he was a bitter, but placable, enemy, a warm but inconstant friend." The attitude, indeed, in which he was placed with respect to public affairs, was such as to render impartiality of opinion

and statement difficult to a mind the most candidly disposed, and equitably poised, and was therefore quite adequate to the destruction of all just views, all fairness of dealing, all honest grounds of praise or censure, in one, whose private obligations or connections furnished the sole standard of his estimation of men and things. He was, as every body knows, the third son of the celebrated Sir Robert Walpole, born on the 5th of October, 1717; and brought into parliament in 1741. He appears to have been very soon in life tired of politics, having retired from parliament in 1768; a determination, however, which, when we couple his own avowed disposition to faction, (see p. 91, vol. ii.) with his total inaptitude to public speaking, we cannot, without an excess of candour, wholly ascribe, as he has himself done in these memoirs, to the love of arts, books, painting, architecture, antiquities, and the amiable employments of a tranquil life. To anticipate, however, any impertinent interference of posterity with his character, the author of these volumes has thought it due to himself to take it out of their hands. Towards the end of his performance, he has drawn it himself; which, as it is rather a novelty in its kind, we here present to our readers:—

“*Horace Walpole, without the least tincture of ambition, had a propensity to faction, and looked on the mischief of civil disturbances as a lively amusement. Indignation at the persecution raised against his father, and prejudices contracted by himself, conspired with his natural impetuosity of temper to nourish this passion. But coming into the world when the world was growing weary of faction, and some of the objects dying or being removed, against whom his warmth had been principally directed, maturity of reason and sparks of virtue extinguished this culpable ardour. Balanced for a few years between right and wrong, happily for him virtue preponderated early enough to leave him some merit in the option. Arts, books, painting, architecture, antiquities, and those amiable employments of a tranquil life, to which in the warmest of his political hours he had been fondly addicted, assumed an entire empire over him. The circumstances too of the times contributed to make him withdraw from the scene of business. With Newcastle he had determined never to connect; Fox's behaviour on the case of Mr. Byng had rooted out his esteem, and the coldness discovered by Fox on Walpole's refusing to concur in all his politics, had in a manner dissolved their friendship. Of Pitt he retained the best opinion; but the wanton exposure of so many lives at the affair of St. Cas, and in those other visionary attempts on the coast of France, had painted Pitt on his mind, as a man whose thirst of glory was inconsistent with humanity; and being himself strongly tinctured with tenderness, he avoided any farther intercourse with a minister, who was Great with so little reluctance.*

“*Thus, without disgrace, disappointment, or personal disgust, Walpole, at the age of forty-one, abandoned the theatre of affairs; and retaining neither resentment to warp, nor friendship to bias him,*

He thinks himself qualified to give some account of transactions, which few men have known better, and of which scarce any can speak with equal impartiality. He has not falsified a circumstance to load any man; he has not denied a wrong act to excuse himself. Yet lest even this unreserve should not be thought sufficient, lest some secret motives should be supposed to have influenced his opinions, at least his narrative, he will lay open to the reader his nearest sentiments. Severity in some of the characters will be the most striking objection. His dislike to a few persons probably sharpened his eyes to their faults, but he hopes never blinded him to their virtues—lest it should have done, especially in so inflammable a nature, he admonishes the reader of his greatest prejudices, as far as they could have risen from any provocation. From the Duke of Cumberland, Mr. Pelham, and Lord Hardwicke, he had received trifling offence. To the two last he avows he had strong aversion. From Mr. Fox, as I have said, he had felt coldness and ingratitude. By his uncle and the Duke of Devonshire he had been injured—by the former basely betrayed; yet of none of these has he omitted to speak with praise when he could find occasion. Of Lord Hardwicke had he known a virtue, he would have told it: for now, when his passions are subsided, when affection and veneration for truth and justice preponderate above all other considerations, would he sacrifice the integrity of these Memoires, his favorite labour, to a little revenge that he shall never taste? No; let his narration be measured by this standard, and it will be found that the unamiableness of the characters he blames imprinted those dislikes, as well as private distaste to some of them. The King, the Duke of Newcastle, and others, who do not appear in these writings with any signal advantage, never gave him the most distant cause of dissatisfaction.

“How far his own character may have concurred towards forming his opinions may be calculated from the following picture, impartial as far as a man can know himself.

“Walpole had a warm conception, vehement attachments, strong aversions; with an apparent contradiction in his temper—for he had numerous caprices, and invincible perseverance. His principles tended to republicanism, but without any of its austerity; his love of faction was unmixed with any aspiring. He had great sense of honour, but not great enough, for he had too much weakness to resist doing wrong, though too much sensibility not to feel it in others. He had a great measure of pride, equally apt to resent neglect, and scorning to stoop to any meanness or flattery. A boundless friend; a bitter, but a placable enemy. His humour was satyric, though accompanied with a most compassionate heart. Indiscreet and abandoned to his passions; it seemed as if he despised or could bear no constraint; yet this want of government of himself was the more blameable, as nobody had greater command of resolution whenever he made a point of it. This appeared in his person: naturally very delicate, and educated with too fond a tenderness, by unrelaxed temperance and braving all inclemency of weathers, he formed and enjoyed the firmest and unabated health. One virtue he possessed in a singular degree—dis-

terestedness and contempt of money—if one may call that a virtue, which really was a passion. In short, such was his promptness to dislike superiors, such his humanity to inferiors, that, considering how few men are of so firm a texture as not to be influenced by their situation, he thinks, if he may be allowed to judge of himself, that had either extreme of fortune been his lot, he should have made a good prince, but not a very honest slave.” (Vol. ii. p. 334—337.)

Perhaps it would be difficult, in the whole compass of English literature, to extract from the published labours of any man of studious life and literary reputation, a passage so faulty in its style, and so absurd in its matter, as that which we have just produced. It is quite clear that the author did not intend to leave behind him, upon the whole result of the debit and credit account of his opposite qualities, a balance in his disfavour; but we think that this is decidedly the effect of his own statement. A man, without the motive of ambition, actuated by “a propensity to faction,” and “looking on the mischief of civil disturbances as a lively amusement,” affords a specimen of character from which we turn with inexpressible disgust. One would think the disorder inseparable from human affairs, the derangement for ever flowing from the fickleness of our affections, the instability of our tempers, and the violence of our passions, would spontaneously provide whatever could be wished for in this way by the keenest appetite for such eccentric luxury. He who can extract pleasure from scenes so degrading, as those in which all the nobler qualities of our nature are trampled upon by the dishonest arts, and base feelings of factious malevolence,—who can delight to see the characteristics of our natural depravity excited into full play by political heats and animosities, may qualify his propensity with whatever names he may choose to describe it by; but in truth and fact, he stands recorded upon his own confession, a practical apostate from Christian principles, and a disclaimer of that common sympathy which brings the whole species under a law of reciprocal kindness, and makes every human thing the charitable concern of every human being. Upon what ground the author has, in his above spiritless draught of his own character, attributed to himself “a most compassionate heart,” does not appear either in his published correspondence, or in the *Memoirs* before us, unless it be sufficient proof of this amiableness of disposition, that he professes to have had a strong feeling for the fate of Admiral Byng. In this feeling every humane mind will be disposed to concur; and we wish, for the credit of the noble Earl, that as a testimony on the virtuous side of his character, it had been less overborne than it is by the prevailing proofs with which his writings abound, of a selfish and unsocial heart, disposed to jest with things of the highest interest to man,—to cast profane

ridicule upon that which constitutes our only substantial solace, and to find amusement in the scenes in which the fraud and feigning of our nature is in fullest operation and display. But the contradiction just noticed is not the only instance of the same kind occurring in the above absurd specimen of a self-drawn character. The affectation of candour and stern impartiality, struggling with the strong principle of self-blandishment, has produced a ridiculous medley of bad and good properties, of moral defects and compensations, which result in nothing satisfactory, or reconcileable with observation or experience. He was, it seems, factious, without being ambitious; finding "amusement in civil disturbances, yet fondly addicted to the amiable employments of a tranquil life;" warm, impetuous, indignant, and prejudiced; yet balanced between right and wrong, and determined by an early predilection to the reasonable and judicious side; with "vehement attachments and strong aversions;" and yet "retaining neither resentment to warp, nor friendship to bias;" with "numerous caprices," and yet "invincible perseverance;" with "a great sense of honour," and yet with too much weakness to resist doing wrong; "indiscreet and abandoned to his passions," and yet "with a great command of resolution whenever he made a point of it;" with qualities, in short, to "make a good prince, but not a very honest slave."

Character-drawing appears to have been regarded by this author as his great excellence; and accordingly he is for ever at that work; but it is, in truth, the department in which he most egregiously fails. We shall by and by give a specimen or two, from which it will appear that there is as little distinctness or totality of impression produced by his portraits of others as of himself, inasmuch that in despair of a better guide through the distracting multiplicity of his lights and shadows, one is almost induced, in a simple and summary way of compromise, to believe all the good he says of others, and all the bad he reports of himself. It is but justice, however, to observe that there is no part of the task assumed by the historian so difficult as the clear and definite exhibition of character. Our author's fluttering and feeble pencil was wholly unequal to those decisive and masculine touches which bring out the dispositions of the heart in their proper reliefs, and exalt history into actual and living representation. We do not blame him for his incompetence to the undertaking; but we blame him for that alacrity of confidence which so frequently and ridiculously engaged him in attempts manifestly beyond the mediocrity of his genius.

But whatever confusion the author has thrown into the character which he has expressly drawn of himself, a pretty distinct character of him is indicated incidentally and involuntarily.

in the course and conduct of the work, under review. When we turn our attention to the great accumulation of title, tattle and under-working gossip which has been collected in these volumes, the character of the writer stands in need of little further exposition. The particularities which enter into his narratives—the private scandal, below the petty currency of the lowest mart where secrets, whispers, and dirty anecdotes are exchanged, in which his Memoirs abound; the apparent delight with which degrading tales concerning royal personages, tales of which the wise reject the authority and the good, abhor the mischief, are here supplied to those whose pastime it is to speak evil of dignities, sufficiently denote the sort of man to whom we are obliged for this supplement to the history of this great country. Of this characteristic manner of the noble author, his insinuations in disparagement of the virtue of the Princess Dowager of Wales may be taken as a specimen:

“June 4th.—The Prince of Wales attained the age prescribed for his majority; by which the Regency Bill remains only a dangerous precedent of power to posterity—no longer so to us, for whose subjection it was artfully, though, by the grace of God, vainly calculated! This epoch, however, brought to light the secrets of a court, where hitherto every thing had been transacted with mysterious decency. The princess had conducted herself with great respect to the King, with appearance of impartiality to ministers and factions. If she was not cordial to the Duke, or was averse to his friends, it had been imputed less to any hatred adopted from her husband's prejudices, than to jealousy of the government of her son; if the world should chuse to ascribe her attention for him to maternal affection, they were at liberty; she courted and watched him neither more nor less for their conjectures. It now at last appeared that paternal tenderness or ambition were not the sole passions that engrossed their thoughts. It had already been whispered that the assiduity of Lord Bute at Leicester-house, and his still more frequent attendance in the gardens at Kew and Carleton-house, were less addressed to the Prince of Wales than to his mother. The eagerness of the pages of the back-stairs to let her know whenever Lord Bute arrived (and some other symptoms) contributed to dispel the ideas that had been conceived of the rigour of her widowhood. On the other hand, the favoured personage, naturally ostentatious of his person, and of haughty carriage, seemed by no means desirous of concealing his conquest. His bows grew more theatric, his graces contracted some meaning, and the beauty of his leg was constantly displayed in the eyes of the poor captivated princess. Indeed, the nice observers of the court-thermometer, who often foresee a change of weather before it actually happens, had long thought that her royal highness was likely to choose younger ministers than that formal piece of empty mystery, Cresset; or the matron-like decorum of Sir George Lee.”—(Vol. ii, p. 47, 48.)

At the end of this passage the editor has left a consider-

able void, denoting by a cluster of stars that the author had soared beyond his daring;—an interval which those will best supply who are most acquainted with the spirit of Lord Orford's details in matters of intrigue.

The death and character of Frederick, Prince of Wales, could not fail to be interesting, we shall therefore extract it for our readers, who will find in it the same low cast of style and sentiment as that which, in our judgment, is characteristic of all the anecdotal parts of the work.

"The Prince of Wales had been ill of a pleurisy, but was so well recovered as to attend the king to the House of Lords on the 12th, where he was very hot. He went to Carlton-house to unrobe, put on only a light frock, and went to Kew, where he walked some time, and returning to Carlton-house, laid down upon a couch for three hours in a ground room next to the garden, caught a fresh cold, and relapsed that night. He had had a blow upon the stomach in the summer by a fall, from which he had often felt great pains. Dr. Wilmot, Taylor, and Leigh attended him, and Hawkins the surgeon. On Monday, 18th, a thrush appeared; however he was thought better. On Wednesday night, between nine and ten o'clock, Wilmot and Hawkins were with him; he had a fit of coughing. Wilmot said, "Sir, you have brought up all the phlegm; I hope this will be over in a quarter of an hour, and that your royal highness will have a good night." Hawkins went out of the room, and said, "Here is something I don't like." The cough continued; the prince laid his hand upon his stomach, and said, "*Je sens le mort.*" Pavonarius, his favourite German valet-de-chambre, who was holding him up, felt him shiver, and cried, "Good God! the prince is going!" The princess, who was at the feet of the bed, snatched up a candle, but before she got to him, he was dead! An imposthume had broken, which, on his body being opened, the physicians were of opinion had not been occasioned by the fall, but from a blow of a tennis-ball three years before.

"Thus died Frederick, Prince of Wales! having resembled his pattern the Black Prince in nothing but in dying before his father. Indeed it was not his fault if he had not distinguished himself by any warlike achievements. He had solicited the command of the army in Scotland during the last rebellion; though that ambition was ascribed rather to his jealousy of his brother than to his courage. A hard judgment! for what he could he did! When the royal army lay before Carlisle, the prince, at a great supper that he gave to his court and his favorites, as was his custom when the princess laid in, had ordered for the desert the representation of the citadel of Carlisle in paste, which he in person and the maids of honour bombarded with sugar-plumbs! He had disagreed with the king and queen early after his coming to England; not entirely by his own fault. The king had refused to pay what debts he had left at Hanover; and it ran a little in the blood of the family to hate the eldest son: the prince himself had so far not degenerated, though a better natured man, and a much better father, as to be fond of his second son, Prince Edward.

The queen had exerted more authority, joined to a narrow prying into his conduct, than he liked; and Princess Emily, who had been admitted into his greatest confidence, had not forfeited her duty to the queen by concealing any of his secrets that might do him prejudice. Lord Bolinbroke, who had sowed a division in the Pretender's court, by the scheme for the father's resigning his claim to the eldest boy, repeated the same plan of discord here, on the first notice of the prince's disgusts; and the whole opposition was instructed to offer their services to the heir-apparent against the crown and the minister. The prince was sensible to flattery, and had a sort of parts that made him relish the sort of parts of Lord Chesterfield, Doddington, and Lyttelton, the latter of whom being introduced by Doddington, had wrought the disgrace of his protector. Whoever was unwelcome at St. James's was sure of countenance at the prince's apartments there. He was in vain reprimanded for this want of respect. At last, having hurried the princess from Hampton Court, when she was in actual labour, to the imminent danger of hers and the child's life, without acquainting either king or queen, the formal breach ensued; he having added to this insult, a total silence to his mother on her arriving immediately to visit the princess, and while he led her to her coach; but as soon as he came in sight of the populace, he knelt down in the dirt and kissed her hand with the most respectful show of duty. He immediately went all lengths of opposition and popularity till the fall of Sir Robert Walpole, when he was reconciled to, though never after spoken to by, the king. On Lord Granville's disgrace, he again grew out of humour; but after having been betrayed and deserted by all he had obliged, he did not erect a new standard of opposition, till the Pelhams had bought off every man of any genius that might have promoted his views. Indeed, his attachment to his followers was not stronger than theirs to him. Being angry with Lord Doneraile for not speaking oftener in the House of Commons, he said, "Does he think I will support him, unless he does as I would have him? Does not he consider that whoever are my ministers, I must be king." (Vol. i. p. 62—65.)

What follows will not endure to be extracted on account of its indelicacy. Of King George the Second the character is upon the whole pretty connected and full, but it is reflected from the surface of the events of his reign, rather than from any vigorous tracings of the author's pen. For vigorous tracings, indeed, there was but little opportunity afforded by the features of that uninteresting monarch. Nothing was emphatic or decided in his mind, but his love of money and of Hanover. If there was little to derogate from the man, there was little to dignify the monarch. His sympathy with the nation was not that of a Parent Patrie. His fortitude was not shaken by its reverses, neither did its glory expand his bosom. The contests and cabals by which his councils were disturbed placed him sometimes in humiliating circumstances, from which he came forth without any permanent

diminution of prerogative or majesty. The successes which crowned his latter days had no tendency to volatilize his spirit above their usual tone of German composure. Of the pleasures that belong to the finer feelings, or flow from intellectual sources, he appears to have been in a great measure ignorant. Between his Majesty and the Muses no love was lost; he did nothing to win their flattery, and he had it not. Some loose habits belonged to him, without any strong addictions; he was irregular, rather by privilege than from passion, and departed from virtue rather through the want of a sense of its value, than from any natural proclivity to vice. He seems to have preferred his queens in every respect to his mistresses; and, with a singular indifference to the vast practical importance of kingly example, he gratuitously scandalized the moral and religious part of the nation. His mediocrity of intellect was fortunately coupled with a habit of moderation. Thus his resentments soon gave place to his natural phlegm; and the durability of his dislikes proceeded rather from indolence and prejudice than from implacability of temper. The most lasting object of his aversion was Mr. Pitt; and yet towards the close of his life he sat contentedly down under the shade of that high-minded minister, aggrandized, and yet obscured by his glory. His religion was, low enough to satisfy the liberality of his facetious biographer, who, if he could have surprised him in a single act of devotion, would infallibly have handed him down a Methodist to posterity. He is said to have been avaricious; and there is but little to shew of munificence during his life in answer to the charge; he left, however, an argument against his love of accumulation by dying only moderately rich. It is in the following light that the Monarch is presented to us by our author:

“The King had fewer sensations of revenge, or at least knew how to hoard them better than any man who ever sat upon a throne. The insults he experienced from his own, and those obliged servants, never provoked him enough to make him venture the repose of his people, or his own. If any object of his hate fell in his way, he did not pique himself upon heroic forgiveness, but would indulge it at the expence of his integrity, though, not of his safety. He was reckoned strictly honest; but the burning his father's will must be an indelible blot upon his memory; as a much later instance of his refusing to pardon a young man who had been condemned at Oxford for a most trifling forgery, contrary to all example when recommended to mercy by the judge; merely because Willes, who was attached to the Prince of Wales, had tried him, and assured him his pardon, will stamp his name with cruelty, though in general his disposition was merciful; if the offence was not murder. His avarice was much less equivocal than his courage; he had distinguished the latter early; it grew more doubtful afterwards: the former he distinguished very near as soon,

and never deviated from it. (The understanding was not near so deficient, as it was imagined; but though his character changed extremely in the world, it was without foundation; for [whether] he deserved to be so much ridiculed as he had been in the former part of his reign, or so respected as in the latter, he was consistent in himself, and uniformly meritorious or absurd. His other passions were, Germany, the army, and women. Both the latter had a mixture of parade in them: he [treated] my Lady Suffolk, and afterwards Lady Yarmouth, as his mistresses, while he admired only the Queen; and never described what he thought a handsome woman, but he drew her picture. Lady Suffolk was sensible, artful, and agreeable, but had neither sense nor art enough to make him think her so agreeable as his wife. When she had left him, tired of acting the mistress, while she had in reality all the rights of a wife, and no interest with him, the opposition affected to dry up her virtue, and the obligations the King had to her for consenting to seem his mistress, while in reality she had confined him to mere friendship—a ridiculous pretence, as he was the last man in the world to have taste for talking sentiments, and that with a woman who was deaf! Lady Yarmouth was inoffensive, and attentive only to pleasing him, and to selling peerages whenever she had an opportunity. The Queen had been admired and happy for governing him by address; it was not then known how easily he was to be governed by fear. Indeed there were few arts by which he was not governed at some time or other of his life; for not to mention the late Duke of Argyll, who grew a favourite by imposing himself upon him for brave; nor Lord Wilmington, who imposed himself upon him for the Lord knows what; the Queen governed him by dissimulation, by affected tenderness and deference: Sir Robert Walpole by abilities and influence in the House of Commons; Lord Granville by flattering him in his German politics; the Duke of Newcastle by teasing and betraying him; Mr. Pelham by bullying him,—the only man by whom Mr. Pelham was not bullied himself. Who indeed had not sometimes weight with the King, except his children and his mistresses? With them he maintained all the reserve and majesty of his rank. He had the haughtiness of Henry the Eighth, without his spirit; the avarice of Henry the Seventh, without his exactions: the indignities of Charles the First, without his bigotry for his prerogative; the vexations of King William, with as little skill in his management of parties; and the gross gallantry of his father, without his good nature or his honesty:—he might, perhaps, have been honest, if he had never hated his father, or had ever loved his son.” (Vol. ii. p. 152—157.)

The reader probably will agree with us that the above character, especially the latter part, is confusedly drawn;—that it is particularly contemptible for its coarseness, its feebleness, and its foppish affectation of antithesis. Nothing but the greatest ignorance of language, aggravated by the utmost incorrectness of feeling, could have produced the following sentence: “He had the indignities of Charles the First, without his bigotry for his prerogative!” Charles the First was for maintaining the

sceptre as it had been transmitted to him; unhappily and unwisely careless of the signs of the times. He was no bigot, but as men are bigoted to the possessions which their ancestors have delivered to them in trust for their posterity. His indignities bore no resemblance to, and admitted no comparison with, those of George the Second; they were such as a good and amiable though mistaking monarch would be likely to suffer when men of inhumanity, hypocrisy, and violence, "actuated by a propensity to faction, and looking on the mischief of civil disturbances as a lively amusement" unhappily come to be permanent.

The author's disposition certainly had no tendency to favourable views of character. But, making all due allowance for his bias towards censure, we cannot but admit the picture which his volumes present of the prevailing depravity of the days of George the Second to be too much entitled to general credit. Among the lower classes vice and disorder of every kind were produced by an addiction to spirituous liquors, which seemed to know no bounds; probably, in great part, the consequence of the profligate examples abounding among the rich. The comments of the author on the state of public manners are illustrative of his own insufficiency for judging of these matters. They manifest a profound ignorance of the sources from which all sound morals derive as well their existence as their permanence. A stranger, as it should seem, to all serious impressions, and bent upon being mutinously witty against all that is high or holy; nothing appears to have offered itself to his mind as so apt a subject for ridicule as religion in all its forms: and at once to remove all barriers, and lay the whole territory under contribution to his humour, he has ingeniously assumed that all its observances are pretences, and all its professors hypocrites. It is to the last degree disgusting to observe the air of elevated contempt with which this dabbler and babbler talks of religious concerns and controversies. Speaking of the state of Ireland he says, "Before I quit the affairs of that country, I must mention a *spiritual business* that made some noise there." He then proceeds with his account of manners in England; in the following style of complacent sarcasm:

"This little flame was soon extinguished—in fact, there were no religious combustibles in the temper of the times. Popery and Protestantism seemed at a stand. The modes of Christianity were exhausted; and could not furnish novelty enough to fix attention. Zinzendorf plied his Moravians with nudities, yet made few enthusiasts! Whitehead and the Methodists made more money than disturbances: his largest crop of proselytes lay among servant-maids; and his warmest devotees went to Bedlam without going to war. Bower, whom some thought they had detected as a Jesuit, and who at most numbers de-

tested as an impostor, had laid open the practices of the Catholics, and detailed the establishments of the Jesuits in the very heart of London, without occasioning either alarm or murmur against those fathers. His History of the Popes, one of the ablest performances we have, was decried, because, to recommend a work of truth and utility, he had embroidered his own story with some marvellous legends. Yet, uninflamable as the times were, they carried a great mixture of superstition. Masquerades had been abolished; because there had been an earthquake at Lisbon; and when the last jubilee-masquerade was exhibited at Ranelagh, the ale-houses and roads to Chelsea were crowded with drunken people, who assembled to denounce the judgments of God on persons of fashion, whose greatest sin was dressing themselves ridiculously. A more inconvenient reformation, and not a more sensible one, was set on foot by societies of tradesmen, who denounced to the magistrate all bakers that baked or sold bread on Sundays. Alum, and the variety of spurious ingredients with which bread, and indeed all wares, were adulterated all the week round, gave not half so much offence as the vent of the chief necessary of life on the seventh day. Indecent prints were prohibited: the Chief Justice Mansfield caused to be seized at an auction a well-known tale, called the *Woman of Pleasure*, a work that simplified novels to their original intention. Some of the elders too of our own church, seeing what harvests were brought into the tabernacles of Whitefield and Wesley by familiarizing God's word to the vulgar, and by elevating vulgar language, had the discretion to apply the same call to their own lost sheep, and tinkled back their old women by sounding the brass of the Methodists." (Vol. ii. 282—284.)

Now we beg our readers to be informed, if we have not made them understand this before, that we are not approvers of excess, or enthusiasm, or insobriety, or familiarity, or vulgarity, or superstition in the Christian tenets or practice, any more than we are of alum in our bread; but rather than be capable of writing the above passage for a future generation when death shall have put the act out of the reach of revocation or repentance, we would willingly take upon us whatever has most offended the religious taste of Lord Orford in Whitefield, or Wesley, or Zinzendorf, or whatever other zealous reformer has suffered his zeal or his imagination to warp his discretion. To have entitled himself to the honourable scorn of Lord Orford for his religious professions, what wise man would regret to have committed the errors of these enthusiasts, if enthusiasts they were? The disposition, however, of this noble writer towards the things and persons connected with religion, and which he designates by the dry and official phrase of "spiritual business," is no less apparent in his treatment of the dignitaries of the established church, than in his unwarrantable attacks upon men who have laboured out of the church with honest but with irregular zeal to excite in their fellow beings a greater attention to their souls.

Dr. Butler, Bishop of Durham, the great author of the "Analogy," is classed by this man of virtue, this idolater of antiquarian foppery, among visionary metaphysicians; and Archbishop Secker, whose life Dr. Porteus was at the pains of writing, and whose character the same Bishop displays in several pages of specific and appropriate eulogy, appears before us in these Memoirs under the following description:

"The king would not go to chapel, because Secker, Bishop of Oxford; was to preach before him. The ministers did not insist upon his hearing the sermon, as they had lately upon his making him deans of St. Paul's. Character and popularity do not always depend upon the circumstances that ought to compose either. This bishop, who had been bred a presbyterian and man-midwife, which sect and profession he had dropt for a season, while he was president of a very free-thinking club, had been converted by Bishop Talbot, whose relation he married, and his faith settled in a prebend of Durham: from thence he was transplanted, at the recommendation of Dr. Bland, by the queen, and advanced by her [who had no aversion to a medley of religions, which she always compounded into a scheme of heresy of her own], to the living of St. James's vacant by the death of her favourite Arian, Dr. Clarke, and afterwards to the bishopric of Bristol and Oxford. It is incredible how popular he grew in his parish, and how much some of his former qualifications contributed to heighten his present doctrines. His discourses from the pulpit, which, by a fashion that he introduced, were a kind of moral essays, were as clear from quotations of Scripture, as when he presided in a less Christian society; but what they wanted of Gospel, was made up by a tone of fanaticism that he still retained. He had made a match between a daughter of the late Duke of Kent and a Dr. Gregory, whose talents would have been extremely thrown away in any priesthood, where celibacy was one of the injunctions. He had been presented with a noble service of plate for procuring a marriage between the heiress of the same Duke of Kent and the chancellor's son, and was now forced upon the king by the gratitude of the same minister, though he had long been in disgrace for having laid his plan for Canterbury in the interest he had cultivated at the prince's court. But even the church had its renegades in politics, and the king was obliged to fling open his asylum to all kind of deserters; content with not speaking to them at his levee, or listening to them in the pulpit!" (Vol i. p. 56—57.)

In the biographical sketch traced by the faithful hand of the Bishop of London, formerly his chaplain, may be seen the facts upon which the author has founded his illiberal, and in some respects unprincipled remarks.

"Mr. Secker," says Bishop Porteus, "had been destined by his father for orders among the dissenters. With this view, during the last years of his education, his studies were chiefly turned towards divinity; in which he made such quick advances, that by the time he was three-and-twenty he had read over carefully a great part of the

Scriptures, particularly the New Testament, in the original, and the best comments upon it. But, though the result of these inquiries was (what might naturally have been expected) a well-grounded belief of the Christian Revelation, yet not being at that time able to decide upon some abstruse speculative doctrines, nor to determine absolutely what communion he should embrace, he resolved, like a wise and honest man, to pursue some profession which should leave him at liberty to weigh those things more maturely in his thoughts, and not be obliged to declare, or teach publicly, opinions which were not yet thoroughly settled in his own mind. Therefore about the end of the year 1716 he applied himself to the study of physic; and after gaining all the insight into it he could, by reading the usual preparatory books, and attending the best lectures during that and the following winter in London, in order to improve himself still more, in January 1718—19 he went to Paris. There he lodged in the same house with Mr. Winslow, the famous anatomist, whose lectures he attended, as he did those of the materia medica, chemistry, and botany at the King's Gardens. The operations of surgery he saw at the Hotel Dieu, and attended also for some time M. Gregoire, the accoucheur, but without any design of ever practising that or any other branch of surgery.

While he was in Paris it appears that Mr. Butler, afterwards the Bishop of Durham, recommended him to Mr. Talbot, son of Bishop Talbot, his predecessor in that See, who promised to procure for him his father's patronage. This was communicated to Mr. Secker in a letter from Mr. Butler in 1720.

"But it appears," says his biographer, "from two of his letters still in being, (both of them prior to the date of Mr. Butler's above-mentioned) that he was greatly dissatisfied with the divisions and disturbances which at that period prevailed amongst the dissenters. His judgment had become stronger, and his reading more extensive. In this state of mind Mr. Butler's unexpected proposal found him, which he was therefore very well disposed to take into consideration; and, after deliberating carefully on the subject of such a change for upwards of two months, he resolved at length to embrace the offer, and for that purpose quitted France the latter end of July, or beginning of August, 1720."

He was in December, 1722, ordained Deacon, and Priest not long after, and preferments quickly followed. He became Bishop of Bristol in 1734, was promoted to the See of Oxford in 1737, a situation which he retained for twenty years, and in the year 1758 was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury. His biographer bears testimony to the diligence and alacrity with which he discharged the duties of a country clergyman, while he held his first preferment—the living of Houghton.

"He omitted nothing which he thought could be of use to the souls and bodies of the people entrusted to his care. He brought down his conversation and his sermons to the level of their under-

standings; he visited them in private, he catechised the young and ignorant, he received his country neighbours and tenants kindly and hospitably, and was of great service to the poorer sort by his skill in physic. It was no thought or choice of his own that removed him to a higher situation."

When promoted to the See of Bristol, in the prime of his life, "the honours to which he was thus raised did not," says his biographer, "abate his diligence and attention to business. He immediately set about the visitation of his diocese, confirmed in a great number of places, preached in several churches sometimes twice in a day." "In his parish of St. James's he allowed out of his own income a salary for reading early and late prayers, which had formerly been paid out of the offertory money. He held a confirmation once every year, and examined and instructed the candidates several weeks before in the vestry, to whom he gave religious tracts, which he distributed very liberally to those that needed them. He also drew up for the use of his parishioners his admirable course of lectures on the church catechism."—"His preaching was, at the same time, highly rational, and truly evangelical. He explained with perspicuity, and asserted with dignity, the peculiar characteristic doctrines of the Gospel." When arrived at his highest preferment, "never," continues his biographer, "did any one support the rank, or discharge the various duties, of a metropolitan, with more true dignity, wisdom, and moderation, than Archbishop Secker."—Men of real genius or extensive knowledge he sought out and encouraged. Those of humbler talents, provided their industry was great and their intentions good, he treated with kindness and condescension.

"All designs and institutions that tended to advance good morals and true religion he patronized with zeal and generosity. He contributed largely to the maintenance of schools for the poor, towards the rebuilding and repairing of parsonage houses, and places of worship, and gave at one time no less than 500*l.* towards erecting a chapel in the parish of Lambeth, to which he afterwards added near 100*l.* more. To the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge he was a liberal benefactor, and to that for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, of which he was the president, he paid much attention, was constant at all the meetings of its members, and superintended their deliberations with consummate prudence and temper."

Such was the man, according to the testimony of one who well knew him, and was very capable of appreciating his character, of whom this ruthless violator of the ashes of departed excellence has without compunction branded as a bishop made out of a Presbyterian man-midwife, who had dropped his sect and profession for a season to become president of a free-think-

ing club; and whom, he further intimates in a note to the above cited passage, to have been an Atheist, upon no better evidence than the assertion of a Mr. Robyns, that he had known him to be an Atheist, and had advised him against talking so openly in coffee-houses; and of a Mr. Stevens, who had declared Secker had made him an Atheist at Leyden, where the free-thinking club was established. The Archbishop is also charged with aberration from the Gospel in his Sermons, and this might very probably have been the case as the Gospel was understood by this orthodox author. It may, however, with truth be said that Secker was rather a moral than a spiritual preacher; yet his morality was Gospel morality, founded on scriptural authority, exhibited as subordinate to faith, and copied from the Divine Exemplar. His matter was perhaps too didactical; not enough enforced as the immediate consequence of the obligations of Divine love, and deficient certainly in those enunciations of the great characteristical truths of Scripture, without which man's doings are of no spiritual worth; but still to Secker's discourses the Christian moralist may resort as to an abundant source of preceptive and practical truths, having the full warrant of the Divine writings to support them, grounded on a familiar acquaintance with the human heart, and expressed in a language unadorned indeed, and unstudied, but in a remarkable degree correct, masculine, and pure. What was the real state of Mr. Horace Walpole's belief we do not with certainty know; but we think it is plain that it was not a belief that controuled his tongue, or guided his pen; that filled his mouth with the praises of his Maker, or taught him to make God "his portion in the land of the living." Among the vast multitude of published sermons with which our literature so eminently abounds, there are none that we know of which we think would have suited his case more exactly than the first three of the Collection of Archbishop Secker's Discourses on the 21st and 22d verses of 1 Thessalonians, ch. v. "Prove all things: hold fast that which is good: abstain from all appearance of evil;" from which we will extract only three sentences, assuring the reader that he will find in the same pages a multitude of passages equally pregnant, plain, and instructive. "There are some who openly profess an utter contempt of all enquiry; despise such as are solicitous either about belief or practice; and even affect a thoughtlessness which they find to be grown fashionable. Now really if this be an accomplishment, it is one which, whosoever will may easily be master of." But surely men ought to think seriously once for all before they resolve to think no more."

The offence against Horace Walpole, committed by the calumniated Archbishop, was not his receding from the Gospel,

but his acceding to the party in power, and receiving preferment at the hands of Lord Hardwicke and the Duke of Newcastle. With the author of these Memoirs there appears to have been only one criterion of merit in his appreciation of the leading men of his time, and this our readers will probably agree with us was a very fallible standard. Those who had adhered to his father in his life-time, or remained steady in their attachment to his measures and his memory, could scarcely err in his estimation; and his resentment towards those who had acted a contrary part was equally remarkable: justice being ground to nothing by the collision of these opposite motives. Sir Robert Walpole, though a man of some good qualities, was doubtless a person to be generally resisted by men of virtuous and independent spirit. He carried on the administration of the country in a great degree by practising on the degeneracy of the times; and thus a very large proportion of men, eminent in worth and talents, were thrown into the opposite side, to have their memories mangled by this posthumous defamer.

The character of the Duke of Newcastle has been settled by the general consent of history at a point little short of that extreme of worthlessness in which it is presented to us in these pages; though it is apparent, and indeed it stands upon the confession of the writer himself, that the contempt which he has heaped upon him was less to satisfy truth than to gratify resentment. Upon Lord Hardwicke's memory he has made a ferocious and unprincipled assault; forgetting what a great nation owes to the illustrious dead who made it great, and laying trains for future explosion under the monuments of departed excellence. His character of the Duke of Newcastle is as follows:

"He succeeded young to an estate of about thirty thousand pounds a year, and to great influence and interest in several counties. This account in reality contains his whole character as a minister; for to the weight of this fortune he solely owed his every-other-way most unwarrantable elevation. His being heir to his uncle, the old Duke of Newcastle, obtained from the crown a new creation of the title in his person; and, though he was far from having parts to procure him a peerage, his peerage and vast income procured him the first posts in the government. His person was not naturally despicable; his incapacity, his mean soul, and the general low opinion of him, grew to make it appear ridiculous. A constant hurry in his walk, a restlessness of place, a borrowed importance, and real insignificance, gave him the perpetual air of a solicitor, though he was perpetually solicited; for he never conferred a favour till it was wrested from him, but often omitted doing what he most wished done. This disquiet and habit of never finishing, which, too, proceeded frequently from his beginning every thing twenty times over, gave rise to a famous *bon mot* of Lord Wilmington,—a man as unfit to attempt saying a

good thing, as to say one. He said, 'The Duke of Newcastle always loses half an hour in the morning, which he is running after the rest of the day without being able to overtake it.' He early distinguished himself for the house of Hanover, and in the last years of Queen Anne retained a great mob of people to halloo in that cause. He and his brother Harry raised a troop for King George on the Preston rebellion, where the latter gave proofs of personal courage. The duke was rewarded with the garter, and some time after made lord chamberlain. The late king chose him for the honour of being godfather to a new-born son of the Prince of Wales, which, his royal highness much disapproving, was the immediate cause of that famous breach in the royal family, when the prince and princess left the palace very late at night. On Lord Carteret's being sent into honourable banishment as lord lieutenant of Ireland, by the power of Lord Townshend and Sir Robert Walpole, the latter proposed to make the Duke of Newcastle secretary of state, having experienced how troublesome a man of parts was in that office. The viscount's first wife having been the duke's sister was another reason for their depending the more on his attachment to them; but that very relation had given Lord Townshend too many opportunities of discovering how little he was to be trusted, particularly from his having betrayed Lord Sunderland, his first patron, to Lord Townshend, who earnestly objected to the choice of him, and endeavoured to convince Sir Robert Walpole how much his falshood would give an edge to his incapacity. As the disagreement increased between those two ministers, the duke in every instance betrayed his brother-in-law to Sir Robert. The viscount was not of Walpole's forgiving temper, and was immediately for discarding the duke. He pressed both King and Queen to it; exclaimed against his childishness and weakness, and insisted upon his dismissal as the only terms of reconciliation with Sir Robert. The King, who always hated him, easily yielded to make Sir Paul Methuen secretary of state in his room; but the greater power of Sir Robert with the Queen (whose policy had long been employed in keeping open the breach, in order to govern both), saved the duke for future scenes of perfidy and ingratitude.

"Towards the decline of Sir Robert Walpole's ministry, the Duke of Newcastle, who feared to fall with him, and hoped to rise upon his ruins, dealt largely with the opposition, to compass both. The late Duke of Argyle, after that minister's defeat, and his own disappointment in not succeeding to a greater portion of power, commissioned his brother, Lord Islay, to tell Sir Robert, that the Duke of Newcastle and the chancellor had long been in league with himself and Lord Granville to effect his ruin. Lord Granville was scarce warm in power before Newcastle betrayed him to Lord Chesterfield; and the latter having introduced Lord Sandwich, who was sent minister to the Hague; this young statesman and the Duke of Newcastle kept the secrets of his own office from Lord Harrington, who had been restored to the place of secretary of state, for the assistance he had lent in overturning Lord Granville. On Lord Harrington's discovering and resenting this treachery, the seals were

given to Lord Chesterfield; but he being, like his predecessors, excluded from all trust the moment he had a right to be trusted, soon resigned them. The Duke of Newcastle, who had newly entered into connections with the Duke of Bedford, (as he and his brother did successively with every chief of a faction, till they had taken out their stings by dividing them from their party, and then discarded them) wished to give the seals to Murray, who was, or to Pitt, who was canvassing to be, his creature; but the Duke of Bedford abruptly and positively insisted on having them—and had [them together with] their constant perquisites,—the Duke of Newcastle's suspicions and treachery." (Vol. i. p. 141—144.)

Such is the character given us of George the Second's Prime Minister, the Duke of Newcastle, in which, as may be observed in the specimens of character-drawing found in these volumes, there is much perplexity of lights, and much meretricious daubing. If this be taken as the real character of the Duke of Newcastle, it is not easy to hear with patience the Lord Chancellor Hardwicke represented as his *creature*; yet, it is in the capacity of his creature that the author of these Memoirs introduces that great person to our notice—as one who, without a virtue to recommend him, owed his high fortunes entirely to the baseness of his political compliances. Lord Hardwicke for 20 years had the custody of the great seal; a period that put his abilities and his integrity to some probation. His decrees, for the most part, are the great land-marks of judicial equity: under the disadvantage and disguise of ill-written reports, they display a penetration and precision which have secured to them the homage of posterity, and in a remarkable manner compelled the acquiescence of the profession. For 20 years he remained firm in his high station amidst numerous political changes, and continued to impress his own clear constitutional intelligence on all the great measures of the legislature. He was a lawyer and statesman of the pure breed, thoroughly English, thoroughly Protestant, full of high thoughts of hereditary liberty, with a due reverence for its sacred boundaries and conservative restraints. Those ancient, sound, and legal principles which have been found so strong a bulwark against the temerity of innovators; against the men who can acquire reputation only by undoing, or disordering what experience has proved to have been well done; against those who know nothing of the compromise between opposite perfections, which must exist in any human system made to last;—those ancient, sound, and legal principles, we say, were the principles of the Lord Chancellor Hardwicke: they characterised his judicial and his parliamentary conduct; they breathed through that work which, though ascribed to his son, is generally considered as the transcript of his own thoughts,

if not his own composition; and they secured to him the only popularity which a wise man covets—that which associates and identifies him with the practical and permanent felicity of his country. Such really was the man of whom this author gives the following account:—

“He had good parts, which he laid out so entirely upon the law in the first part of his life, that they were of little use to him afterwards, when he would have applied them to more general views. In his Chief-Justiceship he had gained the reputation of humanity in some solemn speeches made on the circuit, at the condemnation of wretches for low crimes; a character which he lost with some when he sat as Lord High Steward at the trial of the Scotch Lords, the meanness of his birth breaking out into insolent acrimony. On his promotion he threw himself into politics; but as he had no knowledge of foreign affairs but what were whispered to him by Newcastle, he made a very poor figure. In the House of Lords he was laughed at; in the cabinet despised.”

This very virulent and false representation is properly encountered by a note of the editor; to whose impartial and respectable sentiments, as far as they transpire in the notes, we bear a willing testimony. The note animadverts upon the inconsistency of the author, who, in the course of the work, laments Lord Hardwicke's influence in cabinets, where he would have us believe he was despised, and acknowledges that he exercised a dominion nearly absolute over that House of Parliament which he would persuade his readers laughed at him. “The truth is,” continues the editor, “that wherever that great magistrate is mentioned, Lord Orford's resentments blind his judgment and disfigure his narrative.”

It was the disposition of Lord Orford to treat all dignity with affected disdain, and to display his inveteracy in terms of disgusting coarseness. Of Chief Justice Willes he tells an indecent story, which may be as easily false as true, and for which he produces no better authority than hearsay. “He had been raised,” he tells us, “by Sir Robert Walpole, though always brow-beaten by haughty Yorke. He was not wont to disguise any of his passions;—that for gaming was notorious; for women, unbounded.” It seems he had “great quickness of wit,” and then we are told of a merit belonging to him, which, in the estimation of this just appreciator of character, would atone for many foibles: and what truly is this atoning merit? “his severity towards, and discouragement of, that pest of society, attorneys; which,” he says, “made his court, i. e. the court of K. B., deserted by them, and induced them to carry all the business they could from thence into Chancery, where Yorke's final piety could not refuse an asylum to his father's

profession." Will the reader believe that a journal of political incidents, composed by an English Earl as a supplement to the history of this great nation, could consist principally of this sort of impertinence? Yet so it is.

In the account here given of the debates on the bill for explaining and extending the Act of Habeas Corpus, the noble author has taken occasion to show that, for the judges of the land he entertained as supreme a contempt as for the guardians of our holy church. That some doubts obscured the sense and impeded the operation of that beneficial statute cannot be denied, and it is one of the felicities of the present hour that the doubts and difficulties alluded to have been removed; but to ground an attack upon the characters of such men as Lords Mansfield and Hardwicke on their opposition to that bill,—to designate them upon that account as "instances of the discrimination that ought to be made between the spirit of the laws and the profession of them," was as unwarranted as it was illiberal. The judges, whose opinions were taken upon the points respecting this celebrated Act, are no less scornfully treated by this shallow but undoubting politician for differing from him in their legal views of the question. "When the judges came," says he, "they were to talk, to talk on law, and to explain that law by jargon. The field was so spacious and so inviting, that they ran into all the subtleties, distinctions, chicaneries, and absurdities of their profession." And yet among these judges were Lord Mansfield and Wilmot, the latter of whom, "whose manner was like Lord Mansfield's, very rapid and full of fire," spoke decidedly against the bill, as did the justices Legge and Adams; and it is to be remembered that both Wilmot and Adams were great friends of Pratt, afterwards Lord Camden, then Attorney-General, the parent of the bill, and the reputed champion of liberty. Sir Michael Forster was also one of these judges upon whom, as a body, this charge of dealing in subtleties and chicaneries is cast with so little reserve by this purifier of our historical annals. We may judge in some measure of the value of our author's censure by the grounds on which he builds his panegyric. After speaking in his usual strain of obloquy of Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, he proceeds to inform us that he had a bitter antagonist in the Attorney-General Pratt, who had not only entered into employment on a popular footing, but personally hated the Chief Justice, and was himself steady, warm, sullen, stained with no reproach, and an uniform Whig. He then continues,

"He declared himself with impetuosity for the utmost latitude of the Habeas Corpus; and it reflected no small honour on him, that the first advocate of the crown should appear the firmest champion against

prerogative. Nor should we deem less highly of him, because private motives spurred him on to the contest—alas! how cold would public virtue be, if it never glowed with public heat! So seldom, too, it is that any considerations can bias a man to run counter to the colour of his office and the interests of his profession, that the world should not be too scrupulous about accepting the service as a merit, but should honour it at least for the sake of the precedent.”—(Vol. ii. p. 287.)

This is called by the editor, in his note at the bottom of the page, “a just and spirited passage.” We differ widely from him. Are we then not to “deem less highly of a man,” because “private motives,” the leading one, as above appears, being personal hatred of an illustrious individual, influenced his public conduct? Is it “public virtue at all, unless it glows with “public heat.” It is doubtless true that “the world should not be too scrupulous in accepting a service as a merit,” nor be severe in the investigation of motives where an act carries with it the credentials of virtue; but assuredly this maxim of prudence cannot affect the substance of the act; and if it be predicated of a man’s conduct that it springs from selfish and unchristian principles, the very proposition declares it to be unworthy of respect.

Upon this famous debate on the subject of the Habeas Corpus Bill, the author dilates with great self-satisfaction, and some plausibility on the nature and grounds of our public rights and liberties.

“The lawyers, he says, made the plainest thing in the world, *the right to freedom*, the most obscure; and yet while any hope of their becoming intelligible remained, men listened to know through what genealogy of terms this blessing had been derived to them: a common error that I willingly censure, as if precedents brought in support of, did not weaken, liberty. Can ages of ancestors submitting to tyranny impeach my freedom? Have I not a right to be free, the moment I have the power of being so? If we hold our liberties but by *Magna Charta*, we hold them by an extorted piece of parchment. If the crown had a right to enslave us before, it has a right still, for then that struggle was rebellion; and what right can rebellion give? *Magna Charta* was but the King’s confession of his usurpation; as taking up arms against oppression, is only doing justice on the oppressor. I have ever found that such grave personages as affect to authenticate our liberties by history and precedent, are no better than those foppish tools the heralds, who hoard long rolls of nobility, but are ready to forge a pedigree for the first pretender to birth.”—(Vol. ii. p. 288.)

The above passage is likely to be vastly taking with our present popular declaimers, and with disturbers and reformers in general. But it is really nothing but trash and trumpery, fit

only to furnish out the knavish harangues of political nostradamomongers. Our "right to freedom" may be a plain thing; but what freedom is, is not so plain, nor was the Earl of Orford competent to explain it. How to secure it by fastening the true conception of it upon the sentiments, habits, and prejudices of mankind, is scarcely within the compass of the collective wisdom of any single epoch. It may not be of absolute necessity, or of the utmost importance, to ascertain the pedigree of our liberties, in order to establish our right to maintain and preserve those of which experience has proved the practicability and the benefit; but it is of the greatest moment in the estimation of every sensible man, when plans are under agitation for the enlargement of our liberties, or the alteration of constitutional law, to recede with great caution from the ancient practice, and inherited usages of the system under which we have risen to greatness and happiness, and to hold rather to precedent and analogy, than to rush adventurously forward into the region of untried speculations. "A people," says Mr. Burke, "will never look forward to posterity, that never look backward to their ancestors. To regard every thing in our laws and government as inheritable property, is to afford a principle of transmission and a principle of conservation without at all excluding a principle of improvement; it is to leave acquisition free, while it secures what it acquires." But this is what the Earl of Orford could not, or would not understand, and it is from the want of understanding and feeling this maxim, founded on the analogies of nature and the constitution of the human mind, that this country has been so often in danger of being made the sport of presumptuous egotists, and empirical pretenders to new discoveries. Our author seems to have considered liberty as the work of a day. We consider it as the work of ages; not cast in a mould by an instantaneous operation, but wrought into consistence and shape by being acted upon by successive generations, and by the various impressions and percussions of accident, struggle, and emergency. "Have not I a right to be free, the moment I have the power of being so?" Such is the silly question of this diletante lover of liberty, who had never studied it through the medium of history or man's nature, but among the specimens and painted models of his political museum.

"Nonsensical as," according to our author, was the "jargon" talked by the lawyers and judges upon the points at issue on this debate, he thus speaks in a subsequent page, of the speech delivered by Lord Mansfield upon that occasion:

"He spoke for two hours and a half! His voice and manner, composed of harmonious solemnity, were the least graces of his speech! I never heard so much argument, so much sense, so much oratory.

united. His deviations into the abstruse minutiae of the law served but as a foil to the luminous parts of his oration. Perhaps it was the only speech that, in my time at least, had real effect; that is, convinced many persons. Nor did I ever know how true a votary I was to liberty, till I found that I was not among the number staggered by that speech. "I took as many notes" of it as I possibly could: and, ~~prolix~~ as they would be, I would give them to the reader, if it would not be injustice to Lord Mansfield to curtail and mangle, as I should by the want of connexion, so beautiful a thread of argumentation."

So much for the subtleties, the chicaneries, the absurdities, the nonsense, and the jargon which, according to this author, was exhibited by the judges and lawyers in the discussion of the Habeas Corpus Amendment Bill. The bill was dropped, upon Lord Hardwicke's agreeing that the judges ought to have equal power in granting the writ, and proposing to move to order the judges to bring in such a bill against the next session. The original measure, as our readers know, passed into a law in 1816.

The extreme clumsiness of Lord Orford in the description and comparison of great men has before been remarked upon. He was, however, very ambitious of the credit of doing particularly well this part of the historian's province. The highest reach of skill in the art seems to be required for tracing the disparities and discrepancies between persons approximated by their circumstances, or talents; and here the author has foolishly adventured, and pitiably failed. He has run a parallel between his father and Lord Bolingbroke, and again between the same Sir Robert and Mr. Pelham; in both which attempts he has shown great poverty of conception and feebleness of execution. The reader, however, will peruse these specimens with interest, as the result of living observation, and an acquaintance with one of the characters at least beyond that to which any other man could pretend.

"The 12th died Lord Bolingbroke; a man who will not be seen in less extraordinary lights by posterity than he was by his contemporaries; though for very different reasons. His own age regarded him either as the greatest statesman, oppressed by faction, and the greatest genius persecuted by envy; or as the most consummate villain, preserved by clemency, and the most treacherous politician, abandoned by all parties whom he had successively betrayed. Posterity will look on him as the greatest philosopher from Pope's writings; or as an author of a bounded genius from his own." To see him in a true light, they must neither regard all the incense offered to him by Tories, nor credit all the opprobrium cast on him by Whigs. They must see him compounded of all those vices and virtues that so often enter into the nature of a great genius, who is not one of the greatest. Was it being master of no talents, to have acted the second part, when little more than a youth, in overturning such a ministry, and stemming such a

tide of glory, as Lord Godolphin's and the Duke of Marlborough's? Were there no abilities, after his return from banishment, in holding such a power as Sir Robert Walpole's at bay for so many years, even when excluded from the favourable opportunity of exerting his eloquence in either house of parliament? Was there no triumph in having chiefly contributed to the fall of that minister? Was there no glory in directing the councils and operations of such men as Sir William Windham, Lord Bath, and Lord Granville? And was there no art in persuading the self-fondest and greatest of poets, that the writer of the *Grafterman* was a more exalted genius than the author of the *Dunciad*? Has he shown no address in palliating the exploded treaty of Utrecht? Has he not, in his letters on that event, contrived to make assertions and hypothesis almost balance stubborn facts? To cover his own guilt, has he not diverted our attention towards pity for the great enemy, in whose service he betrayed his own country? On the other hand, what infamy to have sold the conqueror to the conquered! What ingratitude in labouring the ruin of a minister, who had repealed his sentence of banishment! What repeated treasons to the Queen, whom he served; to the Pretender, who had received and countenanced him; to the late King, who had recalled him! What ineffectual arts to acquire the confidence of the late King, by means of the Duchess of Kendal, and of the present King, by Lady Suffolk! What unwearied ambition, even at seventy years of age, in laying a plan of future power in the favour of the Prince of Wales! What deficiency in the very parts that had given success to the opposition, to have left him alone excluded from reaping the harvest of so many labours! What blackness in disclosing the dirtiness of Pope,* who had deified him! And what philosophy was that which had been initiated in the ruin of the Catalans; had employed its meridian in labouring the restoration of popery and arbitrary power; and busied the end of its career, first in planning factions in the Pretender's court, by the scheme of the father's resigning his claim to the son; and then in sowing the seeds of division between a King and prince, who had pardoned all his treasons!

"Sir Robert Walpole and Lord Bolinbroke had set out rivals at school, lived a life of competition, and died much in the same manner, provoked at being killed by empyvics;† but with the same difference in their manner of dying as had appeared in the temper of their lives: the first with a calmness that was habitual philosophy; the other with a rage that his affected philosophy could not disguise. The one had seen his early ambition dashed with imprisonment, from

* Lord Bolinbroke had trusted him to get six copies printed off, of his *Letters on Patriotism*; after Pope's death, it was discovered that he had secured a vast number of copies for his own benefit. Vide the preface to the *Idea of a Patriot King*, where this story is exposed. What aggravated Lord Bolinbroke's exposing his friend, was, that after his own death it was discovered that he had secretly preserved a copy of Dr. Middleton's *Essay on Prayer*, which his lordship had persuaded the doctor's executors to burn.

† Sir Robert Walpole was killed by Jurin's medicine for the stone; Lord Bolinbroke by a man who had pretended to cure him of a cancer in his face.

which he had shot into the sphere of his rival, who was exiled, sentenced, recalled; while Walpole rose gradually to the height of temperate power, maintained it by the force of his single talents against Bolinbroke, assisted by all the considerable geniuses of England; and when driven from it at last, resigned it without a stain or a censure, and retired to a private life, without an attempt to re-establish himself—almost without a regret for what he had lost. The other unquiet, unsteady, shocked to owe his return to his enemy, more shocked to find his return was not to power, incapable of tasting the retirement which he made delightful to all who partook it; died at last with the mortification of owing his greatest reputation to the studies he had cultivated to distress his antagonist. Both were beloved in private life; Sir Robert from the humanity and frankness of his nature; Bolinbroke from his politeness of turn, and elegance of understanding. Both were fond of women; Walpole with little delicacy; Bolinbroke to enjoy the delicacy of pleasure. Both were extravagant; and the patriot who accused, and the minister who had been accused of rapine, died poor or in debt. Walpole was more amiable in his virtues; Bolinbroke more agreeable in his vices." (Vol. i. p. 191—196.)

The parallel exhibited between Sir Robert Walpole and Mr. Pelham is plainly one on which this writer has collected the whole sum of his faculties. Our readers perhaps will think with us that, although some of the colouring is fresh and natural, the general tone and expression is spiritless and incorrect. The flagrant offences against grammar and syntax, with which every page of this performance abounds, saves the general style and composition of the work from its due reprobation.

"Sir Robert Walpole was bold, open, steady, never defeated; he would attempt for honest ends where strict morality did not countenance his opinion; he always disclosed his arts after they had effected his purpose; and sometimes defeated them by too early discovery. He never gave up his party to serve himself, though he has departed from his own opinion to please his friends, who were serving themselves; nor did he ever lose his cheerfulness, though he had hurt himself against his opinion. Mr. Pelham was timorous, reserved, fickle, apt to despair. He would often not attempt when he was convinced it would be right; would sooner hurt himself by not telling his mind, than attain his aim by being communicative; and often gave up his party, indeed, not to serve himself but his enemies, and frequently disappointed himself of success, by never expecting to succeed. Presumption made Sir Robert Walpole many enemies; want of confidence in himself kept from Mr. Pelham many friends. Sir Robert Walpole was content to have one great honest view, and would overlook or trample upon the intermediate degrees. Mr. Pelham could never reach a great view, by stumbling at little ones; he would scruple to give an hundred pound to one opponent, and to buy off another would give up a question that might endanger the nation.

Sir Robert Walpole loved power so much, that he would not endure a rival; Mr. Pelham loved it so well, that he would endure any thing. The one would risk his administration, by driving every considerable man from court, rather than venture their being well there; the other would employ any means to take able men out of the opposition, though he ventured their engrossing his authority and outshining his capacity; but he dreaded abuse more than competition, and always bought off his enemies to avoid their satire, rather than to acquire their support: whereas, Sir Robert Walpole never trading but for numbers, and despising invectives, and dreading rivals, gained but weak uncertain assistance, and always kept up a formidable opposition. His apprehension of competitors was founded on prudence, because great part of his authority depended upon the King's favour: Mr. Pelham owing nothing to that, had the less reason to fear losing it; as he maintained himself in the ministry in spite of the King's partiality to abler men, he had no reason to be jealous of their getting interest at court.

"Sir Robert Walpole raised himself to the head of the administration, without interest, without fortune, without alliances, and in defiance of the chiefs of his own party: he rose by the House of Commons—he fell by it. Mr. Pelham found himself next upon the list, and was recommended to a strong party by their leader. He would never have risen, had he had no other foundation than the House of Commons, and would fall to-morrow if he had no other support; for he must be undone whenever his safety depends upon himself. Sir Robert Walpole's eloquence was made for use, and he never could shine but when it was necessary he should. He wanted art when he had no occasion for it; and never pleased, but when he did more than please. I am not going to contrast this part of their characters, nor to say that Mr. Pelham only shone upon trifling and unnecessary occasions, for he did not do even that; he was obscure upon the most trivial occurrences, perplexed even when he had but one idea, and whenever he spoke well, it was owing to his being heated; he must loose his temper before he could exert his reason. Sir Robert Walpole palliated too little, Mr. Pelham too much. The one would defend his errors by a majority; the other with a greater majority would excuse his merit, and would sooner obscure and depreciate his meaning when right and clear of itself, than not apologize for it. Sir Robert Walpole could not deviate but with openness and sincerity; the other degraded truth by timidity, sense by mystery, and right by asking pardon for it.

"The one was honoured by his enemies, the other at best pitied by his friends. His most prejudiced opponents often grew convinced that the former was in the right; the heartiest friends of the latter knew he meant to be so, but never found stronger reasons to confirm them in their opinion. The one durst do right and durst do wrong too; the other dared either so little, that it generally ended in his doing the latter. Sir Robert Walpole never professed honesty, but followed it; Mr. Pelham always professed it, and kept his word, when nothing happened to make him break it; and then he broke

it for some other honest end, though perhaps far from being equally cogent.

"Sir Robert Walpole's mastery was understanding his own country, and his foible, inattention to every other country, by which it was impossible he could thoroughly understand his own. Mr. Pelham understood more of his own country than of others, though he would have made a better minister for any other nation; for as he would not have met with opposition or contradiction, two things his nature could not bear, and as he meant exceedingly well, he would have served the country that employed him to the best of his understanding, and that might have cleared up as well as his temper, when he had nothing to perplex it. In the knowledge of the revenue, he and all other men must yield to Sir R. Walpole, though he and all other men make the same use of that knowledge, which is to find new funds for the necessities of the government, and for the occasions of the administration; by those occasions, I mean corruption, in which I believe Mr. Pelham would never have wet his finger, if Sir Robert Walpole had not dipped up to the elbow; but as he did dip, and as Mr. Pelham was persuaded that it was as necessary for him to be minister as it was for Sir Robert Walpole, he plunged as deep. The difference was, that Mr. Pelham always bribed more largely as he had more power; for whenever it tottered, he the less ventured to prop it by those means, as he was the more afraid of being called to account by putting them in practice.

"Sir Robert Walpole, with the greatest confidence of himself, had no pride; Mr. Pelham had the most, with the least self-sufficiency. Both were loved in private life. Sir Robert Walpole loved magnificence, and was generous to a fault: the other had neither ostentation nor avarice, and yet had little generosity. The one was profuse to his family and his friends, liberal indiscriminately, unbounded to his tools and spies: the other loved his family and his friends, and enriched them as often as he could steal an opportunity from his extravagant bounty to his enemies and antagonists. Indifferent people were too indifferent to him; and for intelligence, it was one of the greatest blemishes of his administration, he wanted it so entirely—not resolution more! Sir Robert Walpole's friendships were chiefly confined to persons much below him; Mr. Pelham's were almost all founded on birth and rank: the one was too familiar, the other never so. Sir Robert Walpole was forgiving to a fault, if forgiveness can be faulty; Mr. Pelham never forgave, but when he durst not resent. Sir Robert Walpole met with much ingratitude; Mr. Pelham was guilty of much. Both were frequently betrayed; Sir Robert Walpole without being deceived; Mr. Pelham not half so often as he suspected it. The one was most depreciated while he was minister; the other will be most when he ceases to be minister. All men thought Mr. Pelham honest till he was in power; the other never was thought so till he was out." (Vol. i. p. 200—205.)

We were full of hope when this publication was first announced to us, that we should find in it what has always seemed

as a great debater in the parliamentary history of this country, some of the speeches of Mr. Fox, and Sir Charles O'Connell. We have been disappointed. The author of these Memoirs was perpetually employed in taking notes of the great speeches made in Parliament during the period of the transactions of which he records; but he has shown himself to be entirely destitute of the talents of a reporter. He was in the House of Lords when Lord Mansfield delivered his superlative speech on the Habeas Corpus Bill, and was diligent in collecting what he could of it, but he has not ventured to give us any idea of its style or argumentation; not even a passage by way of specimen, though he tells us that his deviations into the abstruse minutiae of the law served but as a foil to the luminous parts of his oration. Why then not give us these luminous parts which, from his own statement, were so distinguished from the rest by the contrast and relief in which they stood displayed. Of Lord Mansfield's oratory, indeed, we have fine samples in the books of the law; but no entire speech, nor any very considerable portion of any speech of the late Lord Chatham's has been, and carry down to successive ages the impress of that eloquence which, at an eloquent period of the country, made all other eloquence distrust itself and bend to its acknowledged superiority, which in an hour of national discomfiture shook the aristocracy and furnished over the land, all the energies of the nation, up to the height of its own magnificent level. The fragments and lacerated portions of this great statesman's harangues, which the author of these Memoirs has snatched from the context by way of specimens, show us no more of the plan and spirit of the consummate whole to which they belonged, than what a stone from the ruins of Balbec would exhibit of the beauty and glory of those structures that once glittered in the sun, and over-awed the wilderness around them. We should incline to say of the passages from the great orator's speeches in general here produced, that they fall short of the standard of his son, or of Mr. Burke's, or Mr. Fox's great displays in the House of Commons, when the India bill, or the slave-trade abolition, or the discussions on revolutionary France, called forth into full exercise the talents of these later luminaries. As far, indeed, as the circumstances of the times are concerned, in the development of the abilities of the orator, the periods of most agitation in the reign of George II. furnished nothing comparable with the times to which the great men to whom we have last alluded belonged. If we look to the size and aspect of the dangers which, since the birth of the new revolutionary politics, have at various junctures put every thing in this country to hazard, driven it back upon its ultimate resources, and called upon it to defend its life, we

shall see enough of external cause to account for the greater efforts to which the genius of the nation has since been provoked, and for that inflammation into which the casual lights of Lord Chatham's day burst forth under his accomplished son.

For the Earl of Orford's failure in the exhibition of the great Lord Chatham there is indeed a peculiar excuse. It is agreed by all his contemporaries, that no description could represent him adequately; that to comprehend the force of his eloquence it was necessary to see the man. All that Tully included under the word 'actio' was his. "*Et vacia, et spiritus, et totius corporis, et ipsius lingue motus,*" were all such as to make the orator himself a part of his own eloquence. His mind was to be viewed in his countenance. So embodied was it in his every look and gesture, that his words were to be felt rather than followed. They invested his hearers. The weapons of his opponents dropped from their hands. He spoke with the air and vehemence of inspiration, and the very atmosphere flamed around him. Whatever fell from him appeared to be the suggestion of the moment, born with the occasion, and complete on its starting into life. It seemed as if he spoke resting on the trident of his country with one hand, and pointing her sword in the other. It was his advantage always to appear before the nation in an attitude of vigour. New imposts were the necessary consequence of his great and spirited undertakings; but while the details of office, and the expedients of finance fell upon others, he was busied in binding laurels round the brow of his sovereign, and pointing to the fields where new glories were to be won. So that it is not easy to find three years of greater felicity in the life of any distinguished historical personage, than those which closed the reign of George the Second were to the first Mr. Pitt. Every thing conspired to give him this pre-eminence. His personal character had an unfinished greatness in it which blended harmoniously with his public measures. He was too much of an actor; but he became his high part well, and tread the stage with a grace and grandeur somewhat laboured, but all his own. His person appears to have been of the most commanding sort, and if his contemporaries are to be believed, there was even in the bodily indisposition to which he was subject, a something that showed in stronger relief the indomitable firmness of his soul. In him was seen the spiritual part signally triumphant over the ills of our organised frame, and rising in independence of those infirmities which, in ordinary men, weigh down mind and body together. The nation has cause to lament that the memory of such a person should have been left to float upon the pages of loosely compiled memorials, (for such only the histories of this period of

our country deserve to be called;) and to compile that *little* or nothing has been added to the meagre stock of knowledge we possess concerning him by a writer who undertook to record the parliamentary transactions of the great period of Mr. Pitt's career, with the vision of the man himself in its full resplendence before his eyes. It is impossible, however, not to see some blemishes in Mr. Pitt. And of these, according to the manner of our author, we find in the book before us a more particular statement than of his excellencies. It is the frequent error of high attainments to retrograde from the point of excellence by an over strenuous effort to surpass it, and in the ambiguous pursuits of fame to leave the beautiful and veracious road of nature. One cannot divest oneself of the suspicion that the late Lord Chatham's manner was sometimes artificial, and sometimes adopted for effect. There was occasionally some tinsel in the style of his oratory, and something forced, if not distorted, in his imagery. His natural grandeur was carried beyond its due and temperate display, by an impetuosity in the flow of his ideas, by a sort of solitary self-sufficiency, and by something of an exclusive spirit in all his great measures. He stood, like Pompey's pillar in the plain, majestically distinguishable from all the objects around him, acknowledging neither competitor nor partner in his glory.

Of the first steps in the political advance of Mr. William Pitt and of Mr. Henry Fox, afterwards Lord Chatham and Lord Holland, the following short statement is given in two notes in the first volume of these Memoirs.

"William Pitt, younger brother of Thomas Pitt, of Boconnock, in Cornwall, was originally a cornet of horse, and broke by Sir Robert Walpole, at the time of the excise, when his kinsman, Lord Cobham, lost his regiment for opposing that scheme. He was then made groom of the bedchamber to the Prince of Wales. The old Duchess of Marlborough left him ten thousand pounds, and her grandson, Mr. Spencer, entailed the Sunderland estate upon him after his own son. When Sir Robert Walpole resigned, and Mr. Pulteney was created an Earl, Mr. Pitt said, "he now knew his place in the House of Commons." He continued in opposition, and distinguished himself greatly on the subject of the Hanover troops, and in his personal contests with Lord Granville, till the fall of that minister. On the coalition he pretended to desire nothing for himself; but as soon as his junto were placed in good employments, he began opposing again till in a short time he was made vice-treasurer of Ireland, and was designed for secretary at war, which the King (at the instance of Lord Bath) refused to make him; which occasioned the revolution of three days in 1746, after which he was made paymaster of the forces on the death of Mr. Winnington; the King persisting in not letting him have any place which could give him the entrée of his closet."

"Henry Fox, only brother to Lord Ilchester, had been bred a tory,

and had been voted out of one of Sir Robert Walpole's parliaments; but being reconciled to the principles of the court, by the friendship of his brother with Lord Hervey, to whom Mr. Fox was second in his duel with Mr. Pulteney, he was made surveyor of the works, and on Mr. Pelham's succeeding to the head of the treasury, was appointed commissioner of that board, and was at this time (1751) secretary at war.

Having thus shortly conducted these two most distinguished men of the time to the commencement of the period, the events of which form the subject of these Memoirs, the noble author gives the following sketches of their respective public and parliamentary qualifications,

“Pitt was undoubtedly one of the greatest masters of ornamental eloquence. His language was amazingly fine and flowing; his voice admirable; his action most expressive; his figure genteel and commanding. Bitter satire was his forte; when he attempted ridicule, which was very seldom, he succeeded happily; when he attempted to reason, poorly. But where he chiefly shone, was in exposing his own conduct: having waded through the most notorious apostasy in politics, he treated it with an impudent confidence, that made all reflections upon him poor and spiritless, when worded by any other man. Out of the House of Commons he was far from being his shining character. His conversation was affected and unnatural, his manner not engaging, nor his talents adapted to a country, where ministers must court, if they would be courted.

“Fox, with a great hesitation in his elocution, and a barrenness of expression, had conquered these impediments and the prejudices they had raised against his speaking, by a vehemence of reasoning, and closeness of argument, that beat all the orators of the time. His spirit, his steadiness, and humanity procured him strong attachments, which the more jealous he grew of Pitt, the more he cultivated. Fox always spoke to the question; Pitt, to the passions: Fox to carry the question; Pitt to raise himself. Fox pointed out, Pitt lashed, the errors of his antagonists: Pitt's talents were likely to make him soonest, Fox's to keep him first minister longest.” (Vol. i, p. 79—81.)

In the summer of 1755, when the collision of the powers of Great Britain and France, in North America, was preparing the celebrated war in which our country reaped such a harvest of glory, the character and talents of the rival statesmen, towards whom the attention of our readers has been turned by the above extracts, were fully developed by their disunion and new political relations. The Duke of Newcastle first tried Mr. Pitt, and failed to seduce him. Mr. Fox was gained, and became the secretary of war, pledged to defend the obnoxious treaties and subsidies for the security of Hanover, to which the King's affection for his electorate irresistibly determined him, whatever it might cost him in America, or whatever other British

interests might be made the sacrifice. Upon this occasion the author of the work before us affects to give us an exact verbal detail of the conversation which passed between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox. "Fox asked him if he had suspected him of having tried to rise above him." Pitt protested he had not. "Are we," said Fox, "on incompatible lines?" "Not on incompatible," said Pitt, "but on convergent; that some time or other they might act together: *that for himself he would accept power from no hands.*" This dialogue is certainly very characteristic of the parties; but how did the author come by it?

The principle upon which the author represents Mr. Fox to have yielded to the invitation of the Duke of Newcastle to join the administration, if justly imputed to him, was not much to the credit of his integrity. "He was not obdurate. A new motive," says the author, "was thrown into the scale of ambition. In his earlier life, Mr. Fox had wasted his fortune by gaming; it had been replaced by some family circumstances, but was still small, and he continued profuse. Being a most fond father, and his constitution admonishing him, he took up an attention to enrich himself precipitately." Mr. Fox, however, by the new arrangement into which he was entering, was quitting the place of secretary at war for that of secretary of state, and the editor very properly observes, in a note, that if the motives of Mr. Fox were as sordid as the author describes them, would they have induced him to quit his situation of war secretary, which the text insinuates was "so unlimited and lucrative a traffic" for the office of secretary of state, superior indeed in rank and importance, but much less profitable. We will leave others to settle this balance of motives. We have no attachment to the memory of the late Lord Holland. He certainly did from this time stick close to power, and did enrich himself while in office; but with his motives we desire to have nothing to do. The Earl of Orford was long his friend, and seems to have had no serious quarrel with him, though after the great national event of the trial and execution of Admiral Byng, he states his conduct on that occasion to have produced a separation between them. It cannot indeed be denied that the character of this Statesman, as it may be collected from the testimonies concerning him, dispersed through these pages, appears in a light extremely degrading to his historical memory.

The defence of the treaties, which was considered as a Phœvorian measure, was the first great struggle in which the new administration, of which Mr. Fox made a part, was engaged with Mr. Pitt and his friends, whose great point was to oppose any connection that might tend to divert attention and treasure from the support of our American settlements, and

especially the employment of a large body of Hessian mercenaries for maintaining the safety of Hanover. It was in the memorable debate which took place in the House of Commons on this subject that Mr. Pitt delivered one of his finest speeches; and as it is set forth more at large in these memoirs than any other of that great man, and exhibits more of his peculiar manner, however indifferently reported, than any other that we recollect seeing, we will give the whole of the specimen as it stands in the work before us.

“These uninteresting discourses served to heighten what wanted no foil, Pitt's ensuing oration. How his eloquence, like a torrent long obstructed, burst forth with more commanding impetuosity! He and Legge opened their new opposition in the very spirit of their different characters: the one, humble, artful, affecting moderation, gliding to revenge; the other, haughty, defiant, and conscious of injury, and supreme abilities. He began with his solicitude on the use that had been made of the sacred name of the king, so often and so unparliamentarily, and of the cruelty in using it so; formerly, a man would have been brought to the bar for using it so twice; but he had perceived for some time, that every art was practiced to lower the dignity of the house; he had long observed it dwindling, sinking! it was to that abuse he objected: no man could feel more veneration for that name that had been mentioned: he particularly felt grateful returns for late condescending goodness and gracious openings. Nor did he as yet feel any other sensations; as yet he had no encounter to any man who had set himself at the head of this measure; as yet that man had only his pity. He said, he did not propose to follow all the various flashy reasonings of the debate, the scope of which tended to nothing but this, ‘Follow your leader.’ He was lost amidst the number and contradictions, and should only skim over the most remarkable arguments. One had argued so strangely, as if we were to turn our eyes to these mercenaries as a reserve, if our navies should be defeated—what! must we drain our last vital drop, and send it to the north pole! If you would traffic for succours with the Czarina, why, rather than her troops, did not you hire twenty of her ships?—he would say why? because ships could not be applied to Hanover. In the reign of Charles the Second, what efforts were made to procure fleets from Sweden and Denmark!—now, the natural system of Europe was lost! He did not know what majorities would do, but this would hang like a mill-stone about his neck, and sink any minister along with the nation. We had been told, indeed, that Carthage, and that Spain in 88, were undone, notwithstanding their navies—true; but not till they betook themselves to land operations—and Carthage had besides a Hannibal who would pass the Alps. The present war was undertaken for the long-injured, long-neglected, long-forgotten people of America. That Hanover had been excepted as an ally by the act of limitation, not so much for fear of prejudices, as for its locality. But we are told we must assist them out of justice and gratitude—out of justice!—we can

produce a charter against it—out of gratitude indeed we ought, if Hanover has done any thing in our quarrel to draw upon her the resentments of France. Those expressions were unparliamentary, unconstitutional: with all his duty to his Majesty, he must say, that the King owes a supreme service to his people—would our ancestors have used adulation like this? the very paragraph ought to be taken notice of and punished.—Besides, is there any thing in the speech about Hanover, that calls for this resolution? Grotius declares it is not necessary even *socium defendere si nulla spes boni exitus*—then half-turning with an air of the greatest contempt towards Sir George Lyttelton, he said, a gentleman near me has talked too of writers on the law of nations—nature is the best writer; she will teach us to be men, and not to truckle to power. The noble lord who moved the address seemed inspired with it! I, continued he, who am at a distance from that *sanctum sanctorum*, whither the priest goes for inspiration, I who travel through a desert, and am overwhelmed with mountains of obscurity, cannot so easily catch a gleam to direct me to the beauties of these negotiations—but there are parts of this address that do not seem to come from the same quarter with the rest—I cannot unravel this mystery.—yes, cried he, clapping his hand suddenly to his forehead, I too am inspired now! it strikes me!—I remember, at Lyons to have been carried to see the conflux of the Rhosne and Saone; this a gentle, feeble, languid stream, and though languid, of no depth—the other, a boisterous and impetuous torrent—but they meet at last; and long may they continue united to the comfort of each other, and to the glory, honour, and security of this nation! I wanted indeed to know whence came the feebleness of what goes upon too many legs; whose child it is—I see who breeds it up. These incoherent *un-British* measures are what are adopted instead of our proper force—it was our navy that procured the restoration of the barrier and Flanders in the last war, by making us masters of Cape Breton. After that war, with even that indemnification in our hands, we were forced to rejoice at a bad peace; and bad as it was, have suffered infractions of it every year; till the ministers would have been stoned as they went along the streets, if they had not at last shown resentment. Yet how soon have they forgotten in what cause they took up arms! Are these treaties English measures? are they preventive measures? are they not measures of aggression? will they not provoke Prussia, and light up a general war? If a war in Europe ensues from these negotiations, I will always follow up the authors of this measure. They must mean a land-war—and how preposterously do they meditate it? Hanover is the only spot you have left to fight upon. Can you now force the Dutch to join you? I remember, every body remembers, when you did force them; all our misfortunes are owing to those daring wicked councils. Subsidies annihilated ten millions in the last war; our navy brought in twelve millions. This is the day, I hope, shall give the colour to my life; though it is a torrent, I fear, nothing will resist. Out of those rash measures sprung up a ministry—what, if a ministry should spring out of this subsidy! I saw that ministry; in the morning it flourished; it was green at noon;

by night it was cut down and forgotten ! But it is said, it will disgrace the King to reject these treaties—but was not the celebrated treaty of Hanau transmitted hither, and rejected here ? If this is a preventive measure, it was only preventive of somebody's exit. A coalition followed : and long may it last ! He taxed Murray's pathetic commiseration of the evening of the King's life, with being premeditated—he too, he said, could draw a pathetic commiseration of his Majesty ; he had figured him far from an honest council, had figured him surrounded all the summer with affrighted Hanoverians, and with no advocate for England near him—but, alas ! we cannot suspend the laws of nature, and make Hanover not an open defenceless country. He then opposed a pathetic picture of the distressed situation of this country ; and reverting to Murray's image of the King, said, he believed that within two years his Majesty would not be able to sleep in St. James's for the cries of a bankrupt people. He concluded with saying, that we imitated every thing of France but the spirit and patriotism of their parliament ; and that the French thought we had not sense and virtue enough, perhaps he thought so too, to make a stand in the right place.

“ This speech, accompanied with variety of action, accents, and irony, and set off with such happy images and allusions, particularly in the admired comparison of the Rhosne and Saone (though one or two of the metaphors were a little forced), lasted above an hour and half, and was kept up with inimitable spirit, though it did not begin till past one in the morning, after an attention and fatigue of ten hours.” (Vol. i. 412—416.)

Perhaps we shall be forgiven if we lay before our readers another example of Mr. Pitt's oratory. A large increase of force was proposed by Mr. Fox, the new secretary of state. Mr. Pitt, in one of his finest and most florid declamations, seconded the motion, adding,

“ That last year he had pronounced 18,000 men not sufficient ; our whole force was necessary at this dangerous and critical conjuncture. Other efforts were requisite, than sending two miserable battalions to America as victims. Every step since had tended to provoke a war, not to make it—and at last the crown itself was to be fought for, by so ineffective or so raw an army ! He hoped by alarming the nation to make the danger reach the ears of his Majesty, who was likely after so gracious a reign to be attacked in his venerable age ! to see such a country exposed by the neglect of his ministers ! He could not avoid turning from the venerable age of the King, to his amiable posterity, *born among us*, yet given up by some unskillful minister or ministers !—yet he meant no invectives ; he made no accusation ; he spoke from his feeling. He then drew a striking and masterly picture of a French invasion reaching London, and of the horrors ensuing, while there was a formidable enemy within the capital itself, as full of weakness as full of multitude ; a flagitious rabble, ready for every nefarious action : of the consternation that would spread through the city, when the noble, artificial, yet vulnerable fabric of public credit should crumble in their hands ! How would ministers be able to meet

"The aspect of so many citizens dismayed it. How could, with so guilty
 'sleets their countrymen? How could a British parliament assemble
 without these considerations? The King's speech of last year had
 been calculated to lull us into a fallacious dream of repose—~~you~~ had his
 ministers not had understanding, or foresight, or virtue—the repeated
 the words that he might not be misquoted, had they had none of
 these qualifications to prompt them to lay the danger before his
 Majesty? Was it not a proof of his assertions, that *where* his Majesty
 himself had a foresight even of fancied, not threatened, danger,
 we knew what provision, vast provision had been made? did the sub-
 jects of the crown want a feeling which the subjects of the Empe-
 rorate possessed in so quick a degree? did he live to see the day,
 when a British parliament had felt so inadequately? That there were
 but ten thousand men in this part of the united kingdom, that not
 more than half would be left to defend the royal family and the me-
 tropolis; and half security is full and ample danger. Accursed be the
 man, and he would have the malediction of his country, who did not
 do all he could to strengthen the King's hands! he would have him
 strengthened by laying open the weakness of his councils; would sub-
 stitute reality to incapacity and futility, and the little frivolous life of
 power. To times of relaxation should be left that fondness for dis-
 posal of places: wisdom ought to meet such rough times as these. 'It
 was that little spirit of domination that had caused the decay of this
 country, that ambition of being *the only figure among cyphers*: when
 that image was first used, perhaps it was prophecy, to-day it was
 history. Two hundred and eighty thousand pounds, the charge of
 this augmentation, would last year have given us security, for that
 sum, our stocks would fall, and hurry along with them the ruin of this
 city, vulnerable in proportion to its opulence. In other countries,
 treasures remain where a city is not sacked; paper credit may be in-
 vaded even in Kent: it is like the sensitive plant, it need not be
 cropped; extend but your hand, it withers and dies. The danger
 had been as present last year to any eye made for public councils;
 for what is the first attribute of a wise minister, but to leave as little
 as possible to contingents? How do thoughtlessness, folly, and igno-
 rance differ from wisdom and knowledge, but by want of foresight? He
 would not recur, like Lord Barrington, to the Romans for compari-
 sons; our own days had produced as great examples. In 1746, thirteen
 regiments raised by noblemen, who, though they did not leave their
 ploughs, left their palaces, had saved this country; he believed it.
 With what scorn, depression, cruelty, as far as contempt as cruelty,
 were they treated by the hour! with what calumny! He wished the
 government would encourage the nobility and gentry to form a militia,
 as a supplement to the army. He wanted to call this country put, of
 that enervate state, that twenty thousand men from France could
 shake it. The maxims of our government were degenerated; not our
 natives. He wished to see that breed restored, which under our old
 principles had carried our glory so high. What would the age think
 they deserved, who, after Washington was defeated and our forts
 taken, who after collusion, if not collusion, had advised his Majesty
 to trust to so slender a force?—on cool reflection what would they

deserve? He did not call for the sagacity of a Bishelin to have foreseen all that must happen—that may happen in two months. He had no vindictive purpose, nor wanted to see penal judgments on their heads: our calamities were more owing to the weakness of their heads than of their hearts." (Vol. i. p. 438—441.)

On the debates for establishing an effective militia, Mr. Pitt, in his speech, went much into details, and the material parts of it are said to have furnished the ground of the bill which was afterwards proposed and passed; a circumstance of no small peculiarity when the situation of the Speaker at this time is adverted to. "He opened it," says the author, "with a plain precision, and went through with a mastery clearness." It cannot however be denied, that the language of Mr. Pitt was too loaded with epithets; and when it is recollected how lavishly such invectives were bestowed on the treaties proposed for the preservation of Hanover, and that he dated the commencement of his own subsequent administration with a proposition in favour of Hanover, one cannot but see that these invectives partook too much of factious motives. His opposition, however, was extremely popular; and as he rose in credit with the nation, the administration of Newcastle and Fox declined in stability, till after a very long interval of embarrassment and negotiation for power, the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Hardwicke resigned their places, and together with Mr. Fox, left the field to Mr. Pitt, with coadjutors of a very party-coloured description. Of Newcastle, our author, after enumerating the compensations which were made him and his friends for being turned out, gives the following humorous account. "All this being granted, his Grace retired to Claremont, where, for about a fortnight, he played at being a country gentleman. Guns and green frocks were bought, and at past sixty he affected to turn sportsman; but getting wet in his feet, he hurried back to London in a fright, and his country was once more blessed with his assistance." The Chancellor also retired; but it was more difficult to fill the vacancy of a Lord Hardwicke than of a Duke of Newcastle. The great seal was given in commission to Lord Chief Justice Willes, Judge Wilmot, and Baron Smyth; of the second of which persons our author gives a feature or two very contrary to all that we have learned of that amiable man and upright Judge, from the oral accounts and written testimony of one who had the best opportunities of studying his disposition and estimating his character. He says, "Wilmot was a man of great vivacity of parts. He loved hunting and racing, and was his profession. He had been an admired pleader before the House of Commons, but being repulsed on the contested election for Warham with great haughtiness by Pitt, who told

him he brought thither the pertness of his profession, and being prohibited by the Speaker from making a reply, he flung down his brief in a passion, and never would return to plead there any more.

An anecdote, which, as far as it respects Mr. Pitt, might be probable enough; but we regard it only as an exaggerated story of the day as to Judge Wilmot's part in it. He was a man of as much modesty as talent, diving deep into the science of the law, without suffocating in that dense medium any of the sound sense with which nature had endowed him. To wine he had no propensity, and of hunting he knew no more than did Nimrod of special pleading. But this is one among many instances of a credulous temerity of assertion in this maker of fringes for the drapery of the historic muse.

Pitt, during the first months of his administration, was enfeebled by the gout, as well as embarrassed by the discordant elements of the new confederation, of which he found himself the head. Except Lord Temple and himself, the members of the Cabinet seemed more properly to belong to the party of Newcastle and Fox. The intrigues of party, and the influence of the Duke of Cumberland, who, in the spring of 1757, undertook the command in Germany for the defence of Hanover, drove Mr. Pitt from the administration, only to bring him back with the greater triumph. His power from personal ascendancy at this juncture, is thus vivaciously described by the Earl of Orford.

"The temper of the nation left him master to take whatever resolution he pleased. He had acted during his short reign with a haughty reserve, which, if it had kept off dependents and attachments, at least had left him all the air of patriot privacy; and having luckily from the King's dislike of him, and from the shortness of the time, been dipped but in few ungracious businesses, he came back to the mob scarce 'shorn of his beams.' The stocks fell; the Common Council voted the freedom of the city both to Pitt and Legge; and for some weeks it rained gold boxes."

During the floating state of parties, and of government, which now intervened, Mr. Pitt and his friends pushed the inquiry into the loss of Minorca, — a question brought forward only as a subject for the trial of strength. Mr. Pitt came upon the stage to act his part, if we credit our author, with no small degree of mummery; but the imputation stands only on his naked assertion. His satire is, however, upon this occasion at least sprightly, if not well founded.

"Pitt, it was expected, would take advantage of illness and not appear. But he refused on that old fineness; and pretending to want the care of a broken constitution, when his country demanded his service, and as a pledge of his sincerity in the scrutiny, he came to

adorned in all the studied apparatus of a thestic valetudinarian. The weather was unseasonably warm; yet he was dressed in an old coat and waistcoat of beaver laced with gold; over that, a red surcoat, the right arm lined with fur, and appendent with many black ribbands, to indicate his inability of drawing it over his right arm, which hung in a crape sling, but which in the warmth of speaking he drew out with unlucky activity, and brandished as usual. On his legs were riding stockings. In short, no aspiring cardinal ever coughed for the tiara with more specious debility."—(Vol. ii. p. 205.)

"It was not till eleven weeks had passed without a government that on the 29th of June the new ministry was settled, comprehending the Duke of Newcastle, Pitt, and Fox, and certain portions of their respective friends, Pitt being the foreign secretary, and Fox submitting to take the profitable place of paymaster of the forces, under him. The management of the war was wholly with Mr. Pitt, who soon began to give symptoms of that vigour, which ultimately brought the nation from the state of depression in which he found it in 1757, to that elevation of its fortunes in which he handed it over to the successor of George the Second. It is to be observed that he devoted himself wholly to the province of war, and foreign operations, the theatre, certainly, on which his temper, character, and endowments, fitted him to perform a great part; but in proportion as it engrossed his attention and powers it narrowed the base of his substantial glory as a first minister of this variously conditioned empire. The whole domestic management he left to the Duke of Newcastle, and "except from foreign ministers," says the Earl of Orford, "would receive neither visits nor court." "He lived," according to this writer; "in the same recluse manner as when a valetudinary patriot, indulging his own unsociable humour, and acquiring popularity while he kept off friends and attachments." Observations in which the impartial reader will not fail to discern a mixture of unscrupulous assertion and uncandid suspicion. The mind of Mr. Pitt was certainly much engrossed with his great schemes, and his body was much debilitated by perpetual gout; but his private life, as recorded by some of his intimate friends; and as it is impressed upon his correspondence, many specimens of which have reached us, prove him to have been no stranger to the kindest sympathies of the heart, and the endearments of domestic intercourse. He gave a 'reverberation' to our councils—he dissipated the despondency which had seized upon the public—commerce and confidence were regenerated by his vigour—his own personal character filled the country, accompanied our armies and navies, resounded in the senate, and stood forth confessed and feared in all our foreign relations and diplomacies.

The year preceding this great man's elevation to the supreme direction of the exterior affairs of the nation, was one certainly of considerable depression, and served to render his career of success more brilliant and imposing. A feeble administration with the Duke of Newcastle at its head, and Mr. Fox composing a most inefficient part of it, being, as our author truly affirms, "neither conversant in, nor attentive to, the province allotted to him, and thinking only of wresting the remains of power from his competitors," had brought the nation into such awe of France, that the terror of invasion, at this day ridiculous in the retrospect, had seriously occupied the country. The loss of Minorca, and the failure or delinquency of Admiral Byng, which gave the French so mortifying an ascendancy at sea, were events no less affecting to the nation at large, than discreditable to our government, and paved the way with the best materials for the "great commander's" march to power and glory. The history of Admiral Byng's disgrace and melancholy end, is a matter of too much notoriety even in its details to justify many words upon it in this place, even if our space would allow it. It is due, however, to the Earl of Orford to remark that he has given a feeling and affecting narrative of this prominent transaction, accompanied with an account rather prolix, but in many parts interesting and valuable, of the political and private views and sentiments by which the senate and nation were influenced throughout the investigation and debates, of which it was the engrossing subject for many months. It may gratify curiosity, while it will be just towards Lord Orford, to extract the beginning and end of the affecting relation which the second volume of these memoirs gives us of this historical fact.

"On June 3d came news that Admiral Byng, after a very tedious passage, arriving at Gibraltar on the 2d of May, had, according to his orders, demanded of General Fowke, the governor, a battalion to be transported to Minorca, but that the governor, instead of obeying these directions, had called a council of war, where, in pursuance of the opinion of engineers whom they consulted, it was determined to be impracticable to fling succours into St. Philip's, and that it would be weakening the garrison of Gibraltar to part with so much force, which accordingly was refused.

"But the same post brought an account that occasioned still more astonishment and dismay. Mazzoni, the Spanish minister at Paris, transmitted to D'Abreu, the Spanish resident in England, the copy of a letter which Monsieur Machault had received from Galissoniere, the French admiral, and which had been assiduously communicated to foreign ministers, relating 'That on May 18th, the French admiral, as he lay off Mahon, had perceived the English squadron, who had approached nearer on the 19th, but seemed unwilling to engage. That on the 20th the English had the advantage of the wind, but still

seemed unwilling to fight; that the engagement, however had *been* *enlame*, but could not be universal, for the English kept *trois* *serrés*; that two or three English ships had sheered off; that night separated the fleets; that he (Galissoniere) had lost thirty-eight men, and had nine officers wounded; that he had taken no English ship, but had prevented their flinging succours into Mahon. That he had expected to be attacked again the next day, but, to his great surprize, found the English had disappeared."

"It is necessary to be well acquainted with the disposition of a free, proud, sickle, and violent people, before one can conceive the indignation occasioned by this intelligence. Nothing can paint it so strongly as what was its instant consequence. Sir Edward Hawke and Admiral Saunders were immediately dispatched in the Antelope to supersede Byng and West, to arrest and bring them prisoners to England. This was the first movement; the second should have been to reflect, that there was not the least ground for this information but what was communicated through the channel of Spanish agents (not very friendly to Britain); from the vapouring letter of the enemy's own admiral, interested to heighten or palliate his own conduct:—this should have been the second thought, but it was long ere it was suffered to place itself. In the Antelope, a little cargo of courage, as it was called, were sent at the same time Lord Tyrawley and Lord Panmure to supersede General Fowke, and take the government of Gibraltar. Is it credible, that Lord Tyrawley, dispatched with such vaunted expedition, was the actual governor of Minorca, where he ought to have been from the beginning of the war?

"The impression against Mr. Byng was no sooner taken, than every art and incident that could inflame it were industriously used and adopted. Though he had demanded the Mediterranean service as his right, and had pressed for it as the scene of his father's glory, his courage was now called in question, and others were recollected to have foretold this miscarriage. A letter from him before the engagement had mentioned nothing of Minorca; it only said, that if he found the French too strong, he would retire under the cannon of Gibraltar. The King was now reported to have dashed this letter on the ground, in a passion, saying, 'This man will not fight!'—his Majesty, it seems, had great skill in the symptoms of cowardice! He was represented too as neither eating nor sleeping, and as lamenting himself that this account would be his death. As Minorca was but too likely to follow the fate of Calais, his ministers prepared to write Mahon on that heart, which had never yet felt for any English possession. The Duke, whose sensibility on this occasion can less be doubted, took care to be quoted too; he said, 'We are undone! Sea and land are cowards! I am ashamed of my profession!'

"But on the arrival of the admiral's own dispatch, an abstract of which was immediately published, the rage of the people rose to the height. The letter spoke the satisfaction of an officer, who thought he had done his duty, and, done it well—an air of triumph, that seemed little to become a man who had left the French masters of the sea, and the garrison of St. Philip's without hope of relief. Their

despair on the disappearance of the British fleet, must have been extreme, and could not fail to excite the warmest compassion here. The admiral was burned in effigie in all the great towns; his seat and park in Hertfordshire were assaulted by the mob, and with difficulty saved. The street and shops swarmed with injurious ballads, libels, and prints, in some of which was mingled a little justice on the ministers."—(Vol. ii. p. 56—59.)

"The fatal morning arrived, but was by no means met by the admiral with reluctance. The whole tenor of his behaviour had been cheerful, steady, dignified, sensible. While he felt like a victim, he acted like a hero. Indeed he was the only man whom his enemies had had no power to bend to their purposes. He always received with indignation any proposal from his friends of practising an escape; an advantage he scorned to lend to clamour. Of his fate he talked with indifference; and neither shunned to hear the requisite dispositions, nor affected parade in them. For the last fortnight he constantly declared that he would not suffer a handkerchief over his face, that it might be seen whether he betrayed the least symptom of fear; and when the minute arrived, adhered to his purpose. He took an easy leave of his friends, detained the officers not a moment, went directly to the deck, and placed himself in a chair with neither ceremony nor lightness. Some of the more humane officers represented to him, that his face being uncovered, might throw reluctance into the executioners; and besought him to suffer a handkerchief. He replied with the same unconcern, 'If it will frighten *them*, let it be done; they would not frighten *me*.' His eyes were bound; they shot, and he fell at once.*

"It has often been remarked, that whoever dies in public, dies well. Perhaps those, who, trembling most, maintain a dignity in their fate, are the bravest: resolution on reflection is real courage. It is less condemnable, than a melancholy vain-glory, when some men are ostentatious at their death. But surely a man who can adjust the circumstances, of his execution before-hand; who can say, 'Thus, I will do, and thus;' who can sustain the determined part,

* [The following extract from our author's private correspondence in MS. corroborates the account given in the text; and, as it contains some further particulars, may be acceptable to the reader. 'E.]

"March 17, 1757. 'Admiral Byng's tragedy was completed on Monday—a perfect tragedy—for there were variety of incidents, villainy, murder, and a hero. His sufferings, persecutions, aspersions, disturbances, nay, the revolutions of his fate, had not in the least unhinged his mind; his whole behaviour was natural and firm. A few days before, one of his friends standing by him, said, 'Which of us is tallest?' He replied, 'Why this ceremony? I know what it means; let the man come and measure me for my coffin.' He said, that being acquitted of cowardice, and being persuaded on the coolest reflection, that he had acted for the best, and should act so again, he was not unwilling to suffer. He desired to be shot on the quarter-deck, not where common malefactors, are:—came out at twelve—sat down in a chair, for he would not kneel, and refused to have his face covered, that his countenance might show whether he feared death; but, being told that it might frighten his executioners, he submitted; gave the signal at once; received one shot through the head, another through the heart, and fell."

and throws in no unnecessary pomp, that man does not fear—can it be probable he ever did fear? I say nothing of Mr. Byng's duels; cowards have ventured life for reputation: I say nothing of his having been a warm persecutor of Admiral Matthews: cowards, like other guilty persons, are often severe against failings, which they hope to conceal in themselves by condemning in others: it was the uniformity of Mr. Byng's behaviour from the outset of his persecution to his catastrophe, from whence I conclude that he was aspersed as unjustly, as I am sure that he was devoted maliciously, and put to death contrary to all equity and precedent.”—(Vol. ii. p. 189—191.)

The account with which these memoirs furnish us of the campaigns of the King of Prussia, is certainly written with considerable point and spirit. We do not recollect to have seen the military character of the King any where more clearly and satisfactorily developed. But through a subject of this sort it will not be expected that we shall attempt to carry our readers. The anecdotal part of the work is that to which the author himself was principally devoted, and from which the reader will probably derive his chief entertainment. For ourselves we cannot but think that his selection in this way is in general dull, and to the last degree puerile and gossiping. Doddington's jests are strung together in the appendix to the first volume; but the matter of a common jest-book will be in general found as good, or better. Some of his narratives of foreign courts and transactions are recounted with the coarsest indecency; and, in general, we may say of the genius of the work that it is characterised by such a prurieny towards scandal, and such a bustling frivolity of fashionable story-telling, as to fit it more for ephemeral readers whose care is only for the means of an immediate consumption, than for those who look for the supply of a perpetual demand; and labour to live in competence upon the fruits of their intellectual industry. But that we may not dismiss the work without a specimen of its principal boast—the department of anecdote, we will select for our readers two of that kind which will exhibit the author's manner, as well as something new in the matter:

“I learned from Henrietta, Countess of Suffolk, mistress to George the Second, the fact mentioned in text, of George the First burning his wife's testament. That Princess, the Electress of Hanover, liked the famous Count Konismark, while her husband was at the army. The old Elector, father of George the First, ordered him away. The Electress, then hereditary Princess, was persuaded to let him kiss her hand before his departure. She saw him in bed—he retired, and was never heard of more. When George the Second went first to Hanover after his father's death, and made some alterations in the palace, the body of Konismark was found under the floor of the chamber next to the Electress's chamber: he had been

strangled immediately on leaving her, by the old Elector's order, and buried under the floor. This fact *Queen Caroline related to my father, Sir Robert Walpole.* George the Second told it to his wife, but never to his mistress, Lady Suffolk, who had never heard it till I told it to her many years after. The Electress was separated from George I. on that amour, and was called Duchess of Halle; and he married the Duchess of Kendal with his left hand. When the French threatened Hanover in Queen Anne's war, the Duchess of Halle was sent to her parents, the Duke and Duchess of Zell, who doated on her, their only child, and she staid a year with them; but though they were most earnest to retain her, she was forced to return to her confinement, in which she died the year before her husband. Some French prophets, as supposed hired by the Duke of Zell, warned George I., to take care of his wife, for he would not long outlive her. As the Germans are very superstitious, he believed the prophecy; and when he took leave of his son and the Princess of Wales, Caroline, he told them he should never see them more. George II., who hated his father and was very fond of his mother, meant, if she had survived her husband, to bring her over, and declare her *Queen Dowager.* Lady Suffolk told me, that the morning after the news of the death of George I. arrived, when she went, as woman of the bedchamber, to the new Queen, she found a whole and half-length portraits of the Electress hung up in the apartment; George II. had had them looked up, but had not dared to produce them. *Princess Amelia has the half-length at her house in Cavendish Square.* George I. told the Duchess of Kendal, that if he could, he would appear to her after his death. Soon after that event, a large bird, I forget of what sort, flew into her window. She believed it was the King's soul, and took the utmost care of it. George II. was not less credulous; he believed in vampires. His son Frederick affected the same contradictory fondness for his grandfather, and erected the statue of George I. in Leicester-fields; and intended, if he had come to the crown, to place a monument to his memory in St. Paul's.

"George I., besides the Duchess of Kendal, had several other mistresses; particularly one whom he brought over and created Countess of Darlington; by whom he was father of Charlotte, Viscountess Howe, though she was not publicly avowed. In the last year or two of his life he had another mistress, Miss Anne Brett, daughter, by her second husband, Colonel Brett, of the famous divorced Countess of Macclesfield, mother of Savage the poet. Miss Brett had an apartment given to her in the palace of St. James's, and was to have been created a countess if the King had returned."—(Vol. ii. Appendix, p. 479—480.)

"On the 28th of December died the King's third daughter, Princess Caroline. She had been the favorite of the Queen, who preferred her understanding to those of all her other daughters, and whose partiality she returned with duty, gratitude, affection, and concern. Being in ill-health at the time of her mother's death, the Queen told her she would follow her in less than a year. The princess received the notice as a prophecy; and though she lived many years after it.

she proved a weak one, she quitted the world, and persevered in the most constant and religious preparation for the grave; a moment she so eagerly desired, that when something was once proposed to her, to which she was averse, she said, 'I would not live to see this.' This impression of melancholy had contributed to the loss of Lord Hervey, for whom she had conceived an unalterable passion, constantly marked afterwards by all kind and generous offices to his children. For many years she was totally an invalid, and shut herself up in two chambers in the inner part of St. James's, from whence she could not see a single object. In this monastic retirement, with no company but of the king, the Duke, Princess Emily, and a few of the most intimate of the court, she led, not an uninteresting life only, but a meritorious one; her whole income was dissipated between generosity and charity; and, till her death by shutting up the current discovered the source, the jails of London did not suspect that the best support of their wretched inhabitants was issued from the palace.

From the last Sunday to the Wednesday on which she died, she deemed seeing her family; and when the mortification began, and she perceived she said, 'I feared I should not have died of this.' (Vol. II. p. 268, 269.)

But our author's supposition, it is impossible after the perusal of the present work, to entertain a respectful opinion. He takes occasion to be very grave about the middle of the first volume, and with much solemnity unfolds his own particular views of patriotism and public principles. It seems he had determined to lay down his pen at that part of his memoirs which terminates with the death of Mr. Pelham; but the stream of events bore him on, in spite of his resolutions, and he commences his narrative of the new order of things which took place from the decease of that Minister, with an exordium which we cannot help suspecting, from its tone and spirit, to have appeared very eloquent to the author himself. If such were so, we must take leave greatly to differ with him on the point. In expression it is contemptible, but the diction is worthy of the matter, so that it would be something but entertaining to our readers to present them with passages in proof of our remarks. We are made acquainted in this part of the work with what Lord Orford in the margin entitles "His apprehensions for the constitution." He tells us that royalty had become "a pageant which had little operation on the reality of the drama;" but that ministers had had the address to exalt the semblance while they depressed the substance; and that "he was convinced that prerogative and power had been exceedingly fortified of late within the circle of the palace."

Still, however, he seems to have thought that whenever a Prince of design and spirit should sit in the regal chair, he would find a bank—a board of power, which he might play off

“fatally against the constitution.” These reflections had led him towards, he could not quite say, republicanism, but to most limited monarchy.” He then observes that republicans had arrived at usurpation, through the stages of hypocrisy and ‘saint-hood;’ yet that “republicanism, as it tended to promote liberty, and patriotism, as far as it tended to preserve or restore it, were godlike principles.” He proceeds to reprobate the violence of such republicans as had waded through blood to remove the name of a monarch,—“but a quiet republican who did not dislike to see the shadow of monarchy, like Banquo’s ghost, fill the empty chair of state, that the ambitious, the murderer, and the tyrant, might not aspire to it,—who approves the name of a king, when it excludes the essence,—a man of such principles he hoped might be a good man and an honest; and if he is, what matters if he is ridiculous?” It cannot be necessary for us to point out the lisping folly of this pretending nonsense. It serves only to show that the author was hardly privy to what was really passing within his own capacious mind; and that in truth he had no definite objects of political fear or desire. The sum of his theory seems to be that the practical constitution of things was such, that though the crown was become a cypher, yet its power was out at nurse, and would present itself full grown, and with vast accumulation of strength to the first monarch who should possess skill and courage to resume the personal exercise of it. This bank, as he calls it, of sovereign authority, appears to occasion him much alarm for the fate of what he styles the ‘constitution,’ which was likely, some day or other, to be taken by surprise by the crown’s calling on a sudden for its unclaimed dividends. And yet, notwithstanding these profound forebodings, and this dread of an economy of the kingly power in the hands of some of his subjects who put themselves in the place of their monarch, he would not dislike to see the shadow of monarchy, like Banquo’s ghost, fill the empty chair of state; and seems to “approve of the name of a king only when it excludes the *essence*.” The mistake of the author arose, as it appears to us, from his not seeing that the obligation which the crown is under to act through the medium of its responsible ministers, is no suspension of the prerogative, but the settled course into which the constitution has become permanently determined, not conventionally, nor by any loss or abandonment of rights, but by the silent though effectual working of a constitution, made to take the impress and modification which the successive changes in the progression of mind and human affairs impose. It is generally true that the crown is under the necessity of selecting its ministers from the predominant party in parliament, and of adopting the system of policy which that

party espouses; but this is only saying that it is not a government of force; which the moment it ceased to be, it had no other alternative than to sustain itself in some degree by influence and favour. Whatever enables the crown to move and guide opinion, constitutes its real strength; and when we look attentively into this part of its resources we shall be led to acknowledge, that as long as the landmarks of the constitution abide secure, the King of England, by a legitimate use of his means, may at any time direct the whole attention of the nation to himself, and impart an impulse to the people, which the parliament would find it difficult or impossible, were it so minded, to resist. He has, in short, an influence proportionate to his moral virtues, and the weight of his personal character; if that is low, his power as an individual is low; if he is *naturally* great, he becomes *nationally* so; what he cannot exercise well, he soon finds that he dare not exercise at all; his staff falls from his hands and drops into those of his responsible ministers; and this is what may be called the natural play of the constitution, and the proper exemplification of the maxim—that the King of this country can do no wrong. But the loyalty of the British people will never suffer their monarch to be a cypher, while he is himself qualified and disposed to operate as a figure in the great account of the nation's happiness. And we are quite sure that he may at all times lead the political councils of the state, so long as he possesses the confidence and affection of his people.

Our author's reasoning on the Marriage Bill proposed by Lord Hardwicke, which in the summer of 1753, became the subject of vehement debates in either House, affords a curious specimen of his loose and idle morality; and whatever we may deem of his veracity, his partiality is plain enough through the whole extended account which he gives us of the course of the parliamentary discussion. The Lord Chancellor Hardwicke is vilified in terms of indecent malevolence; while the part of Mr. Fox in the debate is represented with much unmerited commendation.

The marriage bill was read for the last time. Charles Townsend again opposed it with as much argument as before with wit. Mr. Fox, with still more wit, ridiculed it for an hour and half. Notwithstanding the chancellor's obstinacy in maintaining it, and the care he had bestowed upon it, it was still so incorrect and so rigorous, that its very body-guards had been forced to make or to submit to many amendments: these were inserted in Mr. Fox's copy in red ink: the solicitor-general, who sat near him as he was speaking, said, "How bloody it looks!" Fox took this up with spirit; and said, "Yes, but you cannot say I did it: look what a rent the learned Casca made, (this

affuded to the attorney), *through this the well-beloved Brutus stabbed!* (Mr. Pelham)—however, he finished with earnest declarations of not having designed to abuse the chancellor, and with affirming that it was scandalous to pass the bill—but it was passed by 285 votes to 56. (Vol. i. p. 301.)

Our author's way of discussing the subject shows how qualified he was to found upon it the abuse with which he covered one of the ablest men whom the country has produced.

It was amazing, in a country where liberty gives choice, where trade and money confer equality, and where facility of marriage had always been supposed to produce populousness, it was amazing to see a law promulged, that cramped inclination, that discountenanced matrimony, and that seemed to annex as sacred privileges to birth, as could be devised in the proudest, poorest little Italian principality; and as if the artificer had been a Teutonic margrave, not a little lawyer, who had raised himself by his industry from the very lees of the people; and who had matched his own blood with the great house of Kent! (Vol. i. p. 294.)

What were the arguments used by Mr. Henry Fox with so much ability upon this occasion, we do not learn from the author; but they were probably of the same tenour, with those which were adopted by his son Charles James Fox in his celebrated speech on the bill for the repeal of the Marriage Act, one of the earliest of his great displays, and the most remarkable specimen, perhaps, in the whole compass of recorded eloquence, of splendid and mischievous sophistry. The argument from beginning to end was in substance nothing more than this:—That nature had determined the period when the liberty of intercourse between the sexes might be exercised, and man had no right to limit her operations. It was passion and not reason that was best capable of providing for happiness in wedlock.

Of his own politics and morality, Lord Orford has in these Memoirs, as we have made it appear, favoured us with some occasional disclosures. With respect to the tone and temper of his religious sentiments he uses no reserve, though the subject seems to be held by him in so little respect as seldom to draw his attention to it. He speaks with profane contempt of all religious observances and sacred seasons. We have made some remarks upon this characteristic of the noble author in an earlier part of this article; we shall, therefore, now only animadvert upon the unjustifiable manner in which he attempts to fix the imputation of bigot upon the young Prince of Wales, afterwards George the Third, of cherished memory, from the bare fact of his being religiously educated by his mother. (Vol. ii. 395.) Of all the weak and whiffling observations which occur in this work, those which we find in page 231 of the

second volume are the most egregiously absurd; not to mention their irreverence and ill-nature. He remarks that

"The Court at Leicester House was very differently employed during these serious transactions. Hanover was lost; in North America our affairs went ill; England itself was in no flourishing condition. How did the Princess occupy the heir of these domains? She was not spartan enough to buckle on his armour with her own hands, and send him to save or re-conquer what he was to govern. The light of the Gospel has emancipated mothers from such robust sensations. The Prince was instructed to commit the care of the temporal concerns of his subjects to Providence; and therefore, instead of sending men, arms, and ammunition, to the invaded frontiers of our colonies; with more patriarchal vigilance his Royal Highness sent them an hundred pounds' worth of Leland's polemical writings against the deists."

On this drivelling nonsense the editor observes in a note at the bottom of the page, that the "sarcasm was most unmerited and absurd. The Prince had no means of sending *men, arms, and ammunition*, nor was it any part of his duty so to do. Even if it had, a regard for religion and literature, and some liberality in rewarding genius, are surely not incompatible with a due attention to public affairs."

The note of the editor on the above offensive passage of his author is just; but more merciful than just. It adds infinitely to its culpability, that although the writer lived long enough to see the whole character developed that gave these early prognostics, though he lived to see how royally devotion sits upon the princely character,—how it sparkles above the gems of the diadem, and sheds light and lustre upon all the duties of sovereignty, he left his silly sarcasm in its place, in these Memoirs, for posterity to hurl it back with indignation upon his own memory. He lived to witness the return of a people whose extreme profligacy of manners, during the period he records, he himself has not forgotten to stigmatise, to a much higher and happier state of moral felicity, under the fostering example of a Prince, who, born in the purple, amidst prevailing profligacy, and surrounded by ten thousand allurements, stepped, in blooming youth, upon the throne of his ancestors at once a determined Christian, a virtuous husband, and the decorous model of a high bred English gentleman; and this character, he dedicated to the nation at the commencement of his auspicious reign, as the first fruits of that religious education which was the scorn of this misjudging writer. We have seen the termination of his long and chequered rule,—melancholy indeed! but yet how blessed by the still lingering efficacy of his early impressions! We have seen our late Sovereign in the lowest stage of mortal depression, but still sustained by the habitudes of his christian discipline and

domestic culture. Sequestered from his family and his people, but still happy in his holy and serene abstractions; and though an alien to all else, never wholly an alien from his God. We have seen his honour still green and flourishing upon his drooping head; we have seen his sceptre still budding with the promise of unfading glory in his trembling grasp; and we have seen the people still living under the awe and impression of that example, which was wont, in its better days, to invigorate their virtue, and to draw down upon them the favour of heaven.

With respect to the style and diction of this work, it is not worthy of criticism. It is in general vulgar, ill modulated, and replete with solecisms, all which delinquencies might be more easily pardoned had it been free from egotism and affectation. The author's use of words is often quite peculiar to himself: we shall give only three or four out of a multitude of instances. The verb "to connect" he constantly adopts as a neuter verb, as, "nobody so ready to 'connect' with them, vol. i. 129: With Newcastle he determined never to 'connect,' vol. ii. 333." With the same arbitrariness of language he sometimes makes a neuter verb transitory, as "whatever tends 'to approach it' to the other." We find other rules of grammar under the same neglect. In the passage wherein he gives us his own character, and in which he evidently intends to dazzle us with fine writing, he gives an entire new property to fire; "Maturity of reason, and sparks of virtue *extinguished* this culpable ardour."

The editor informs us that he exercised the same independence upon rules and usage in the spelling of words, but that he had thought proper to vary from the MS. in this particular: he has, however, left not a few anomalies of this kind in the work, possibly by way of specimen. Here follow a few of them. 'Memoires,' 'literature,' 'sufferred,' 'reperations,' 'in-seperable,' 'sollicitor,' 'preheminence,' 'councilled,' 'extoll,' 'struggle,' 'juggle,' 'inflammeable.' Could this be any thing but affectation? and if affectation, could any affectation be more ridiculous? The work is interspersed with emblematical vignettes, of which it will be enough to say, that they agree in spirit and character with the performance in general. They are silly, quaint, and affected in the extreme. But our readers, if they are as tired as ourselves, must be, by this time, impatient to be set free. We will, therefore, at length take leave of this noble author, happy to have our shoulders eased of the burthen of these two enormous quartos.

ART. XII.—*The Poems of Caius Valerius Catullus, translated, with a Preface and Notes, by the Hon. George Lamb. In 2 vols. 12mo. Murray, 1821.*

It is not without reason that translators from ancient authors have complained of the difficulties that have beset them. The idioms of the respective languages appear sometimes, as if by an effort, to keep at a distance from each other, so that no artifice or contrivance can bring them cordially together. It is to little purpose that rules are laid down for the guidance of those who hazard their reputation in so fearful an enterprise. Even those who legislate most upon this subject are not unfrequently the first to violate their own enactments. For this reason, in no department of letters have there been so many adventures, and so many miscarriages. They who have best succeeded in this narrow and circumscribed path of exertion, have merely danced with less awkwardness in their fetters. Fetters they still are; and so rarely are the graceful attitudes of unrestrained nature, — the flow, the ease, the happy negligence of the original, achieved in a translation, that we habitually suffer the perplexities of the task to affix limits to our wishes, and are content to lower our standard of excellence from that which we conceive or wish for, to that which is more attainable.

Hence a sort of despair, the refuge of indolence on the one hand, or the excuse for frustrated attempts on the other, has obtained for the translator a vague sort of toleration, under cover of which he ventures often to change places with his author, and to deal in expressions and sentiments born and bred in his own brain. Johnson himself,* too strongly, perhaps, impressed with the perplexities of the translator's duty, has laid down a principle, which authorizes every addition capable of being engrafted on the original writer, provided "nothing is taken away;" thus throwing open the folding-doors to every licence and innovation, however wild and extravagant.

It by no means follows, however, that the merely verbal translator is at all nearer to his original. It is the spirit and genius of a writer that addresses us in his compositions. His dry words, rendered by a proportionate number of English equivalents, can impart to us no adequate notion of either. Strict verbal fidelity will be an imitation as heavy and as lifeless as casts taken from a dead countenance. Here, then, is the difficulty of the translator: he occupies a narrow space between two opposite dangers; he must neither confine himself within the precincts

* Life of Pope.

of merely verbal meaning, nor wander into the wilderness of imitation and paraphrase. But this is not all. The manner of an ancient author is often so peculiarly his own, and is so identified with the language in which he writes, as to elude the grasp of the most skilful translator.

It is obvious, also, that it is the sentiment, and the sentiment alone of an ancient author, which is capable of transference into a living tongue: but it not unfrequently happens that the sentiment has no separate and independent existence; that is, it is represented to the mind by the original word, and by that word alone. Its very existence is incorporated into it; and no dexterity of management can persuade it to migrate, as it were, from its residence. This is a peculiarity which has been seldom observed, and it is principally from an inattention to this unyielding and obstinate quality in the ancient dialects, that so many translators have failed, whether they have been of that daring class who have leaped beyond, or of the timid race who have crept behind their originals.

We will not attempt in this place to adjust the controversies that have arisen as to the power of words over the affections. The prevailing notion seems to be, that it is derived from a correspondent and simultaneous representation of the ideas for which they stand; yet this is far from being universally true. There are many general words which convey no real essences to the mind; those, for instance, which belong to moral qualities. These are sometimes used with very vigorous effect, without bringing before us the particular course of action which they imply; but their power over the affections is not on this account the less. An indistinct sentiment of love or abhorrence is excited the instant the words are presented to us: it is plain, therefore, that the mind is influenced by some law wholly independent of a precise picture on the imagination. The readiest solution, perhaps, of the problem, is that principle of association which, developing itself with the first efforts of our understandings, conjoins with certain words, not exact images, but corresponding sensations. Indeed, so little do poetry and eloquence owe their effect to the power of raising exact images, that it not unfrequently happens that no small part of their charm arises from the indistinctness of their impressions. There is also a mysterious fascination in many words, either singly, or in combination with others, and which are, for that reason, called poetical, which, upon a slight reflection, we must pronounce to be independent of all picturesque effect whatever. They excite sentiments, not as pictures of sensible, nor as symbols of intellectual objects, but as words, and as words only. There is a sympathy which vibrates upon the feelings occasioned by mere sounds or

intentions; and, agreeably to this law, words describe the influence of things, and their properties, on the passions of the writer or speaker, instead of presenting distinct images of the things themselves.

How many passages are there in poetry which convey no image whatsoever? Take the magnificent description, for instance, in the *Æneid*, of the formation of thunder: it is clear that no similar combination of sensible images could exist in nature: if the words conveyed them to the imagination, they would disgust, rather than please, by their incongruity and confusion; and, translated into English equivalents, would be a mere unintelligible chaos of sounds and images. In the original, however, who can deny them that majesty and elevation which all admirers of Virgil have attributed to them?—a majesty and elevation, nevertheless, which resides in the words, and the words only. The same may be said of the highly figurative passage in which Claudian shadowed out the cave of eternity. It is not pretended that it conveys no image, but the effort to convey that image by equivalent words in any other language would be vain.

Est ignota procul, nostræque inservia menti,

Vix adeunda Deis, annorum squalida mater,

Immensi spelunca Ævi: quæ tempora vasto

Suppeditat, revocatque sinu.

Perhaps the best illustrations of the same phenomenon might be found in those odes of Pindar, where he claims that full absolution from distinct intelligence so liberally conceded to him by Horace. Is it possible to translate those passages? There are lines also in Aristophanes which are untranslatable for a similar reason. Take the magnificent words which he puts into the mouth of the clouds in praise of the ærial beings whom he denominates the clouds:—

Υγρὰν καὶ φίλαν στρεπταύλαν δαίω ὀρμῶν

Πλοκαμύς θ' ἐκαστοκεφίλα τυφῶ, κρημνοῦσσι βυίλλαι.

An undefinable grandeur is perceptible in these words; yet, as soon as they are rendered into corresponding words in English, the mere English reader would necessarily infer, as many readers of the original, who have mistaken the drift of the poet, and ill appreciated the taste of an Attic audience, have also inferred, that they were mere fustian, like that of Bottom in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*.

The raging rocks,

And shivering shoeks,

Shall break the locks, &c.

Herein then consists what may be correctly called the un-

In the first place, it is but reasonable to keep in mind the great revolutions which language has undergone in the gradual progress of two thousand years. Our own language, in a cycle still more contracted, exhibits many transitions and changes, which are by no means, in reference to our present subject, unworthy of our attention. Amongst these, none is more striking than the banishment, by universal consent, from the saloon or drawing-room to the kitchen or stable, of certain words, the utterance of which a century ago did not shock the delicacy of fashion, nor even pollute the lips of beauty. But a still more singular part of the phenomenon is, this, that while those phrases are condemned to the exclusive use of the low and vulgar, they are replaced by others, which are supposed to be more intrinsically delicate, though conveying the same image, or, at least, standing conventionally for the same thing; it is needless to explain our meaning with more minuteness. To such an extreme has this delicacy been carried, that a rustic in our remote counties would even now find some difficulty in understanding the substitutions which have gradually taken place in the sterling English of his isle, and would probably reply in his own patois as * *Martine in herls*: and to her guide, show

Les Femmes Sauvages

et si moriens ex quo vos preces est, je crois, bien et bon.
 Mais je ne saurais, moi, parler votre jargon.

This is, however, a singular problem, since every combination of sounds and syllables being arbitrary and conventional; it is obvious that little is gained to delicacy, nothing certainly to morals, by the mere use of one sound or combination for another.

Now the same revolution which our own language has undergone with respect to itself; it has also, in common, we believe, with all the languages built upon the ruins of the Roman, undergone with reference to the languages of the ancients. Words which the polite and elegant were not ashamed to use,—words which illustrated the reasonings of the philosopher, which either Aspasia or Socrates would have uttered without hesitation, cannot be translated without the violation of all decency into modern tongues. The explication of this circumstance would lead us too far; it is not enough to say that our improved state of morals will adequately account for it. There is no necessary connexion between a refined and fastidious delicacy of language, and an unblemished purity of public morals. It may, however, put us into better humour with the plain speaking of the ancients, if we refer ourselves to that law or principle in all languages, concerning which we have already said so much; namely, the independence of words upon the exact pictures or images of the things for which they nominally stand. Will not this half absolve them from the hasty reproaches with which we are apt to visit them upon every supposed violation of decorum? Try many of the most offensive words, in ancient authors, by this test. In strictness, they are conjoined with foul and loathsome images; but this law of language interposes and separates the word from the image. The word, at least, whether from some secret melody, or from whatever charm, was retained in use long after it had ceased to conjure up the impure image, and thus became, in alliance with others, symbols of certain passions, sentiments, and emotions of the higher kind. Now, if this word be translated; that is, replaced by another belonging to another dialect, it is ten to one against our getting a particle of the sentiment or passion which dictated its original use; but we shall be sure of the unmixed impurity of the image, which, in its primitive application, it was intended to convey. We will explain ourselves shortly by referring to the very poet who is now under our consideration. Catullus, in verses which breathe his loftiest, and, we might say, his most virtuous disdain of the abandoned profligates of his day, uses words which elude all literal translation, but which, abundantly appears, from the sense and context of the passages where they occur, were words which had lost their primitive pollution,

by having ceased to be conjoined with the matter or image for which they stood. It will be unnecessary to dwell upon this topic. Every classical scholar will immediately apprehend us; although we are prohibited from minutest explanations. The Hendecasyllables to Aurelius and Furius, and those to Cæsar upon Mamurra, will be sufficient keys to our meaning. We do not contend for the absolute purity of the Latin poet; but we deem it no more than common equity to extend to him the privileges of his country and his language, while we are fully prepared to admit, that, when he has had the full benefit of this mitigatory plea, there will remain much offence against modesty and decorum, that must for ever rise up in judgment against him.

Be this as it may, it is certainly not the least of the difficulties of translating him, inasmuch as it alike involves the translator in a conflict with his own language, and that from which he translates. But there is also another peculiarity, though of a widely different quality, in Catullus, which augments still more the peril and perplexity of his translator;—it is that characteristic which has hardly a name but in one language;—*apollon*, perhaps the classic world call it; that ineffable grace, that unaffected and negligent beauty, which, seeming to be art, no art can imitate; breathing, as it were, the unperformed sweetness of nature, yet smelling of nothing, and least of all of the lamp. His melodies, like those breathed at random by the passing winds upon the harp of Eolus, surpass all the artifice of studied modulation. Add to this that *curious felicity* applied by Petronius to Horace, but which is still more emphatically the property of Catullus:

Nor is this all. He has another quality which requires, in his translator, an ear more metrically attuned than is usual with those critics or commentators by whom he has been heretofore illustrated. What we mean is this: many of his sweetest but simplest effusions, such, for instance, as the *Acme* and *Septimius*, that beginning: *Venus me mens ad suos amores*, though framed in that easy and delightful measure of which he is, beyond all competition, the most powerful master, and many others, which we forbear to enumerate, dissemble, as it were, their lyrical texture, and assume the appearance of a simple continuous discourse rather than that of pieces fettered with metrical rules, and broken by metrical divisions. We think that this quality has been unperceived,—at least, it has been unnoticed by his critics. It is not, however, peculiar to Catullus only; Dionysius, of Halicarnassus,* has pointed out

* *Rept. subterfugis compositionem*, &c. 26.

the same property in the exquisite verses attributed to Sthenides, where the poet represents Danaë exposed with her infant Perseus to the winds and the ocean.

Ὅτι λαρυαὶ ἐν δαίδαλει ἀνέμος
Ἐρμῶν κτίων. κ. τ. λ.

"You will not perceive in this poem," observes that sagacious critic, "its lyrical measure, nor discern in it any characteristic of the strophe, or the antistrophe, or the epode; but it will appear to you a mere discourse, divided only by the natural order of its sentences." Many of the odes of Horace are remarkable for the same quality. Some of his Alcaic verses may be read, notwithstanding the frequent recurrence of the strophes, without exciting any suspicion of their metrical character; yet they are not the less metrical. Now, to translate such pieces into a language that has no metre, strictly speaking, must be a task of such difficulty, that it would be scarcely possible to find, amongst our Trissotins, any one sufficiently fool-hardy to attempt it. In all probability it was this intractable quality in Catullus, with a lurking persuasion, perhaps, of the insignificance of French verse, that suggested to Pezay and Noel, his French translators, the idea which they have successively executed of a prose translation. Neither of them, indeed, assigned the reason which we have thus ventured to state: they might have felt the difficulty though unable to account for it. The same difficulty seems to have been present to La Harpe, a critic, whose learning we more than suspect, and upon whose authority we would not implicitly rely; yet he is far from being wrong when, speaking of the smaller compositions of Catullus, he observes, "Ce sont de petits chef-d'œuvres, où il n'y a pas un mot qui ne soit précieux, mais qu'il est aussi impossible d'analyser que de traduire."

Perhaps these remarks do not apply with equal force to those higher specimens which are to be found in Catullus,—those which, like the *Atys* and *Berecynthia*, or the nuptials of *Peleus* and *Thetis*, exhibit much of the stateliness and grandeur of the epic muse. These appear to us infinitely more susceptible of translation. And here, whilst we have been led to advert to this higher character, of his poetry, we are reluctantly reminded of the unjust measure which has been meted to this elegant poet, by a race of critics and commentators who have successively echoed each other in their several estimates of a writer with whom they are only half acquainted. He has, in fact, been considered like *Anacreon*, as the minstrel only of wine and pleasure, whereas, it is on one occasion only,—his verses to his cup-bearer,—that he betrays any fondness for the juice of

the grape; and even then it was in subservience to the tastes of a lady for whom he seemed solicitous to breach his oldest cask.

Inger mī calices amariores
Ut lex Posthumiae jubet magistrae.

But it is astonishing how this character of Catullus has been bandied from one to another, and received by each with the most indolent acquiescence. His verses respire only love and revelry, says one. Another says that they are "échappés au delire de l'orgie ou de l'amour."—Catullus, however, belongs to another classification. Love, indeed, of an ardent and too licentious description, appears in many of his verses. But the poet whom Virgil did not disdain to copy, whom Ovid, and even the philosophic Persius have plundered, belongs to a higher order.—"That strain I heard was of a higher mood." Atys, if no other monument of his greater powers had been extant,—Atys surely would be of itself sufficient to vindicate his place among the first of that sacred band. To say that it places him upon a level with Virgil, were feeble praise. The poet of the *Aeneid* confined himself within the circle of those established beauties and recognized graces, from which the severity of his taste taught him that it would be impious to depart: whereas Catullus, in this short poem, has soared with an unrestrained daring, far beyond the regular and licenced proprieties which fetter other poets. The metre is as wild and grotesque as the subject: it is swiftly impetuous in its numbers: in one word, it is a poem which breathes the warmest inspiration of genius, wholly unfettered, indeed, by the rules of art, but never offending against the principles of taste. Nothing was ever more happily executed,—nothing more boldly conceived, than the change of sex, so instantaneously effected by the use of the feminine inflexion;—a transition which the idiom of our own language renders impracticable.* The address of Atys, in the momentary calm of her exhausted frenzy, to her native shores,—those shores which her strained eye-balls sketched amidst the obscure mists of the ocean, is unequalled for its pathos. That which comes nearest to it in point of feeling, is the exquisite apostrophe of Alcestis to her nuptial couch in the beautiful tragedy of Euripides. They can best feel and best appreciate the tenderness of the passage, who have been severed widely from their native country,—the country of their

* We were surprised to find it neglected by one of the Italian translators of Catullus, as it might easily have been adopted in that language.

Co' membri allor veggendoi mozzī, e non più virili,
E sangue al suol versandone, simul divenne a femina
E pigliò &c.

Catullo: Tradotto da Luigi Sibleyras. — Rome, 1770.

charities and affections, and have solaced themselves by imagining, amidst the misty solitudes of the waters, the beloved spot which the heart pants to revisit. Who is there that will not hesitate to allow the interrogatory of Atys to be the unadulterated eloquence of nature?

Ubinam aut quibus locis te positam, patriæ, rear?

It is upon these grounds that we are desirous of establishing the claim of Catullus to a much higher department in the poetical art, than that which the tasteless, the indolent, and superficial, have hitherto assigned him. There is, however, another class of his compositions in which he displays a rare and unrivalled excellence. He is emphatically the poet of friendship. "This is a strain," Mr. Lamb justly observes, "in which only a genius originally pure, however polluted by the immorality of its æra, could descant with appropriate sentiment,—which speaks with all the kindly warmth of love, while it refrains from its unreasoning rage,—that adopts all its delicacy without any tinge of its grossness." * It is pleasing to repose upon these delicious spots of poetry; and, assuredly, if verses ever breathed the soul of friendship, the lines to Hortalus, the epistle to Manlius, and the affecting invocation at the tomb of his brother, "that meed of the melodious tear," will abundantly testify how sensitively alive he was to this generous impulse. The latter piece is a faithful tablet of natural and unexaggerated grief, transcending the studied sorrows of Tibullus and Hammond, and reflecting rather the mind and temper of the man than the studied and artificial sorrows of the poet. There are, moreover, other poems which give back an equally faithful reflection of his feelings; and if it were our purpose to supply the imperfect accounts which have reached us of Catullus by traits of his personal and domestic character, they would be found strongly pictured in the verses to his farm, but, above all, in the unimitated and inimitable address to Sirmio. It is in this delightful piece that he represents himself worn and sated with the round of foreign pleasures, panting for home with an ardour increased by estrangement, and sighing for that little circle of home-felt comforts, which were the fondest fellowships of his soul. And such is his joy on regaining his beloved peninsula, that he seems scarcely credulous of his own happiness.

Vix mi ipse credens, Thyniam atque Bithynos
Liquisse campos, et videre te in tuto.

There is here a delightful expression of feeling. Upon this, as well as upon similar occasions, it is the peculiar happiness of Ca-

tells that the sea and land appropriate words that are not in accordance to his summons. He is all ease and nature, repose and calmness; and, whilst we hang over his elegant versification, we are conscious of that delightful calm in which the wearied heart seeks a refuge from the stormy agitations and tossings of life. It is the "soft green of the soul," upon which we repose in a temporary oblivion of care and inquietude.

But while we have been thus detained by the charms of Catullus, we have been unmindful of our duty to Mr. Lamb. It is time, therefore, to consider the merits of his translation, and to enable our readers, by a few specimens, to form their own estimate of its execution. Having, however, already enumerated some of the difficulties inseparable from the translation of such an author, candour, and even justice requires that the work should be examined with an indulgent reference to those difficulties. To have surmounted them in some instances, and to have eluded them with great skill in others, is no slight praise, and we willingly award it to Mr. Lamb. But that he has effectively translated this hitherto untranslated poet, would be an unconscientious concession. In many respects he is superior to the translator of 1794; but he frequently falls below him in those qualities of tenderness and simplicity which are indispensable in a translation of Catullus. So reluctant and coy as it were, are these beauties to the touch of an English versifier, that it is only in a small proportion of the shorter effusions that we can compliment Mr. Lamb upon his success. We have hinted our opinion as to the greater comparative facility of imitating the more solemn or heroic pieces. In conformity with our theory, therefore, we think that he has been much more happy in the *Atys*, and the *Pelaeus Thetis*, than in *Acme* and *Sappho*, and the rest of those exquisite miniatures, where the slightest aberration of the pencil is fatal to the copy. In the *Atys* he deserves much commendation for his ingenious adoption of a metre, which, though not generally applied to elevated subjects, has, we are of opinion, conveyed the hurry and impetuosity of the original more felicitously than any version with which we are acquainted. Nor must this commendation be unqualified. For the poem, short as it is, is remarkable for two distinct characters, the utmost vehemence and frenzy of passion in the commencement, which afterwards subsides by a scarcely perceptible transition into those plaintive and sorrowing accents, in which she retraces the recollections of all that she had once been, and all that she had once loved. For this reason it has struck us that the translation beginning with

Patria o mea creatrix, patria o mea genetrix

required a much more sedate and more dignified measure.

We object to the idiomatic use of the future auxiliary in the beautiful simile of the heifer.

As the unbroken heifer *will* fly the threatened yoke,
Atys through gloomy woods, &c.

The original lines are

Per opaca nemora dux,
Veluti juvenca vitans onus indomita jugi.

And we protest also against the utter departure from the taste and simplicity of Catullus in the paraphrastic version of the line where the remorse of Atys is thus chastely depicted.

Simul ipsa pectore Atys sua facta recoluit.

Beheld, in what abode her future lot was placed,
And ah! how low she stood in nature's rank disgraced.

In the Carmen Nuptiale we think that Mr. Lamb has, upon the whole, been excelled by Mr. Elton.* But he has not failed in the exquisitely beautiful passage, where, not to fail, is no slender commendation.

Ut flos in septis secretus nascitur hortis,
Ignotus pecori, nullo contusus aratro,
Quem mulcent auræ, firmat sol, educat imber:
Multi illum pueri, multæ optavere puellæ;
Idem, quum tenui carptus defloruit ungui,
Nulli illum pueri, nullæ optavere puellæ:
Sic Virgo dum intacta manet, dum cara suis est:
Quum casto amisit polluto corpore florem,
Nec pueris jucunda manet, nec cara puellis;
Hymen o Hymenæe, Hymenæades, oh Hymenæe.

When in the garden's fenced and cultured ground,
Where browse no flocks, where ploughshares never wound,
By sunbeams strengthen'd, nourish'd by the shower,
And sooth'd by zephyr, blooms the lovely flower:
Maids long to place it in their modest zone,
And youths enraptured wish it for their own.
But, from the stem once pluck'd, in dust it lies,
Nor youth nor maid will then desire or prize.
The virgin thus her blushing beauty rears,
Loved by her kindred and her young compeers;
But, if her simple charm, her maiden grace
Is sullied by one spoiler's rude embrace,
Adoring youths no more her steps attend,
Nor loving maidens greet the maiden friend.

* Specimens of Translations from the Classic Poets. 1814.

Oh Hymen, hear! Oh sacred Hymen, haste;
Come, god and guardian of the fond and chaste!

(Vol. II. p. 7, 8.)

There is a melancholy tameness in Mr. Lamb's version of the beautiful lines of Catullus on his brother's grave. The condensed sentiment of the original is lost and enfeebled by expansion.

Brother, I come o'er many seas and lands,
To the sad rite which pious love ordains,
To pay thee the last gift that death demands;
And oft, though vain, invoke thy mute remains:
Since death has ravish'd half myself in thee,
Oh wretched brother, sadly torn from me!

And now ere fate our souls shall re-unite,
To give me back all it hath snatch'd away,
Receive the gifts, our fathers' ancient rite
To shades departed still was wont to pay;
Gifts wet with tears of heartfelt grief that tell,
And ever, brother, bless thee, and farewell!

(Vol. II. p. 94.)

We are not willing to enter into a competition with Mr. Lamb in the specimen of a translation of this little poem which we are about to offer, much less are we emulous of the inimitable graces and elegancies of the original. But we have attempted to render it, by as near an approach as the diversity of the idioms will admit, and, above all, we have endeavoured to steer wide of the accessory and foreign images with which Mr. Lamb has expanded his imitation.

Through many lands, and over many seas,
Brother, I come to thy sad obsequies.
To this sad spot with pensive steps I turn,
And call unheard upon thy silent urn.
Torn from my heart by Fate's severe decree,
Vainly that heart, oh brother, sighs for thee.
And now—the gifts by ancient customs made,
Sacred of yore to each beloved shade,
Accept—with kindred sorrows watered o'er—
And oh, blest spirit, hail—adieu for ever more.

We subjoin, in justice to our attempt, the lines of Catullus.

Multas per gentes, et multa per æquora vectus
Advenio has miseræ, frater, ad inferias.
Ut te postremo donarem munere mortis,
Et mutum nequicquam alloquerer cinerem.
Quandoquidem fortuna mihi te abstulit ipsum;—
Heu miser indigne frater adempte mihi!
Nunc tamen interea prisco quæ more parentum
Tradita sunt tristes munera ad inferias,

Accipe fratello, multum munuscula fratris.
Atque da perpetuum, frater, ave atque vale.

The Italian translation of 1770 adheres still more closely to the text of the bard of Verona.

Moltissimi ebbi a scriver, nassei tra molte genti,
Fratello, e venni a' tuoi funerali dolenti,
Che alla tua morte un ultimo volli arrear tributo,
E parlar, benchè, indarno, volli al tuo cener muto.
Giacchè il destin contrario mi t'ha rapito e morto.
Ahi meschin mio Fratello! et t'ha rapito a torto.
Or come il rito insegnaci de più antichi parenti
Offro io pur doni a' tuoi funerali dolenti.
Deh tu gli accetta, e mirali cosparsi ancor del mio.
Fraterno pianto. Addio. Fratel per sempre addio.

We may justly praise the style in which Mr. Lamb has rendered the other beautiful piece, in which the poet commemorates his deceased brother. We mean that addressed to his friend Hortalus with the hair of Berenice, translated from Callimachus.

Though grief, my Hortalus, that wastes my heart,
Forbids the culture of the learned Nine;
Nor can the Muses with their sweetest art
Inspire a bosom worn with grief like mine;

For Lethe laxes my brother's clay-cold foot,
His spirit lingers o'er its lazy wave;
The Trojan earth at high Rhætum's root
O'erwhelms his relics in a distant grave!

Shall I then never, in no future year,
Oh brother, dearer far than vital breath!
See thee again? yet will I hold thee dear,
And in sad strains for ever mourn thy death.

Such as the Delian bird so sadly pours;
As, in some gloomy grove, whose branches crest
Inweave their shade, she still at night deploras
The hapless destinies of Ilys lost.

Yet not forgetting thy request, my friend,
My love awhile can anguish disregard;
And, though oppress'd by heaviest woe, I send
These lins, the chosen of Cyrene's bard.

Lest, vainly borne upon the zephyrs swift,
Thou deem'st thy wishes fled my thought and care;
As the dear apple, love's clandestine gift,
Falls from the bosom of the virgin fair;

Which she forgetting in her vast amaze,
 Springs her returning mother's kiss to claim,
 It falls, and as it rolls to view reveal'd,
 Her blushes own, like me, neglect and shame.

(Vol. II. p. 49, 50.)

Our author, however, has not caught the exquisite simplicity and tenderness of the following lines, which we cannot refrain from quoting.

Alloquer? audierone unquam tua verba loquentem?
 Nunquam ego te, vitâ frater amabilior,
 Aspiciam posthac? at certe semper amabo,
 Semper moesta tuâ carmine morte canam.

The following lines, being part of the complaint of Ariadne from the nuptials of Peleus and Thetis, are a favourable specimen of Mr. Lamb's powers in rhyme.

"And hast thou, Theseus, on this desert strand,
 Left her, who fled for thee my native land;
 And has thy double perfidy beguiled
 The trusting father to betray the child?
 Darest thou, in scorn of heaven's attested host,
 Bear fated perjury to thy native coast?
 Could nothing check the deed thy soul design'd?
 Did rising pity never touch thy mind;
 Nor e'er thy bosom to itself pourtray
 Those burning pangs that now make mine their prey?
 Not these thy promises so fondly vow'd,
 When all affections to thine accent bow'd:
 Thou never bad'st me hope a fate like this,
 But festive spousals and connubial bliss.
 The oaths thy passion urged thee then to swear
 Are now all scatter'd to the senseless air.
 Then let no woman hence in man believe,
 Or think a lover speaks but to deceive.
 He, while ungratified desire is high,
 Shrinks from no oath, no promise will deny;
 Soon as his lust is satiate with its prize,
 He spurns his vows, and perjury's curse defies.
 I snatch'd thee, lost, from death's engulfing wave;
 I rather doom'd my brother to the grave,
 Than sail in peril's desperate hour to aid
 Thee, hard and false; and I am thus repaid:
 Am giv'n to beasts a prey; nor shall remorse
 Heap e'en the rudest grave upon my corse."

(Vol. II. p. 49, 50.)

To sum up our opinion upon the merits of Mr. Lamb's work, we have little hesitation in declaring that it is executed throughout with much fluency and elegance of versification.

tion. The preface is written with considerable vivacity, and the criticisms contained in the notes display much taste and erudition, but they are sometimes expressed with a levity not far removed from flippancy. They are not always remarkable for critical acuteness, and we were surprised at finding Mr. Lamb perplexing himself in the mazes of the idle controversy, raised by Barthius, Silvius, and other commentators of the same rank of understanding, concerning the epithet of "learned," which Tibullus, Ovid, and Marshal attribute to him. Surely Aulus Gellius is a decisive authority on such a question, when he remarks upon the word "*deprecor*" as being *doctiuscula positum*, in his epigram on Leshia. He exclusively applies it to the erudite choice of Latin expressions which the poet had probably derived from his intimate knowledge of Greek,—a species of learning which is every where apparent in his writings. Perhaps our own Milton, who perpetually affected a latinized diction, and used words in their learned, rather than their customary acceptation, would best illustrate the epithet. Thus, in the seventh book of *Paradise Lost*, we have,

Wave rolling after wave, where way they found,
If steep, with torrent rapture.

And, in the same book,

The humble shrub
And bush with frizzled hair *implicit*.

So in *Comus* (in obvious imitation of the Greek tragedians),

Within the *save* of this hideous wood,
Immured, &c.

And, in the same poem, where he directly uses the pastoral phrase of Virgil:—

Rapt in a pleasing fit of melancholy
To meditate my rural minstrelsy.

In *Lycidas* also,

And strictly meditate the thankless muse,

To the work is prefixed a biographical and critical preface. But the biography of this poet must still remain imperfect, and the few notices that time has vouchsafed to spare us, are only the materials of ingenious comment and skilful conjecture. For the character of the man, and the portraiture of his mind, we must be content to refer to the only monuments from which any accurate inferences can be derived,—and these are the works themselves, which his genius and fancy have bequeathed to us.

REV. XIII.—*Commentaries on the Laws of Moses.* By the late Sir John David Michaelis, K.P.S.—F.R.S. Professor of Philosophy in the University of Göttingen. Translated from the German by Alexander Smith, D.D. Minister of the Chapel of Garioch, Aberdeenshire. 4 vols. 8vo. Rivington, 1814.

Our readers may perhaps be surprised at our calling their attention to a work that has been published nearly eight years, and we are happy to acknowledge that we have not the customary plea of a second edition.

The plain state of the case is this: although the work has been so long published, it has not, as far as we know, until lately obtained much notice, and, as long as it had not, we were unwilling to be the means of making it known; but the second edition of Mr. Horne's Introduction, to which we have already called the attention of our readers, still retaining his unqualified approbation of the work, and that approbation having been already circulated in a bookseller's catalogue as a recommendation of it, we really feel ourselves bound to say something, if not by way of reviewing the work of Michaelis, at least by way of caution to the public against it.

Mr. Horne says, (vol. i. p. 614, n.) "Commentaries on the Law of Moses, 4 vols. 8vo. translated by the (late) Rev. Dr. Smith, to whom the student is deeply indebted for this valuable accession to biblical literature." And we confess that it is this passage in his work which principally leads us to notice the Commentaries. It will probably occur to some of our readers (as it did in the first instance to ourselves), that we might have been satisfied with making some remarks on Michaelis in our article on Mr. Horne's work; but, upon consideration, it appeared to us a matter of so much importance, that we chose rather to devote a few pages to the subject than to confine ourselves to a brief and incidental notice of it.

Considering this then as an appendix to our article on Mr. Horne's work in our last Number, we shall at once state that it is not our intention to review the Commentaries of Michaelis, but to protest against them. We may perhaps find (if they do not fall into the neglect which we really think they deserve) some better opportunity to examine them, and to give our opinion on some of his critical and physiological speculations, and more particularly on the liberties which he takes with the text of Scripture: but all these, bold and arrogant as they are, we pass over, because we think that a few remarks on the general spirit and style of the book, illustrated by some extracts from it, will

convince most of our readers, that, whatever its pretensions may be in respect of information, or critical acumen, it is not "a valuable accession to biblical literature,"—not even a book to be tolerated by Christian society.

To this then we shall confine ourselves; and that we may not be accused of injustice, we will explicitly state that we do not mean to blame the Professor of Philosophy, because his Commentaries are not practical, critical, or, in any sense, theological. We agree with him, that the laws given to the Israelites "are well worthy of our attention, considered only as the laws of a very remote country, and as relics of the most ancient legislative wisdom." This, indeed (if it be true that "*all* Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is," and will continue to the end of time, "profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness"), is not the *only*, or the *principal* light in which a Christian is bound to regard "the law which came by Moses;" but it is a light in which he may fairly and properly view it, and far be it from us to discourage his researches.

But we make some conditions. The limited nature of our present object requires that we should mention three, and in them we think all Christians will agree: first, if he professes to be a believer in Revelation, let him (not only here and there, in a few words, extorted perhaps by his inability to explain some law, but generally, and as a principle pervading his whole work) recognise the God of Israel as the legislator of his people, and not give his glory to Moses; secondly, if he deems it necessary to discuss them at all, let him discuss those parts which he would not explain to females, in a dead language, and as concisely and technically as possible; and, thirdly, let the whole spirit and tenour of his work be such as to give no countenance, directly or indirectly, to scepticism, immorality, or irreligion. We by no means assert that these are all the requisites for an able commentator on the Laws of Moses; but these are all that it is necessary to mention: they are, in our view, indispensable, and with them we have no fear that a commentator will do any harm, if he should not be happy enough to do any good. To us it appears, however, that Michaelis was eminently deficient in all these respects. This we shall endeavour to show by extracts from the work; which will enable our readers to form their own opinions, and to judge whether we are not called upon, without entering into any detail of criticism, to protest altogether against the book.

In the first place, we certainly do not mean to assert that Michaelis denies the divine legation of Moses, or that he does not, in unqualified terms, admit that God was the author of the

Mosaic code. These admissions may be found scattered sparingly through the four volumes, but the general style of speaking refers all to Moses. The object constantly before our eyes is that of a subtle politician giving laws to a rude and simple people, studying their welfare, indeed, and, if he deceived them, doing it only for their good, sometimes foreseeing, and sometimes ignorant of, the effect of his laws on their future circumstances, but, on the whole (the style of the book has infected us, and we cannot express ourselves otherwise), a very clever fellow, who knew what he was about, and who, under all the circumstances, showed great talents for legislation. The general mode of speaking shows that this was the image which existed in the mind of the author.

As we had not the privilege of attending the lectures of the Göttingen Professor, we cannot pretend to form an opinion on their style and manner; but, if we may judge from the work before us, we should conceive that an introductory lecture on the Laws of Moses would run nearly as follows:

"My good friends, you have been a good deal puzzled about many things in the Law of Moses, and I do not wonder at it; for, before my time (see my works, *passim*) there never was a man who wrote philosophically upon the subject. Some 'gloomy and severe theologians' have given you very strange 'spiritual expositions,' and so forth. Now, if you will, 'take me, who am considered somewhat of a heretic,' for your guide, I will put the matter in quite a different light. Let us take 'a philosophical glance at the ancient laws of mankind;' let us look at them as we would at the Koran, and, by the way, I will just mention my way of reading the Koran: I read 'the original itself, accounting the explanations of the Mahometan theologians of just as little authority as we hold those of our own theologians to be in respect of the Bible.' Now, if we look at his laws in this light, we shall find many cases in which 'sound reason must really approve the procedure of Moses;' others, in which 'it would appear that he completely attained the object of his law;' and some, in which he 'very happily avails himself of the laws to which the people were already accustomed in Egypt.' Sometimes, indeed, he shows a remarkable degree of foresight, and 'pre-supposes what actually happened in process of time;' as, for instance, 'Moses seems to have been very desirous that the nation of Israel should always preserve the constitution of a free republic; but still, by a particular law (Deut. xviii 14—20), he gave them permission to choose a king, when once they should find a monarchical government more suited to their circumstances. In this his judicious conduct merits commendation. You must not expect that you will be able to give the same

raise to all his laws; for instance, that law by which a man was obliged to marry the widow of a brother who had died without offspring. "It has been commonly believed that its only foundation was the peculiar notion of the Israelites on the subject of having descendants, who, by bearing their name, might serve, in some measure, to immortalize them; and this fancy, in regard to honour, may, no doubt, have been a reason with Moses for retaining a law, of which he does not appear to have very highly approved."—"A wise and good legislator could scarcely have been inclined to patronise any such law; but then it is not advisable directly to attack an inveterate point of honour." You must consider, too, that Moses was in very peculiar circumstances. "The law of custom, as it appears in some of the Mosais statutes, is a remnant of the pastoral state of the Hebrews; but the legislative policy of Moses is rather of Egyptian origin."—"Moses, on account of their hardness of heart, allowed many things to the Israelites which he did not altogether approve; and was often obliged to abide by former usage, though not the best, because the alteration of laws is dangerous." In some cases which were doubtful, I think that when you have heard what I have to say, I may venture (whatever amendment you may have proposed) to ask you, "whether Moses did not hit upon a preferable plan?" It appears, too, that he was a humane and benevolent person. As to the poor, "he was very anxious to promote their interests;" "for, although by his statutes relative to the division of land, he had studied to prevent any Israelite from being born poor, yet he was not such a Platonist in legislation as to hope that there would actually be no poor;" indeed, "we shall find that Moses, throughout his laws, manifests even towards animals a spirit of justice and kindness."* Sometimes, too, he takes advantage of the religious notions of the simple people; to whom he gave laws, to promote their temporal comfort: thus he gives two laws respecting the cleanliness of their camp; and "these two regulations Moses enforced still further by connecting them with religion, declaring that they were to be sacredly observed, but

* This is particularly manifested in the law respecting the ox, an animal regarded with peculiar affection on account of his important services in agriculture. The Professor says,

*Ante etiam acceptum Dicitur regis, et ante
Imple quum cessis gens est epulata iuteula,*
in two language of Virgil, (Georg. iii. 336.) familiar to us from boyhood, and we find that the Hebrews had a similar mythology. The Prophet Isaiah, in the picture he draws of the return of the golden age, gives this law as emblematic, "He shall kill an ox as one who hath slain a man," that is, will be regarded as a very serious offence. (Isa. lxvi. 4. 500.)

of respect to the Deity, as peculiarly present in the camp of Israel." Now in this I really do not mean to charge him with fraud, or even priestcraft, for "Moses framed his laws without the least intermixture of imposture." The Egyptian priests, it is true, deceived their followers on some points; "but, of all such fraud, Moses, educated though he had been in their philosophy, kept perfectly clear, always speaking with that sacred regard to truth which became a legislator sent from God." In fact, Moses had an abhorrence of priestcraft: this is particularly discernible in his commanding the people not to make any graven image, by which he only meant that they were not to use the Egyptian hieroglyphics. The Egyptian priests had used this method to conceal their knowledge from the vulgar; and through this piece of priestcraft we are at this day ignorant of their discoveries. "Curst be the priestcraft, which, from jealousy of its contemporaries, has deprived posterity of so much knowledge, and praise to the honest man, who, though well acquainted with its artifices, would not suffer them to be introduced among the people whom he brought out of Egypt," &c. &c.

Need we add more? We only beg the reader again to cast his eye over the passages in inverted commas, and, after making what allowance he pleases for their being strung together out of their respective connexions, to consider whether they do not make out our charge;—whether the author has not, with peculiar arrogance and flippancy, ascribed the glory (that is, when he in his wisdom thought it was due) not to God, but to his servant Moses. What had the "honest man," Moses, to do with the framing of the second commandment, which Jehovah himself, by an audible voice, pronounced from mount Sinai? Even if the Professor of Philosophy was of opinion that the rest of the law was devised by Moses, he cannot mean to insinuate that the Ten Commandments were composed by him. This is directly at variance with the express words of scripture. Moses gives the following account of the origin of the Law in the 5th chapter of Deuteronomy. Addressing the Israelites, he says, "The Lord talked with you face to face in the mount, out of the midst of the fire." He then goes on to repeat to them the decalogue, which had been spoken by Jehovah himself, and adds, (v. 22,) "These words the Lord spake unto all your assembly in the mount out of the midst of the fire, of the cloud, and of the thick darkness, with a great voice: and he added no more." He then reminds them of their fear, and of their request, that the law might be delivered through him, and not directly and immediately from Jehovah,—that the Lord heard and approved their request, and directed him to dismiss them to their tents, adding, (v. 31,) "As for thee, stand thou here by

me; and I will speak unto thee all the commandments, and the statutes, and the judgments which thou shalt teach them." And, in the first verse of the next chapter, he says, "Now these are the commandments, the statutes, and the judgments which the Lord your God commanded to teach you."

If this be true,—if it be really on these commandments, statutes, and judgments that the Gottingen Professor is commenting, how absurd is the language of those passages which we have collected, and how peculiarly absurd, when the Professor himself admits its truth. In a common case we could only accuse such a writer of inconsistency; but in the present instance the charge is more serious. His admissions of the Divine origin of the Law of Moses, occur but seldom, while such language as we have collected runs through the work; and gives a colour and complexion to the whole, directly at variance with the truth which he admits.

We proceed to our second charge; and here our readers will not expect us to be very minute: they will not expect us to republish what, in our judgment, should never have been published at all. We shall, therefore, only state that his details are prolix and disgusting,—that they are carried on in a wanton and flippant manner,—that they embrace almost every species of impurity that can be found in the Greek or Latin classics,—and that the style of treating those subjects, and the frequent and often unnecessary recurrence to them, prove that the author delighted in such discussions. We shall content ourselves with thus repeating our charge in a more detailed form, and we pledge ourselves that if our readers take up the work, they will find ample proof that we have not spoken too strongly.

Our third charge is, that the work tends to promote scepticism, irreligion, and immorality. This is a heavy charge; but we doubt not that our readers will consider it as fully established, if they will reflect on the nature and tendency of the extracts which we shall lay before them.

After giving his opinion respecting the right of the Israelites to the land of Canaan; he says,

"Mr. Oepke's objections to this opinion will be found in § 43 of his Dissertation. I shall not enter into a circumstantial reply to them, but only entreat the reader to consider two passages, viz. Gen. xi. 31, and xii. 5, in connexion, and then to judge. That Stephen, in Acts vii. 2, 3, represents the case otherwise, I cannot admit as a valid argument against me; for though he was a holy man, and a martyr, yet his extempore speech, made on that occasion, is not, therefore, to be held as inspired, or infallibly true. The promise of the inspiration, which before the Jewish and heathen tribunals (Matt. x. 19, 20), to which Mr. O. appeals, applies only to the apostles; but Stephen was

an apostle & I know not why Mr. O. accuses me of speaking unwarrantably of Stephen, (*sine causa adeo contentio de Stephano, non quidem*). It is certainly no proof of contempt, that, while I mention Stephen as a holy man, and a martyr, I refuse, nevertheless, to admit the inspiration of his address, without a proof. The text, Acts, i. 55, to which Mr. O. refers as a proof of its inspiration, relates, not to the preceding oration, but to the vision which Stephen saw at its conclusion. When he saw the vision, he was *full of the Holy Ghost*, but not before." (Vol. i. p. 154, n.)

Was not he? We say nothing of the flippancy of these remarks, we content ourselves with referring to the preceding chapter of Acts, to show that they are absolutely false. The first time Stephen's name is mentioned is in the 5th verse, and there we learn that they "chose Stephen, a man full of faith, and of the Holy Ghost," to fill an office, the specified requisites for which were, that those who held it should be "men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom." And what were the circumstances that led to his being brought before this tribunal? We read in the 8th verse, that after this appointment, "Stephen, full of faith and power, did great wonders and miracles among the people." That, upon this, certain of the Jews arose, and disputed with him, "And they were not able to resist the wisdom and the spirit by which he spake," and thereupon they suborned false witnesses, and brought him to the council. When there (and before he made this "extempore speech"), "all that sat in the council looking stedfastly on him, saw his face as it had been the face of an angel." Whether the declarations of such a man, under such circumstances, are to be held of no authority, we leave it to our readers to determine.

The next passage which we shall extract is in the second vol. p. 449. It occurs merely, *en passant*, in a Dissertation on the Ancient History of Horses. Speaking of Pharaoh's horses and chariots, he says,

"With these chariots and horsemen Pharaoh ventured along the bed of the Arabian Gulf, which an uncommon ebb had left dry; and it happened, in consequence of a violent storm, what naturally must happen, that the horses, less accustomed to such a sight in Egypt than ours, became restive, and fell into disorder, and broke the wheels of the chariots, which increased the confusion and hindered their flight, so that the flood returned, and, as Moses says, overwhelmed the chariots and the horsemen."

We do not intend to enter into any argument respecting this statement, its source and its answer are sufficiently known; and if any of our readers feel any doubt about the matter, we refer them to Mr. Hearn's Introduction (vol. iii. p. 48), where they

will find the subject very carefully and satisfactorily discussed. But, as we have said, we do not mean to enter into any such questions. We only protest against (may we make such a word?) the Gibbonism of introducing these sceptical objections, as matters of course, in the midst of discussions with which they have no connexion whatever.

In the third volume (p. 216), in speaking of the festivals kept by the Jews, but not appointed by the law, he mentions:

"The strange feast of *Purim*, in which Haman is still belaboured, and to which my applying the epithet *strange*, will not give offence to any person who is acquainted with the manner in which it was and is kept. Whether the book of Esther, in which it is appointed, merits a place among the inspired writings, is a point concerning which the reader will find my ideas, along with those of other writers, in my *Orient. Biblioth.* part ii. No. 19. In the time of the Maccabees the Jews in Palestine do not seem to have been yet acquainted with this festival. See my remark on 1 Mac. vii. 48."

We notice this passage because Michaelis seems to go out of his way to cast this reflection upon a part of the received canon of scripture. He is constantly reminding the reader, that, as a commentator on the Law of Moses, he has nothing to do with any rite, law, or custom, which is not prescribed in that law; and when it is necessary to mention any such, he avoids the discussion, as irrelevant to his purpose. But this opportunity of throwing a doubt on a book of scripture, and referring to two of his own, he did not choose to let slip.

In the same volume (p. 427), after stating that by the law the body of a criminal was not to remain suspended all night, he adds,

"No doubt it appears from 2 Sam. xxi. 6. 9-11, that the bodies of some descendants of Saul, who had been delivered over to the Gibeonites for execution, as an atonement for his cruelty, were by them allowed to remain suspended for a long time; but, in the first place, with this affair the Israelites had no concern; but only the Gibeonites, who were of Canaanitish origin, and, perhaps, still lived in their four cities, according to their old law; and, in the next, the whole story, both in matter and expression, is so strange, that it may be doubted whether it really be a genuine part of the book of Samuel, and not one of those large interpolations whereof critics have conceived that they have detected several in this part of scripture."

Now, whether the passage alluded to is, or is not genuine, is a question with which a commentator on the Law of Moses, in the strict sense in which Michaelis professes to confine himself, has nothing to do: according to his statement, if the story be true, it relates to a people who did not profess to obey the Law;

of Moses, and does not, directly or indirectly, throw any light upon that law. Nevertheless, if he had chosen to digress, and to discuss the question, he had a perfect right to do it: our objection lies against the flippant assertion, that it is such a strange story that it may be doubted whether it is not one of those large interpolations (how many they are nobody knows) whose critics (all? or how many?) have conceived that they have detected several in this part of scripture. And this assertion is made on no other ground than that, for some reasons which he does not condescend to mention, it appears to be a strange story. We ask how far he who proposes to reject any part of the scripture, simply on the ground that it is a *strange story*, is removed from an infidel?

In the fourth volume (p. 148) he speaks of the punishment of adultery, and notices the discrepancy between some of the Rabbins (and, by the way, this is almost the only occasion on which he thinks it worth while to discuss any of their opinions, holding them, on other occasions, in utter contempt), and the account given in the eighth chapter of St. John's Gospel, of the woman taken in adultery. After giving such reasons as he deems sufficient for preferring the latter, he proceeds,

"But I will yet add, *ex superabundante*, the following observations, because authors, one after another, are continually insinuating very whimsical objections against the story in John viii., and very illogically putting the opinions of the Talmudists on a footing, in point of authority, with historical evidence!"

As our readers, probably, do not stand in need of these observations, we shall pass them all over, except the last, which is perfectly characteristic of the author.

"The whole story is so excellent, that we must be inclined to wish it were true, even though, as critics, we might doubt its authenticity; which, however, I, for my part, cannot bring myself to do: but if it be fictitious, the person, whoever he was, that forged it, and fathered it upon the evangelist John, must really have been a man of abilities."

We add no more on this point: if such stuff as we have been transcribing is not calculated to lead the young and uninformed to direct and general scepticism, and does not, in style and consequence, strongly resemble the writings of the French deistical school, we will acknowledge that we have unfairly accused Michaelis, and that we are unfit for the office which we have assumed.

We proceed to mention the grounds on which we charge the Commentaries with having a tendency to promote immorality and irreligion. Not only does the author luxuriate in the dis-

omission of subjects which can scarcely be treated with decency, but, with regard to almost all subjects connected with morals and religion, he manifests a most unchristian laxity of sentiment.

Let the reader take the following specimens on the subjects of suicide, drunkenness, swearing, keeping the sabbath, and duelling.

As to the first of these Michaelis seems to be in doubt whether it is by any means unlawful—but let him speak for himself.

“Moses has no where prohibited suicide; for to drag the sixth commandment, *Thou shalt not murder*, into a prohibition of this crime, of which there is not a word in it, is a very arbitrary mode of explanation, and much of a piece with our *Spiritual Expositions* (as they are called) of the Ten Commandments.” (iv. 207.)

Again (at p. 209), he says :

“I look upon it as a real act of goodness on the part of God, that we no where in the Bible find an explicit decision of the question, whether suicide be a sin; this very interesting question being left entirely to the decision of philosophical ethics, and to the common sense (shall I say ?) or the conscience of every individual.”

And in the next page :

“Whether the man who is determined to destroy himself, be, in the decisive moment of death, guilty of a deliberate sin, or only a sin of ignorance, no theologian, nor indeed any philosopher, will regard as one and the same thing; and, considering the silence of the Bible, which here leaves us in uncertainty or ignorance, for the same reason, as God, under the Old Testament, suffered many sins of ignorance, Polygamy, for instance, in the patriarchs, without revealing them to them;—and as he certainly must still to every one of us, overlook sins of the same description, which, if we knew them, they would not be;—it is possible, that some suicides, who even prepared themselves conscientiously for the great step they meditated, are now in heaven (God not imputing to them their sins of ignorance), who must have been damned, if the Bible had been written in the style which many zealous and well meaning moralists would wish.”

Again, (in p. 482), he mentions the case of a German who having, “merely from too nice a sense of honour committed a murder, for which he was sentenced to the gallows, dispatched himself in prison with poison.” This occurred in England, and our newspapers, by their remarks on this suicide, excited the

* These *Spiritual Expositions* are very offensive to Michaelis. In the fourth vol. p. 302, he says, “The promise added to the fifth commandment, has as little reference to mankind at large, as the Decalogue in general; which contains many things addressed only to the people of Israel.”

surprise of the German professors and others, even in England, "more than on the heinous sin he had committed; whether it was not one and the same thing, whether the man who says he lets himself be hanged, or, like Socrates, drinks a cup of poison."

"We must just remark that it does not appear to us that it is "one and the same thing," whether a man "lets himself be hanged;" (we hardly understand the expression) by others, in pursuance of a legal sentence, or anticipates the execution of that sentence by suicide."

"As to drunkenness, there were good reasons why Moses should strictly prohibit this offence in a southern climate, where it often leads to mischief; but with us, it seems, the case is different."

"Among us the case of a drunkard doing mischief is really not very frequent. No doubt we see instances of people under the influence of liquor; but then they are neither so determined nor so chief, nor yet so extravagant as in warmer climates. How it comes to pass I know not; but we certainly often find them quite rational, friendly, and amiable, and there are men of particular temperance, on whom, if we wish to make any impression, we must previously get them with drink. In no place whatever have I had it in my power to make remarks on people overcome with liquor, in such numbers as in London, and I shall now mention how they appeared to me, not by tens, but by thousands. In the vicinity of that metropolis, though I have on a Sunday walked some miles, through long strings of them returning from the country, yet not one of them ever said a word to me; so that I had much amusement in making such experiments on the harmlessness of their intemperance, the reality of which I had no difficulty in ascertaining, as they staggered lustily along. Once only was I addressed by a person, who pointed to the sun, sinking in the west, and very politely begged to know what it was. A friend, who accompanied me, was indeed rather more unlucky; for happening, out of the abundance of his benevolence, to call to a very drunken rider, that his horse was in some danger or other, the man appeared to take it much amiss; though nothing more serious followed than his exclaiming after him, *Damn your blood*, perhaps a hundred times as he rode along. So harmless is northern drunkenness." (iv. 307.)

"We should be inclined to say that Sunday drunkenness, though it should lead to nothing more than profane swearing, was not entirely harmless, even in a political view; but on these points we should differ widely from the Professor. As to the observance of the Sabbath, after stating that some seasons of recreation are necessary, he says, (iii. 154,)

"There arises then a moral and political question, 'Can the day of divine worship be aptly united with the day of rest and enjoyment?' For my own part I think it may, provided only we do not include all

main of violence except under the same enjoyment and; in fact, the question has been raised, and has been decided many thousand years ago, by almost all the nations on the face of the earth; however much many gloomy moralists of these later times, may have condemned entertainments, dancing, playing, and even afternoon companies and visits as profanations of Sunday, and zealously, although much too late, endeavoured to prevent them.

Again, as to swearing, we extract the following passages, not only for the sentiments but the style:—"Moses made no such enactments as they have in England against cursing and swearing, by which, for every single *damn*, the penalty, I think, of a shilling (might good *groschen*) is incurred; nor, in fact, do they serve any good purpose, but to betray holy zeal, without any knowledge of the world; for they can never be enforced."

(iv. 113.)
Proceeding to state, that Moses did not mean by *Ex. x. 1*, to "convert the whole people into downright informers," for he "abandoned no patronized persons of that character," he adds, "Upon the whole, we are under no general obligation to notice every bad thing that comes under our observation; and such unmeaning curses, as, the *God damn* of an Englishman, or *der Teufel hole* (the devil take,) of a German, do so little harm, that we can conceive no reason why they should be noticed for any such purpose." (iv. 113.) Indeed, from a passage in the same volume, it seems as if the professor himself was in the habit of using such language. Speaking of the cursing of father or mother, mentioned in *Ex. xxi. 17*, he refers it to the making such vows as our Saviour forbids in *Matt. xv. 4-6*. "This," he says, "is not imprecating upon them a curse, in the common style of curses, which but evaporate into air, because neither the *devil* nor the *lightning* are wont to be so obsequious; as to obey our wishes every time we call upon the one to *take*, or the other to *strike dead*, our adversaries." (iv. 361.)

The former imprecation we should scarcely suppose Michaelis to have used, as he seems to ridicule the idea of Satanic agency. He appears to consider it as a notion which the Israelites picked up from the Babylonians: "For in the Biblical writings, prior to the Babylonish captivity, we meet with very little notice of the devil; and it would seem, that the effects which he could produce on the material world were considered as but very trifling." (iv. 88.) How this is reconciled with his opinion that the book of Job was written by Moses, we do not know.

As to duelling we will only transcribe the witty reply which General Field Marshal Von Natzmer, a very brave man, and a very strict Christian, gave to the late King of Prussia, when he asked him, in a company, how he would act if any one should

call him out.—“I cannot,” said he, “say for certain before-hand. Were the Christian at home, he certainly would not go; but, if the challenger only found Nitzmer at home, he might then but I shall not say what would be the consequence.”

We imagine that “the Christian” was not at home when Michaelis wrote the passages which we have extracted. Indeed some things in the Commentaries lead us to suspect that his moral feeling was not very refined. We confess that we were a little surprised to find him, in one of the passages which we have quoted, talking coolly of the necessity of plying some persons with drink, if we wish to make an impression upon them. We will grant this learned instructor all reasonable allowances; we admit that, as a public lecturer, who frequently took occasion to lay before his hearers speculations which no sober man could receive, he might find it *expedient* to “ply them with drink;” but we cannot admit that it was *proper*.

Again, his idea of an honourable man rather surprised us. He states, (ii. 370,) “Hunger or appetite often hurries a man, of the most honourable principles, to devour grapes and other eatables that are not watched.”

But we will add no more; we think our readers will allow that we have substantiated our charge—and that, if the book really contains what we have transcribed, it cannot (whatever else it may contain) be considered as “a valuable accession to Biblical literature” or even a book to be tolerated in Christian society.

BROWN'S PHILOSOPHY OF THE HUMAN MIND.

ART. XIV. *Lectures on the Philosophy of the Human Mind.* By the late Thomas Brown, M.D., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. In Four volumes, 8vo. Edinburgh, 1820.

It has been sometimes lamented that there is no royal road to metaphysics—no short and easy method of mastering the philosophy of intellect without the toil of deep reflection and patient observation. The other sciences are not liable to the same objection, and have therefore, for the most part, obtained a lasting popularity. But this branch of knowledge has other pe-

either disadvantages. It requires the most severe labour, and yet promises no result which can attract notice from the great body of mankind, no discovery to interest the vulgar, no tangible benefit to command the thanks and praises of the world. He must be, indeed, a vain enthusiast who can fancy that any thing which has been done, or ever can be done in metaphysics, will affect the course of affairs in the world, or change the general system of human conduct.

The extensive diffusion of knowledge among all classes of society, which is so remarkable in modern times, has made the improvements in science intelligible and interesting to the bulk of mankind. As this has excited the ambition, and gratified the vanity of the learned, it has encouraged them to proceed with greater ardour. But it is only of the experimental sciences that the knowledge has been thus generally imparted. The abstract and speculative branches of philosophy are still as much as ever unknown and uninteresting to the vulgar; and they must be studied without any hope that the utmost progress in them is to be encouraged by the public sympathy, or cheered by the public applause. We need not, therefore, wonder that the taste for metaphysics has greatly declined among the learned, since it is a science in which the extent of their proficiency can never be generally understood, and in which, indeed, there is nothing to attract the popular attention.

When Lord Monboddo, a man who with all his eccentricities was a very profound scholar, published an elaborate treatise, which he entitled "Antient Metaphysics," he guessed, very accurately, that the name would be considered uncouth and in-attractive. Accordingly, he says in his preface, "The reader cannot blame the author for a deceit, common enough at present, of imposing upon him by a specious title. I have chosen one which, so far from alluring readers, will frighten many from opening the book; nor do I believe that there is a bookseller in Great Britain who, upon the credit of my title page, would offer me a shilling for my copy, if I had a mind to sell it. Indeed the subject is altogether unfashionable, not only among the vulgar, who ridicule it under the name of *metaphysic*, but even among the philosophers of the present age."

To the common sort of men the devotion to metaphysical studies seems a harmless infatuation: and yet, as they have engaged the attention of men of the most amiable temper, the highest attainments, and the most brilliant genius,—and as works have been produced in this department of philosophy which are the most splendid ornaments to the literature of the country, there is enough to be said for it, one would think, to redeem it from absolute neglect. He must be a scholar of little intel-

lectual zeal, who could give up to vulgar obscurity those studies on which Mr. Locke bestowed the strongest efforts of his powerful mind.

Our countrymen, however, have always been disposed to rest satisfied with the labours of Mr. Locke, and in this they have, perhaps, done wisely. The success of those among them who have attempted to proceed farther, has not been such as to induce a persuasion that much could be gained by the pursuit. But while these studies were so much abandoned in England, they were vigorously prosecuted in Scotland and in Germany. So many new systems and theories have been in their turn constructed and overthrown, old errors have been revived and refuted so often, that the actual amount of what has been added to the stock of intellectual knowledge, beyond the correction of some errors (which were certainly very important in their consequences), and some reform in the mode of conducting the discussions, is by no means adequate to the labour and assiduity which has produced it. The works of Dr. Reid certainly effected a very salutary reform in this branch of philosophy, which, at the time in which he wrote, had become involved in absurdity and error. It has been very truly said of his writings, by one who was singularly well qualified to judge of their merit, that they rescued the philosophy of the human mind from a state that rendered it unworthy of the name of science, and a reproach to the human understanding; an object of contempt to the wise, of detestation to the good, and of well-merited reproach, even to the vulgar.

The imperfection of our faculties accounts for the slow progress which has been made in this department of philosophy; and as it includes nothing which can be considered as the object of strict discovery, such progress as is really made can be less distinctly observed. Dr. Priestley, a man of considerable talent, but of extraordinary presumption, among his manifold errors and extravagances, betook himself to the making of discoveries in metaphysics; but D'Alembert, who had accurate views of the boundaries of human knowledge, struck with the absurdity of pretending to make discoveries of this kind, expressed his feelings upon it forcibly enough to one of his friends who having mentioned the name of Priestley to him, added—

“C'est un homme qui a fait des grandes découvertes dans la physique et dans la métaphysique.—

D'ALEMBERT.—“*Decouvertes dans la métaphysique! Diable!*”

The truth is, that discovery, which may be considered as one of the proper objects of physical science, is altogether beyond the province of that knowledge which relates to the nature and faculties of the human mind.

"Il n'y a proprement que trois genres de connoissances ou les des-
couvertes n'aient pas lieu : l'*erudition*, parceque les faits ne se découvrent
et ne s'inventent pas ; la *métaphysique* parceque les faits se trouvent au-
dedans de nous memes ; la *theologie* parceque le dépôt de la Foi est
inalterable, et qu'il ne sauroit y avoir de révélation nouvelle."

D'Alembert, *Mélanges*, tom. 4, 292.

The true objects of metaphysical knowledge are, to become acquainted with the nature of our mental faculties, and to ascertain what are the subjects on which it is, or is not, fit that these faculties should be employed. It was with these views that Mr. Locke undertook the studies which produced his *Essay on the Human Understanding*; and he has, with an interesting simplicity, informed us in what manner his attention was first drawn to the subject. He tells us, that five or six friends meeting at his chamber, and discoursing on a subject very remote from metaphysics, found themselves quickly at a stand, by the difficulties which rose on every side. After having puzzled themselves, without coming any nearer to a resolution of the doubts which perplexed them, he says, it came into his thoughts that they took a wrong course, and that, before setting themselves upon inquiries of that nature, they should examine their own abilities, and see what objects the human understanding was, or was not, fitted to deal with.

Unfortunately for the advancement of knowledge, those who followed Mr. Locke have not always pursued these studies with the same design. And whoever considers the present state of intellectual science will have too much occasion to observe, that most of the errors and heresies from which it has been freed, and many of those which still infest it, have originated in mistaken views as to its proper object. This observation occurs to us very forcibly, from the perusal of the lectures of Doctor Brown, which embrace a sweeping and ambitious view of the whole Philosophy of the Human Mind, and aspire to introduce into it some principles so extraordinary, as to demand a very serious examination.

Doctor Thomas Brown, the author of these lectures, was reputed a very excellent metaphysician, in a country where the knowledge of the human mind has been long cultivated with assiduity and success. This reputation he enjoyed among the most distinguished philosophers of the north, and it raised him, at a very early age, to the professorship of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, as the colleague and successor of Mr. Dugald Stewart. His death, which happened lately, while he was yet in the most vigorous period of life, and in the ardent pursuit of those studies to which he was so much devoted, was lamented among his friends as a heavy loss to the

interests of science, and as cutting off those bright hopes which had been entertained of lasting and extensive benefits from the matured labours of a mind so richly gifted.

These circumstances impart a considerable degree of interest to the volumes before us, as they are a posthumous publication, and contain the substance of those lectures which the author delivered as the course of instruction for the students of moral philosophy in the University of Edinburgh.

The chief merit of the work is the amiable and temperate disposition which pervades every part of it. It breathes throughout a pure and refined spirit of philosophy, which must win the approbation of those who are hostile to the new doctrines which it contains. The prevailing error seems to be, that the author has aspired too much to explore new paths, and has fallen somewhat into the mistake of Priestley, by expecting to make discoveries. This disposition he has indulged, by applying to the operations of pure intellect those rules and modes of reasoning which properly belong to the material world. He has even adopted the language and expressions hitherto used only in physical or mechanical philosophy. By following this course he has fallen into many strange mistakes: and, although he had proceeded so far as to have constructed a new system founded on these principles, we cannot but think that further study and experience would have made him abandon the errors into which he was thus betrayed. He would (we think), in the end, have ascertained that some of his predecessors had proceeded on principles more just, on a knowledge of the human mind more extensive and profound than that which he had at first observed in their works. Without aiming at that vast revolution in the philosophy of the human mind which he endeavoured to achieve, he would still have been able to increase the sum of our knowledge,—to resolve many of the doubts and difficulties by which researches into the operations of intellect have been obscured, and to infuse a spirit less speculative and more practical into the study of metaphysics. The most aspiring philosopher need not have sought for any higher praise.

More than half the number of Doctor Brown's lectures is devoted to an investigation of the faculties of the human mind; afterwards they treat of the passions and emotions; and the latter part contains a series of disquisitions purely ethical, or what may be called his system of Moral Philosophy. Thus, he leads us over the whole range of that almost undefined science which is called the philosophy of the human mind.

It is on the first part, or that which relates to the nature of mind, that the author expatiates most fully; and in it he advances those new doctrines by which he sought to change the

entire system of metaphysics. In our endeavour to give a description of the novelties which he has disclosed to us, we shall adhere as much as possible to the very language in which they are set forth in these lectures. This, however, is not very easily done. The style is so diffusive, that it is seldom possible to fix upon any short passages in which his notions are accurately and clearly stated; which is the more to be regretted, since, as has been often enough observed, the great proportion of metaphysical dissertations consists of mere verbal disputes and mistakes. This is an old reproach against the metaphysicians, and Doctor Brown attacks his predecessors very warmly for having so justly deserved it. It is, on this account, the less easy to excuse him, when we find him running himself into the same fault; and, indeed, throughout the whole of this work, taking very little pains to avoid it.

A more bold attempt has seldom been made than this of Doctor Brown to overthrow the whole of that doctrine, according to which, the human mind has been considered as a combination of various faculties and powers. From his metaphysical vocabulary the very words *faculty* and *power* he would have absolutely banished. He has not simply aspired to reform the divisions and classification of the mental faculties which have been so long established—he has gone so far as to treat the human mind, in its essence and constitution, as something entirely different from that which it has hitherto been considered. In short, the prevailing principle of his system, so far as we can briefly describe it, is to consider the human mind as of a passive rather than an active existence. If this notion be correct, it is plain that the wisest among the many philosophers who have preceded him, were but losing themselves in a sad course of blunders; even in those speculations which have passed current with the world as the greatest efforts of the human understanding.

It would, indeed, be too much to assert that the system, which is now generally adopted as to the division of the intellectual faculties, is in every respect perfect. We would readily concede to the advocates of Doctor Brown's system (if, indeed, it has any advocates), that many difficulties attend every classification or division of these faculties. But it is of the very essence of every analytical process, to withdraw the attention from the general nature and character of the object to which it is applied; to the individual parts of which that object is composed. During this process, the relation of each part or sub-division to the whole, is lost sight of; and the observation is fixed on the separate character of the component parts. This defect, which is sensibly felt in our researches into the nature of the material world, is also incident to our inquiries into the nature of the

human mind, and produces still greater embarrassment. Almost every philosopher, who has attempted to analyze the operations of the mind, has felt and expressed the difficulty of examining separately the nature of faculties which are never separately exercised, but always in combination with some other faculty, and controlled by some emotion equally unknown in a state of separate existence. In treating of the phenomena of mind, and in endeavouring to divide the faculties or powers which produce them, so as separately to consider the nature of each, there is an additional difficulty occasioned by the uncertainty and ambiguity of language. Of this, Doctor Brown himself seems very justly sensible.—"A difference of words," he says, "is in this case more than a mere verbal difference. Though it be not the expression of a different doctrine it very speedily becomes so." It is a pity, that, with so true a notion of the danger which attends a want of correctness and precision in language, we should have gone so far wrong in that very way, as we shall soon have occasion to observe. We know not what to think of a philosopher who runs directly into an error of which he seems to have been so perfectly aware.

He states his objections to the established classification of the mental faculties in the following passages:—

"The great leading division of the mental phenomena, which has met with the most general adoption by philosophers, is, into those which belong to the *understanding*, and those which belong to the *will*:—a division which is very ancient, but, though sanctioned by the approbation of many ages, very illogical; since the *will*, which, in this division, is nominally opposed to the intellect, is so far from being opposed to it in reality, that, even by the assertors of its diversity it is considered as exercising, in the intellectual department, an empire almost as wide as in the department allotted to itself.

"Another division of the mental phenomena similar to the former, and of equal antiquity, since it corresponds with the very ancient division of philosophy into the *contemplative* and the *active*, is, into those which belong to the *intellectual powers*, and those which belong to the *active powers*.—*Philosophia et contemplativa est et activa spectat simulque agit.* I must confess, however, that this division of the mental phenomena, as referable to the *intellectual* and the *active powers* of the mind, though it has the sanction of very eminent names, appears, to me, to be faulty exactly in the same manner as the former, which, indeed, it may be considered almost as representing another change of name. Its parts are, not opposed to each other, and it does not include all the phenomena which it should include. Is mere grief, for example, or mere astonishment, to be referred to our intellectual

* The words printed in Italics in this and the other extracts are so printed in the original work.

on the one active powers. I do not speak of the faculties which they may or may not call into action, but of the feelings themselves, as present phenomena, or states of the mind."

The objection which is here made to the first of the divisions is not new. Whoever supposed that the powers of the understanding were actually opposed to those of the will? or that the powers of either class could be exercised separately? Or who is there that expects to discover any division of the intellectual faculties in which there shall be a real opposition, or a definite separation in nature?

All that can be said for either of the divisions which the author of these lectures wishes to abolish, is, that it facilitates our inquiries into the constitution of the human mind. We shall soon see whether so much can be said in favour of the new division which he would substitute in their stead.

Yet, after all, to make out his objection to the old divisions he has absolutely mis-stated them. He has called them divisions of the "mental phenomena," which is more than they ever pretended to be. They have, indeed, been taken as divisions of the mental *faculties*, which we apprehend means much less than the mental phenomena.—"The division of the faculties of the human mind into understanding and will is very ancient, and has been generally adopted; the former comprehending all our speculative, the latter all our active powers."—These are the terms in which Doctor Reid has mentioned this division, and we know no other philosophical writer, except Doctor Brown himself, who has called it a division of the *phenomena* of mind, and he has so described it only for the purpose of impugning its accuracy.

He mentions some phenomena, which, he says, are not reducible to either of the divisions, and asks to which of them we can refer joy, grief, and astonishment. These may certainly be called phenomena of the mind, but they have scarcely ever been called faculties. It is, therefore, no objection to a classification of the faculties of the mind, that it does not include these which are not properly faculties. They have been commonly called emotions, and are admitted to have an influence on the faculties, at the same time that they are controlled by them, and are more closely connected with the material or bodily part of our nature. They have therefore generally been treated of under the class of the active powers, not as being included under that description, but on account of their relation to those powers to which it properly extends.

The effect of the emotions and passions on the intellectual faculties seems to us a subject for one of the most interesting inquiries in the philosophy of the human mind. It has never

yet been sufficiently prosecuted by any of the great philosophical writers. But we feel persuaded, that, conducted on true principles, it would very much extend the knowledge of our intellectual nature, opening to us, as it does, not only the constitution of our faculties from the influence which may be exercised upon them; but, above all, tending to results of great practical utility in the government of those faculties, and thus involving considerations which very closely affect the happiness of mankind. If Doctor Brown had entered on this inquiry, and taught some classification or division, by which the emotions and passions might have been considered with relation to the faculties of the mind, or even by which the nature of their emotions might have been more clearly developed than under the old arrangement, he would have essentially advanced our knowledge. But if, instead of proceeding by any such method, or coming to any such result, we find that he has rejected the old classification only to make way for one more fanciful, which is founded on a view of our intellectual nature altogether erroneous, we must consider him as attempting to introduce an innovation worse than useless.

After all, then, we come now to his own new division. The notion of faculties he lays aside; his own phrase *phenomena* he abandons; and he considers the human mind under the two heads or divisions which he calls its *external* and *internal* affections. The external affections he considers so simple as to require no sub-division; but the internal class he sub-divides as follows:—

“The first great sub-division, then, which I would form of the *internal class*, is, into our *intellectual states of mind*, and our *emotions*. The latter of these classes comprehends all, or nearly all, the mental states, which have been classed by others under the head of active powers. I prefer, however, the term *emotions*, partly because I wish to avoid the phrase *active powers*, which, I own, appears to me awkward and ambiguous, as opposed to other powers, which are not said to be passive; and partly, for reasons before mentioned, because our *intellectual states or energies*, far from being, opposed to our active powers, are, as we have seen, essential elements of their activity; so essential, that, without them, *these* could never have had the name of active; and because I wish to comprehend, under the term, various states of the mind, which cannot with propriety, in any case, be termed active, such as *grief, joy, astonishment*, and others which have been commonly, though, I think, inaccurately ascribed to the intellectual faculties, such as the feelings of *beauty* and *sublimity*,—feelings which are certainly much more analogous to our other emotions, to our feelings of love or awe, for example, than to our more remembrances or reasonings, or to any other states of mind which can be called intellectual.” (Vol. i. pp. 371, 372.)

To make this passage intelligible, we must recollect that it is the main principle of Doctor Brown's system to consider the mind, not as a combination of various faculties, but as existing in various successive states. "All the feelings and thoughts of the mind," he says, "are only the mind itself, existing in certain states." So that he will have us consider as mere states of the mind, what others have called its faculties or powers.

It appears then, that, in effect, this new division (which he has so confusedly described) consists principally in substituting the term *intellectual states* for *intellectual faculties*, and emotions for active powers. His objection to the term active powers, is, that it does not include the emotions. So far he is correct. Even those who have adhered to the old division admit this objection; but none of them thought of this ingenuous mode of mending the defect, by trying to force the active powers into the class of emotions, because the emotions refused to be contained within the class of active powers.

This would be no worse than merely ridiculous, if it did not proceed on a very important mistake as to the nature of intellect, and thereby lead to doctrines quite inconsistent with those established principles, which, till they are satisfactorily refuted, we shall consider as perfectly true. To refute them is, we think, impossible. It may seem, at first sight, of very little moment whether we talk of the states of our mind, or the faculties of our mind. Doctor Brown says, that he dislikes the term active powers, because it is opposed to powers which are not said to be passive. Now the truth is, that these powers have been called active, only because they controul and modify the intellectual, or contemplative powers. Surely for the mere purpose of division this is enough; and the word active is sufficiently opposed to the word contemplative, as applied to the faculties of the mind. But it is easy to discover the real cause of his dislike to this phrase, *active powers*. The truth is, that his system excludes all notion of activity and power, as attributes of the human mind, and therefore it is that he has rejected a classification which considers it as endowed with them.

It seemed to us somewhat strange that these lectures should at once have entered upon a discussion of our notions of power, cause, and effect, before any thing was said of the intellectual faculties. The cause of this arrangement appears now very plainly. Before Doctor Brown could establish his favourite doctrine of considering the human mind, as existing in various states, instead of being endowed with various faculties, he found that it would be necessary for him to overthrow all our notions of power, and the established doctrines of causation.

Mr. Hume expressed his opinion, that "we never have any

idea of power; that we deceive ourselves when we imagine we are possessed of any idea of this kind. This strange doctrine, so repugnant to the common sense of mankind, has, with very little qualification, been revived by Doctor Brown. By power, according to him, is meant no more than "invariable antecedence," or, (as he says himself), "in other words, it is that which cannot exist, in certain circumstances, without being immediately followed by a certain definite event, which we denominate an *effect*, in reference to the antecedent, which we denominate a *cause*." The same doctrine, notwithstanding the satisfactory contradiction which it had received before his time, was repeated by Doctor Priestley; but we do not so much wonder at that: it was to him a captivating paradox. It is a doctrine which takes from power all its activity, and from cause all notion of efficiency, reducing both to mere antecedence.

If it be true, according to Doctor Brown's statement of the proposition, that power cannot exist without being immediately followed by a certain definite event, then, of course, it can only exist when it is exercised. And this is the whole scope of Mr. Hume's reasoning,—that we have no notion of power as an inherent quality. The examination of this proposition involves something more important than a dispute about words. A great deal of ambiguity often attends the use of the words *power*, *cause*, and *effect*; but, in this question, which concerns the very existence of that which is expressed by the word *power*, the dispute is not about the word, but the attribute which it is used to express. The proposition that power only exists when it is exercised, if it be correct, reduces us to the opinion of Mr. Hume, that power itself is a thing of which we have no idea at all. This consequence is inevitable. But the very conception of power involves this consideration in the words of Doctor Reid—that "we cannot conclude the want of power from its not being exerted; nor from the exertion of a less degree of power can we conclude that there is no greater degree in the subject." Thus, though a man on a particular occasion said nothing, we cannot conclude from that circumstance that he had not the power of speech; nor from a man's carrying ten pound weight can we conclude that he had not power to carry twenty."

Indeed, the very dispute about power, proves that it is a thing of which we have some idea or conception, because, as has been truly observed, though men may dispute about things which have no existence, they cannot dispute about things of which they have no conception. Doctor Brown quite forgot this when he fell into the mistake of asserting, that antecedence and constant conjunction were all that we understood of power

and causation. Even so far back as the time of Cicero, the thing was much better understood than to allow the notion of a cause, as separated from efficiency; for, that philosopher himself has said "*Neque non sic causa intelligi debet, ut quod cuique antecedit, id et causa sit, sed quod cuique EFFICIENTER antecedit.*"

It is melancholy to find at this time of day, after all that has been so satisfactorily established on these subjects, but especially after that irresistible conviction which is inherent in the mind of every man of common understanding, that these heterodoxical notions should be revived, and insisted on with as much earnestness as if they had not been long since refuted, and discarded (as we had hoped) even from the closets of the most speculative philosophers. It is disheartening to find a system of metaphysics, founded upon them, set forth to supersede established principles.

At the same time, it is curious to observe the results to which these doctrines have been pushed by the author of the lectures. In order to make way for his classification of the phenomena of mind into successive states of existence, he has not only to get rid of the true notions of power, cause, and effect, but entirely to strike away consciousness as an operation of the understanding. He thinks he has discovered that this power of perceiving the actions and operations of our own minds, is not even a separate state of the mind, but is incident to what he calls all its successive states. To impute such a separate power or state is, he says, "an attempt to double, as it were, our various feelings, by making them not to constitute our consciousness, but to be the objects of it, as of a distinct intellectual power."

According to this notion, to be conscious of a feeling means only to feel in a particular manner. Indeed Doctor Brown has defined consciousness in these very words, and they of course imply, that the mind distinguishes this particular manner of the feeling from other manners, which, of necessity, includes something more than the mere feeling: so that on Doctor Brown's own showing, we have a knowledge of the states of our minds, which is all that was ever meant or expressed by consciousness, though he would persuade us that there is no such thing. His argument against it comes to this, that knowledge, and the thing known, are the same; and that to represent the latter as the object of the former, is to separate or double up things so absolutely blended together as to be undistinguishable from each other. A proposition so contradictory to actual experience needs no farther refutation than that which he has unwarily given by his own mode of explaining it.

This extravagant attempt to get rid of consciousness as a faculty, is forced upon him to enable him to maintain his doc-

time; that these are no operations of the mind but a mere succession of states of intellectual existence. Now, in the moment that consciousness is admitted as a faculty of the mind, there is an end to that course of reasoning which denies the existence of power as an inherent quality. Consciousness, or the knowledge which we have of the operations of our minds, is that faculty which imparts to us, most undeniably, the notion of energy and power. With this the whole system of a sequence of changes is utterly incompatible, because that system proceeds on the doctrine that power is mere conjunction and antecedence. This, therefore, is the reason why the author of the lectures has proceeded in this order in the promulgation of his new doctrines. He first argues that there is no such thing as consciousness; and, if that proposition is established, it leaves the human mind stripped of the power of observing its own operations. When it has deprived us of this power, it is but going on easily in the same course to destroy all notion of power, as an attribute of matter or of mind. If all this is to be taken as proved, it would then be idle indeed to talk of powers or faculties as existing in the mind, because their existence implies the notions of inherent energy and activity— notions which the other propositions would absolutely destroy and extinguish, leaving the mind of rational man such as it is described in these volumes—a mere sequence of changes or states, without activity, without internal energy, and therefore incapable of voluntary operation.

It is for this, then, that we are called upon to reject the old classifications of the intellectual faculties, and on these principles, as to the constitution of our minds, we are to adopt the new division of the intellectual phenomena into external and internal, with the subdivision of states and emotions. We now see very plainly why the old division into powers of the understanding, and of the will, is to be rejected. There are no powers, it would seem, but mere states; and though we might be allowed to talk of states of the understanding, yet states of the will could never be admitted to the new classification, because we shall find that it excludes all notion of will as entirely as it does our conception of power. This brings us to the consideration of another consequence which must follow from the doctrines inculcated in these lectures.

If there be any of the intellectual faculties which we can exercise at will, surely memory and conception must be of that number. Who is there that doubts that man has the power of calling the faculty of memory into operation at will? No one, we imagine, would dispute so plain a proposition, if it were advanced without reference to any pre-conceived theory. This

voluntary operation of memory our language has expressed by the term *recollection*, or *reminiscence*, as implying a modification of the more comprehensive and general faculty of memory; and this distinction between the general faculty and the voluntary act of the mind in remembering, is as old as the days of Aristotle; but neither its antiquity, nor (what is of more importance) its truth, seems to have had any weight with Doctor Brown. All notion of voluntary operation is excluded from his view of memory, as well as of the other faculties. "There is," he says, "a species of memory which is said to be under our controul; that memory, combined with desire of remembering something forgotten, to which we commonly give the name of *recollection*. We will the existence of certain ideas, it is said, and they arise in consequence of our volition; though, assuredly, to *will any idea is to know what we will*, and, therefore, to be conscious of *that very idea*, which we surely need not desire to know, when we already know it so well as to will its actual existence." It seems absolutely marvellous how any man, accustomed to observe the operations of his own mind, could maintain this doctrine. No doubt, when a man wills, or wishes to remember a thing, he must remember something concerning it which gives him some notion as to the nature of the thing which he wishes to recollect; he must remember something relating to it, which gives him a relative conception of it; though he has no *direct* conception what the thing itself is. To take a common instance, often referred to,—he may remember that a friend charged him with a commission, to be executed at some particular place, but he has forgotten what the commission was. By applying his thought to what he remembers concerning it, that it was given by such a person, upon such an occasion, in consequence of such a conversation, he is led to the very thing which he had forgotten, and, by this voluntary operation, he remembers distinctly what he wished to call to his mind.

The author of the lectures says, that the direct or indirect volition of ideas is an absurdity. This is very gallantly said, and those who confide in the other doctrines of the author need have no fear in adopting it, though they may observe the practical refutation of it (and of his other heresies) in the daily operations of their own minds. He would also say, that the relative circumstances which induce distinct recollection, in the instance which we have just mentioned, arise of *themselves* to the mind, "according to the simple course of suggestion." These opinions all rest upon the same doctrine,—that we have not within ourselves that controul over the operations of our own minds, which can enable us to pursue, or to prevent what he calls the train or course of suggestion. Let any one who

knows anything of the operations of his own mind, and whether this be not entirely erroneous. To admit such a proposition, is to deny the ordinary operation of the mind in the exercise of memory. So completely true is the doctrine of voluntary operation, that Doctor Brown himself virtually admits it, and contradicts his own previous doctrine in attempting to reconcile it with the exercise of recollection. He says, "the true and simple theory of the recollection is to be found in the permanence of the desire, and the natural and spontaneous course of the suggestion." Permanence of the desire! And this is his own true and simple explanation, after assuring us that the volition of ideas is an absurdity, and inculcating the doctrine, that the will of rational man has no effect on the operations of his mind; that ideas arise of themselves, after denying, and even treating with ridicule the doctrine, that any modification of the faculty of memory is within our own controul. Surely he cannot have meant to make a distinction between will and desire, as he himself has used these terms. If the word *desire* has any meaning at all, it implies volition; and if he thus admits, that permanent desire produces an idea, what becomes of the absurdity which he has imputed to the opinion, that there can be a direct or indirect volition of ideas? It is a complete contradiction, and into it every one may be sure of falling who attempts to maintain the doctrine, that we cannot controul, or in any degree subject to our will the operations of our minds. There was no reason for introducing the word *desire* instead of *will*, which was the term he previously used. To change the word in this way, only tends, so far, to create confusion. Mr. Locke made a distinction between these words, which may be very properly adhered to; and with that distinction the interchange of the terms in these lectures is inconsistent, without, in any degree, removing the contradiction in which the author became involved; because, even according to Locke's distinction, volition is implied by both the terms. Doctor Brown's confusion of the terms, reminds us of his own warning of the danger, which this error always occasions. He has himself exemplified his assertion, that in philosophical discussions, the confusion of terms, and disregard of the established sense in which words are taken, when, in fact, there is nothing objectionable in the general usage, is contemptibly useless. It is an error that inevitably goes beyond the mere words; it will infect all the speculations of the writer who gives way to it, making his objections futile, and his own doctrines obscure and unintelligible. It has happened thus in these lectures. The author, endeavouring to establish a theory concerning the operations of intellect, with which the influence of will is utterly inconsistent, is obliged, in

denying the influence of will, to admit that of permanent desire. Having substituted the word *desire* for *will*, and qualified its meaning by calling it a "vague and indistinct desire," he would have us believe that he has refuted the doctrine which considers any of the operations of the mind as controlled or influenced by the will.

There remains only one other novelty, as resulting from the general theory of mind, advanced in these lectures, on which we think it necessary to bestow our attention. Having got rid of the old doctrines of power, causation, and volition; having banished consciousness, and reduced the faculties of the mind to mere states, and the whole phenomena of mind to a sequence of involuntary changes in those states, he proceeds to deal on the same principles with the other faculties. The doctrine of the association of ideas, or the train of thought in the mind, cannot (as will at once be observed) but have a great deal to do with this system. Accordingly, he expatiates very much on this subject. He expresses a dislike to the term "association of ideas," and substitutes "suggestion" in its stead, without assigning any adequate reason for the change. This principle of suggestion he divides into two kinds; the one, simple suggestion, which implies mere conception, without any notion of relation; the other, relative suggestion, in which (as the term implies) relation is included. In treating of this double principle of suggestion, he explains no more than the laws which Mr. Hume had developed as governing the association of ideas. But it will easily be understood, that, in this principle of suggestion, considering the opinions entertained by Doctor Brown, as to the nature of our intellectual operations, there may be found a very convenient receptacle in which to dispose of the various faculties, as developed by philosophers who have examined the mind, on principles very different from those on which this new system of philosophy proceeds.

Accordingly, we find a lecture with this title,—*"The Reduction of certain supposed Faculties to simple Suggestion."* And there, the faculties of conception, memory, and imagination, are all reduced to this mere simple principle. This is, indeed, something new; and, if we are not mistaken, the novelty consists in confusing what others had accurately distinguished.

To try it by this test, let us again consider the faculty of memory, and see what the process is by which Doctor Brown has said that he reduced it to mere simple suggestion, and what that faculty, or supposed faculty, becomes after it has undergone this process. Memory then, he tells us, is "nothing more than conception, united with the notion of a certain relation of

time."—Afterwards he tells us, "all that is necessary to reduce a remembrance to a mere conception, is to separate from it a part of the complexity,—that part of it which constitutes a certain relation of antecedence." He says, that "the feeling of this relation does not imply any peculiar power generically distinct from that which perceives other relations," &c. And then comes the conclusion, that "memory, *therefore*, is not a distinct intellectual faculty, but is merely a conception or suggestion combined," &c. (going on as before).—To any man who will consider what passes in his own mind, it must be plain that this is a very imperfect account of memory, which is, unquestionably, much more than the mere relation of antecedence, added to conception. To how many of our conceptions may this relation of antecedence be added, without any such operation of the mind as that which produces memory? For instance, our conception of William the Conqueror,—a conception which, of course, includes the relation of antecedence, and therefore answers Doctor Brown's description of memory. Thus, if the doctrine of that gentleman be correct, any man who has a conception of William the Conqueror may be said to remember that ancient monarch.

To pass over the imperfection, or rather the absurdity of this account of memory, let us consider whether, even in this extravagant attempt to confound it with conception, Doctor Brown has not himself actually distinguished it from that faculty. He says, memory is "conception, combined with the relation of antecedence." This combination, then, *must* make it essentially different; and if it be thus different on his own showing, why will he persist that it is the same?

It is thus, then, that he has dealt with memory in his confusion of the faculties; and we think, after this specimen, we shall be readily excused for declining to enter upon any account of what he says of conception, imagination, and the other powers of the mind, in his attempt to reduce them all to what he calls the principle of simple suggestion. He uses suggestion and conception very often as convertible terms; and, as we have seen, makes memory to be the same with conception or suggestion. Imagination he disposes of in the same way—saying, that "it (imagination) does not imply any new or peculiar faculty distinguishable from suggestion." We can hardly imagine any metaphysical paradox too extravagant for the gentleman who could gravely maintain this. It would of course follow, that, as memory and imagination are each of them identified with suggestion, they must be identified with each other: and if the intellects of rational men were really, as Doctor

Brown supposed, reduced to this comfortable state, we might either be said to imagine a thing which we clearly remember, or to remember that which we only imagine.

Let it not be supposed that this is pushing to absurdity a doctrine which the author never intended to carry so far; or that anything has been exaggerated or withheld for the purpose of making it ridiculous. We have stated the propositions in the very words of the ingenious author; nor have we drawn from them any consequences which are not involved or (more frequently) stated in those propositions themselves, and in the reasoning on which he supports them.

We think it needless to proceed farther in the examination of this peculiar intellectual system, because the other new doctrines which it contains are no more than the consequences of those which we have already noticed. In the lectures which treat of the emotions, there is little to attract our attention; and in those which follow, on the General Principles of Morals, we recollect nothing to call for any particular observations. Something of the same ambitious spirit of innovation runs through every part of the work. He endeavours to prove that the feeling of moral approbation is a distinct emotion, "or vivid sentiment;" and, in his ethical speculations, he reviews, very ably, the various systems of morality.

It is certainly no part of the general character of these lectures, that they are wanting in candour, or in respect to the authority of venerable names. They even abound with many amiable professions of candour and liberality towards the advocates of doctrines which the author endeavours to refute. It has, therefore, surprised us to find that almost the only instances in which he has deviated from this general practice, has been in some of his observations on the doctrines of Locke and Reid. He uses the names of these philosophers more lightly than has been done by those who have been more vehement and indiscriminate in controverting their opinions. One of Doctor Brown's lectures is devoted to an examination of "Doctor Reid's *supposed* confutation of the ideal system." The reasons on which he founds his opinion that the ideal system was not actually confuted by Doctor Reid are—1st. Because that system was not in fact adopted by Locke, or the other philosophers to whom it has been ascribed; and, 2dly. Because Doctor Reid's notions on the subject were confused, by his not being sufficiently in the habit of considering the human mind as a mere sequence of states and changes, such as it has been described in these lectures.

As to the last of these reasons, we may safely say that there are none of the disciples of Locke or Reid who will not rea-

dily admit that they were totally destitute of the habit of viewing the human mind in any such light. And as to the alleged confusion which the want of that habit may occasion, it is what nobody, less clear-sighted in Doctor Brown's system than himself, can by any means discover. The only material allegation is, that Locke and the others did not, in fact, entertain any such doctrines, as to ideas, as have been imputed to them by Doctor Reid. If this be really true, then, surely, their reputation has very unjustly suffered, and Doctor Reid has had the merit of that which he did not deserve. But the fact is quite otherwise; and this is so notorious, that we cannot but wonder that Doctor Brown should have endeavoured to disprove it. He does so by quoting various passages from Mr. Locke's *Essay*, and others, in which the same doctrines, as to perception, are stated as those which were entertained by Doctor Reid himself, and in which the word *idea* is used, as signifying nothing distinct from the external object. This only proves that their errors were such, that they could not be maintained throughout the whole of their works, but, that upon occasions, the truth must inevitably break in. And the same thing may be observed in the most erroneous philosophical speculations; the same thing may be observed in the very work of Doctor Brown, which is now before us. This only shows it to be impossible that error can always be consistent.

But to say that Mr. Locke did not talk of ideas, as real images in the mind, or traces in the brain, as something separate and distinct from the external object,—to say that he did not confound sensation and perception in the most important passages of his book,—to say that Bishop Berkeley and Mr. Hume did not argue upon those errors to disprove the existence of a material world,—is to say what is expressly contrary to fact, and what a simple reference to their writings must immediately contradict.* Doctor Brown does not venture to say so much,

* No one who is at all conversant with metaphysics can be insensible to the obligations which are due to Mr. Locke and Dr. Reid. They are the two master spirits of that branch of philosophy. But a most absurd blunder has been committed by a writer in the last number of the *Quarterly Review*, who, upon so extensive an acquaintance with the works of Dr. Reid as a perusal of his *Inquiry into the Human Mind*, has taken upon himself to decry the whole system of Dr. Reid's philosophy, as being opposed to that of Mr. Locke! His knowledge of Des Cartes, Malebranche, and the others, is equally correct. Notwithstanding the present distaste for metaphysics, we were not prepared for such surpassing ignorance as this. It is scarcely credible that any man should venture to write on such a subject, without being acquainted with the great works of Dr. Reid,—his *Essays on the Intellectual and Active Powers of the Human Mind*. We have little doubt that this notable writer is the same person who, in the same Review, some years ago, boldly affirmed that Dr. Reid had conceded too much to Bishop Berkeley, and Mr. Hume, and that the ideal theory might be refuted without having recourse to that

but merely quotes insulated passages, such as we have mentioned. If then, in fact, these errors were committed by these writers, they were justly imputed to them by Doctor Reid; and if the imputation was just, and these doctrines were really maintained, the author of the lecture "on the supposed confutation," does not venture to contend that the confutation itself is not satisfactory and complete.

This instance of unfairness towards an eminent philosopher, perfectly unintentional and undesigned, as we believe it to be, is one among the many instances of the perplexities and confusion which are always incident to metaphysical disquisitions. The utmost candour is no security against injustice to an antagonist, nor the utmost caution against mistakes in our own reasoning. Of the truth of this we had another lively instance in the errors and confusion, as to language, which we discovered in examining these lectures, even after the strong expressions which the author himself had repeatedly used, as to the dangerous consequences of such mistakes. The view of these errors, and the difficulty, amounting almost to impossibility, of avoiding them, seems enough to terrify us from entering upon such discussions. There is a passage in Mr. Hume's *Treatise on Human Nature*, in which he has expressed himself so beautifully on this subject that we cannot refrain from quoting it. There is something in it which amounts so much to a confession of the fallacy of his own system, that we are at a loss whether most to admire its eloquence, or the affecting picture which it gives of the state of mind which the sceptical philosophy always tends to produce:

"Methinks I am like a man who having struck on many shoals, and having narrowly escaped shipwreck in passing a small firth, has yet the temerity to put out to sea in the same leaky weather-beaten vessel, and even carries his ambition so far as to think of compassing the globe under these disadvantageous circumstances. My memory of past errors makes me diffident for the future. The wretched condition, weakness, and disorder of the faculties which I must employ in my inquiries, increase my apprehensions; and the impossibility of amending or correcting those faculties, reduces me almost to despair, and makes me resolve to perish on the barren rock on which I am at present, rather than venture myself upon that boundless ocean which runs out into immensity.

"This sudden view of my danger strikes me with melancholy; and as 'tis usual for that passion above all others to indulge itself, I cannot

original principle in the mind which impresses us with an irresistible belief in axioms and necessary truths. With this extent of learning, and this power of understanding, this gentleman comes forth as an antagonist to Mr. Dugald Stewart! By the time that he has overthrown the philosophy of Locke and Reid, and that Sir Richard Phillips has extinguished the Newtonian System, philosophy will be in a flourishing state.

forbear feeding my despair with all those desponding reflections which the present subject furnishes me with in such abundance. I am first affrighted and confounded with that forlorn solitude in which I am placed by my philosophy, and fancy myself some strange uncouth monster, who, not being able to unite and mingle in society, has been expelled all human commerce, and left utterly abandoned and disconsolate. Fain would I run into the crowd for shelter and warmth, but cannot prevail with myself to mix with such deformity. I call upon others to join me in order to make a company apart, but no one will hearken to me. Every one keeps at a distance, and dreads the storm that beats upon me from every side. * * * *

* * * * Every step I take is with hesitation; and every new reflection makes me dread an error and inconsistency in my reasoning. * * * Can I be sure that in leaving all established opinions I am following the truth; and by what criterion shall I distinguish her, even if fortune should at last guide me on her footsteps. * * * *

* * * The intense view of these manifold contradictions and imperfections in human reason has so wrought upon me, and heated my brain, that I am ready to reject all belief and reasoning, and can look upon no opinion even as more probable or likely than another. Where am I, or what? From what causes do I derive my existence, and to what condition shall I return? Whose favour must I court, and whose anger must I dread? What beings surround me? On whom have I any influence, or who have any influence on me? I am confounded with all these questions, and begin to fancy myself in the most deplorable condition imaginable, environed with the deepest darkness, and utterly deprived of the use of every member and faculty."

But scepticism is no part of the system of Doctor Brown, though he has followed many of the errors of the sceptic, and, as it were, grafted them upon a dogmatism of his own. For, laying aside the able and ingenious ethical disquisitions contained in these lectures, when we consider those in which the intellectual system of the author is developed, when we consider that it is the same system which was taught for several years, *ex cathedra*, in the University of Edinburgh, we can have but a poor opinion of the progress of intellectual philosophy among those by whom it is most assiduously cultivated. If Doctor Brown could have succeeded in establishing his doctrines as to power and causation, he would certainly have brought back the science pretty much to the state in which it was left by Mr. Hume before his speculations were confuted. All the benefits derived from the works of Doctor Reid would have gone for nothing, and little would have remained of the labours of Mr. Dugald Stewart but the aggravation of some of his mistakes.

We have now done with this system, which is founded on the principle of confusing all the faculties of the human mind, and

stripping them of the power of voluntary operation. The impression which remains on our minds is not such as would incline us very sharply to blame the prevailing distaste for metaphysical speculations.

When we look around and observe what the questions are which still engage the attention of philosophers, it would seem as if this opinion of the present backward state of knowledge must be confirmed in our minds. Are there not, even among the learned, some who still advocate the ideal system, and follow the scepticism of Hume? When Doctor Reid wrote, he mentioned materialism as an error so thoroughly exploded, that he conceived no future philosopher could attempt to maintain it, and he therefore passed from it, saying, it was a thing "too absurd to admit of reasoning" in the state at which philosophy had arrived in his time. And yet, even in these very days, this exploded doctrine has been revived by men who pass for philosophers; and the best abilities have lately been employed in the refutation of this error, which the refined and subtle speculators of the last century considered so gross, that it shocked their understandings. Thus we see, on all sides, the most opposite errors so perseveringly maintained, and the most established truths so often drawn into question, that we are led almost despairingly to doubt whether philosophy is really much farther advanced than in the barbarous ages. It seems still clouded with uncertainties, and is still agitated by a continuance of the oldest disputes.

A comparison, however, of the state of metaphysics, with the state in which we see the various branches of natural philosophy, of which the progress can with more certainty be known, than in the vast and boundless regions of intellect, serves to correct the despondency which is excited by the view of these continued aberrations. In natural science, as well as in the philosophy of mind, we soon discover that no length of time, during which truths have been established, is a security against the questionings and disputes of obstinate, pugnacious, and presumptuous men. It was but very lately that a book was actually published as a confutation of some of the fundamental principles of the Newtonian philosophy; and other instances of similar extravagancies, even in natural philosophy, will constantly occur. It is not, therefore, to be concluded, from the existence of such controversies, that science is making no progress in the world. For if it be a reproach against any branch of philosophy that its most fundamental truths continue to be questioned, it is a reproach from which none has hitherto escaped: and if it were reasonable to think that every such controversy brings the whole science back to the contro-

verted point, and that it can advance no farther, till every such disputant is silenced, all the vigour of the human understanding would be miserably wasted, and the first step of knowledge would be also its last.

But it is so ordered, that this perverted spirit of disputation has a very different effect. Presumptuous denials of established truths cause the foundations on which these truths rest, to be more broadly and deeply laid. Out of controversies apparently vexatious and perplexing, new lights are thrown upon science. The examination of every error exposes at the same time the causes which have produced it, and therefore teaches how it is to be avoided: by the removal of the apparent obstacles which such obstinate disputes must occasionally raise, the means of further progress are discovered; the way becomes more broad and more safe for the advancement of true philosophy.

ART. XV.—GREEK LITERATURE.

1. *Essays on the Institutions, Government, and Manners of the States of Ancient Greece.* By Henry David Hill, D. D., Professor of Greek in the University of St. Andrew's. 12mo. London.
2. *Substance of Lectures on the Ancient Greeks, and on the Revival of Greek learning in Europe.* By the late Andrew Dalzel, A. M., &c., Professor of Greek in the University of Edinburgh. 2 vols. 8vo. Edinburgh. 1821.

THE ingenious authors of these treatises have been successively called to a state in which they are alike indifferent to praise or censure. A comparison of their performances has, therefore, become a less invidious task. From respect, however, to those who represent them, and, probably, feel an interest in their memories, we should have been pleased to have been able to assign them an equal rank in the roll of literary fame. But it cannot be. Dr. Hill's book would be unjustly treated were it classed no higher than that of the late Professor Dalzel, to which it is, in every way, a very superior performance.

But while we thus pronounce in favour of Dr. Hill's *Essays*, and declare our disappointment in Professor Dalzel's *Lectures*, considering them wholly unworthy of the high reputation which placed him, during his life, amongst the first scholars of the country, candour requires us to remark, that much of that disappointment may be owing to exorbitant and

unreasonable expectation. They are distinguished by several circumstances which ought to soften critical animadversion. Lectures upon Greek literature, compiled for a class of youthful auditors, can be expected to be no more than elementary aids,—hints for thinking, and outlines for reading, to be afterwards filled up by diligence, rather than a regular and systematic course of instruction. In addition to these suggestions, it would be unfair were we to overlook the state of classical learning in the northern division of the kingdom, compared with the progress made in those studies at our own Universities. The youth who attend the lectures of a Greek Professor, at a Scottish University, are still "*super elementa volitantes*."

"At the period," says the editor, "during which my father filled the Greek chair in the University of Edinburgh, there was little instruction given to the boys at many of the public schools, but the dry and repulsive communication of the Latin language. This they were forced to learn by means of severe corporal discipline, and hardly any attempt was made to lead the youthful mind to a gradual perception of the beauty of classic diction and sentiment. The boy, when released from the restraint of school, was consequently too often induced to throw aside, in disgust, what was associated in his mind, only with the idea of suffering. At school, there was either no instruction given in the Greek at all, or the rudiments of it only were imperfectly taught; so that the duty of a Greek Professor was one of no small labour; he had to communicate *the language from its very elements*; he had to do away the repugnance acquired at school to classical study, and had to instil into the minds of the youth, the delight, as well as the improvement to be derived from the rational contemplation and study of the ancients."—(Pref. p. 5.)

In truth this, as an excuse for the trite and superficial character of these lectures, is much more admissible than the fact stated by Mr. Dalzel, that they were never intended for publication;—a worn out apology, and no sufficient plea of exemption from the jurisdiction of the critic. It might, and indeed properly might, have influenced the editor, while his father's manuscripts were yet slumbering in their dusty repose. But a book, once published, stands for judgment according to its deserts, and he who drew it from the safety of its asylum, ought to have had before his eyes the consequences which he deprecates.

*Delere libet
Quod non edideris; nescit vox missa reverti.*

But Mr. Dalzel seems impatient to destroy even this doubtful claim to indulgence: in a few sentences onwards he forgets the modest extenuations which he had urged for the defects of the publication, and proffers it "*as not unimportant to those who have passed the period of academical tuition*."

Such, then, being the test by which we are to estimate its value, it would be a false courtesy to suppress the conviction which a deliberate perusal of it has left upon our minds,—that it will be found less instructive than the editor supposes, as well to those who are actually proceeding through their academic discipline, as to those who have already passed it. We anticipate disappointment to the ingenious student, who may be attracted by the splendid promise held out in the distribution of subjects with which the professor commences his lectures;—viz. “The Political Situation of the Greeks, comprehending an Introductory History of Greece, and a retrospective View of Manners, Arts, and Sciences, during its several periods; the Manners, Character, and Religion of the Greeks; their Polite Learning, comprising Investigations on Grammar, Language, and Poetry, and the revival of Greek Learning in Europe.”

We do not, indeed, exact from such a course of lectures, deep or original disquisition, or a series of profound and philosophical thinking. But, from a man of Professor Dalzel's acquirements, we certainly looked for elegant and striking disquisitions upon known and established positions, correct views of the domestic life, and enlarged and liberal surveys of the political institutions of the wonderful people, whose history and literature he undertook to elucidate. In justification of our strictures, we will select his opening remarks upon Grecian History, and we will ask whether the rawest, and most inexperienced tyro of the second or third form, would not receive so *jejune* a collection of truisms as an affront to his understanding.”

“Ancient Greece, small as it was in extent, rose to a degree of splendour, in point of the improvement of the human mind, to which no other nation ever attained; and gave birth to a greater number of illustrious men than has been produced by any one nation that ever existed. Poets, orators, philosophers, warriors, artists,—in all these Greece stands unrivalled, and reflects the highest glory upon human nature. But such is the nature of human affairs, that no one government, or political society, has been known to subsist constantly, but all have been either destroyed or changed. Greece has undergone the same fate with others: and that once accomplished nation is now no longer what it was in the days of Lycurgus, Themistocles, or Epaminondas.”—(Vol. i. p. 12.)

Was it a maxim, then, of Mr. Dalzel's theory of institution, that the youthful capacity is incapable of receiving stronger aliment than that which was thus served up to it in such miserable scraps of common place? But the same triteness of remark, and the same absence of thinking characterize the whole of this book. He seems to coast timidly along, fearful of losing sight of those indisputable truths, and fixed opinions which have been

repeated, from time immemorial, by the numerous class of preceptors, who, being too indolent to think themselves, have found it convenient to consider themselves as addressing understandings equally indisposed to thinking. Like the man described by Dr. Johnson in his *Idler*, they have thus, on all occasions, come forth as the steady assertors of uncontroverted and incontrovertible truths. Not that this cautious course has always proved a security against mistakes. The Professor has proved the contrary in his summary of Grecian history, in which we find the following remark.

“ We may safely say, that the different periods which we have thus sketched out, compose a history which, of all others, exhibits the most finished pictures of human genius, and is, therefore, next to our own history, the most interesting and instructive. Some of the Roman writers have, indeed, insinuated that the Greeks are much indebted for their glory to their own historians, who have transmitted them to posterity, embellishing all their actions with the finest eloquence and strongest panegyric. But this may have been said by the Romans, from a malicious intention of extenuating that lustre which it was not in their power by their own deeds to obscure. And with respect to the reflection cast upon Greece, by Juvenal, *Quicquid Græcia mendax audet in historiâ*,—this alludes rather to the fabulous times of Greece, and is spoken in the spirit of satire. The veracity of the Greek historians, at least in relating the events that happened during the ages of Grecian liberty and glory, is sufficiently to be depended upon. As to the first age, which we have denominated the rise of the Greeks, and which is generally known by the name of the fabulous and heroic times, this very last-mentioned appellation shows, that historians do not mean to impose upon mankind, as strictly true, the events which they narrate as having then happened.—(Vol. i. p. 18, 19.)

The whole of this passage is as clumsy in diction as it is erroneous in fact and reasoning. A classical tutor, of humbler attainments than those of Mr. Dalzel, ought to have been aware that the *Grecia mendax* of Juvenal does not allude to the fabulous times of Greece, but to known and authenticated periods of her history: for the times of Xerxes and Themistocles are not fabulous; and the satyrist is speaking of the exaggerations with which, in his day, it was supposed that the Grecian narratives of the Persian invasion were blended. We will quote the entire passage:

..... creditur olim,
Velificatus Athos et quicquid Græcia mendax
Audet in historiâ, constratum classibus idem
Suppositumque rotis solidum mare.

But in selecting the celebrated canal cut through Mount Athos as an exemplification of the Greek propensity to historical

falsehood, Juyenal was himself in an error. There is scarcely any circumstance in the history of that expedition more satisfactorily proved than the construction of that canal. It is recorded by Herodotus.* Thucydides speaks of it as a well-known occurrence, and that writer lived a considerable time in Thrace. It is mentioned by Plato,† also by Isocrates‡ and Lyaias, as unquestionable, and the latter adds, that it was still, in his time, a matter of common conversation. Diodorus is equally positive in his testimony, and, although that part of Strabo is lost which contained his geographical and historical account of Thrace, the canal is mentioned in the epitome of his work. The place, moreover, was so completely in the heart of the surrounding Greek settlements (there having been at that time no fewer than five Grecian towns on the peninsula itself of Athos, and one even on the isthmus, described by Thucydides to be on the borders of the canal), that it seems absolutely absurd to suppose that such a report, if unfounded, could have acquired credit or circulation. Nor is there the slightest improbability in the circumstance. In later periods, arbitrary sovereigns, having an unlimited command of labour and population, have left behind them much more stupendous monuments of ambition or folly. But, in truth, it was a wise and politic enterprise. "To cross the Ægean even now," says Mr. Mitford,|| "with all the modern improvements in navigation is singularly dangerous. To double the Cape of Athos is still more formidable. The object, therefore, being to add the countries west of the Ægean Sea to the Persian dominion, it was of no small consequence to lessen the danger and delays of the passage for a fleet."

These specimens will satisfy the reader as to Professor Ditzel's qualifications for historical criticism. But such is the despatch with which the analysis of Grecian history is executed, that this important and interesting subject, by means of a machinery for the abridgement of labour, almost peculiar to this lecturer, is dismissed in little more than eighteen pages; and of these no slight space is occupied by needless repetitions and sentimental flourishes in so bad a taste as to perplex us in assigning them to an author who, from the daily course of his studies, and the early predilections of his life, ought to have been too much tinctured by the great models about which he was conversant, to be betrayed into puerilities so inconsistent with their style and spirit. To this breathless rapidity, we suppose, must be traced the slight, flimsy, unreflecting view of the first age of Greece, which he denominates the *rise of the Greeks*, and that unsound and

* 1. 7. c. 22.

† De legibus, 1. 3.

‡ Panegy. p. 272, t. 1.

|| Hist. of Greece, vol. ii. p. 111. 8vo.

unphilosophical confusion of the fabulous and heroic times, which almost amounts to downright ignorance of the subject.

The heroic ages were not fabulous. The student who, in the very vestibule, as it were, of Grecian history, should be induced to dismiss from his mind, as so much fable, those ages which are called heroic, would lose an ir retrievable opportunity of contemplating the most interesting pictures of the gradual development of human societies which the history of man can supply; a most rare and invaluable commentary upon the natural powers of his species in their first struggles with the necessities which surrounded them, and by which life is solaced, and society civilized. It is absurd to reject it because it is mixed with fable and poetry. The spirit of philosophical disquisition is never more usefully applied to human learning, than in selecting from the mingled mass of tradition and fiction those important inductions which terminate in a sober and steady degree of qualified belief, sufficient to afford us general and comprehensive views of human history. Could Professor Dalzel have been ignorant how much delineation and portraiture—how large a variety of lines and tints, as it were—how many shades and streaks of the first dawnings of civility and refinement he has expunged from his tablet, by passing over those ages (those for instance, from the arrival of Pelops to the death of Codrus) as the dreams of poesy and fable? Was he not aware that the void is filled up by numerous authors, who dedicated their lives to the antiquities of their nation? Was he unmindful of the striking, but exact testimonies of Homer, the father of poetry, we had nearly said of history; of Hesiod; of the tragic and comic poets; of Strabo and Pausanias; but, above all, of the valuable summary of the early affairs of Greece prefixed to his history by Thucydides?

In truth the absence of this species of disquisition is a defect the more to be regretted, inasmuch as the early Grecian story takes up human society in a stage so perfectly infantine. It is the process from the cradle to the forum. The genius of Tacitus traced the first rudiments of political constitutions and social manners in the forests of Germany; and his portraiture of that rude, but not barbarous state, is probably the most finished sketch that history, or rather philosophy, has preserved to us. But some progress had been made in the necessary arts and institutions of life, before the picture bequeathed by his vigorous pencil opens to our view; whereas in Greece, the inventions and the inventors are alike consecrated by the grateful hand of tradition and history. How rarely is it that the history of nations sets out with the advance of man from a state anterior to agriculture? In Greece the benefactor of his species who first

taught his rude countrymen to exchange the scorn for the nutritious grain,

Chaosiam pingui glandens mutavit aristâ

the penetrating and sagacious legislator, who, by instituting the marriage contract, placed under the mild yoke of social manners the most indomitable of the passions; and the enlightened ruler, who imported the knowledge of the East into Boeotia, and taught the mind its sublimest operation by arresting the evanescent speech, and embodying it in determinate characters,—have, in the persons of Cecrops and Cadmus, fixed those epochs to which the philosopher must refer when he traces the history of man.

Much contradiction and much uncertainty overshadows, it is true, the commencement of Grecian history; but there is abundant matter for a comprehensive and philosophical outline. The origin of that nation was by no means splendid. It was a mere trading establishment, what in modern language is called a factory, formed by the Phenicians, who carried on their commerce by means of similar settlements on the coasts of the Peloponnesus, of Attica, of Boeotia, of Thessaly, and those of Asia-Minor and in the adjacent islands. Far from being powerful, and with a population by no means adequate to the extent of their enterprises, they seem never to have had recourse to arms when they first founded their colonies. This pacific habitude was for a long time the chief element of the early Greek character. It is for this reason that the history of the first five centuries of that nation is a monotonous succession of events barren alike of materials for poesy and history. In truth, the historical matter of this period is supplied chiefly by genealogy. Thus Homer, when he has occasion to speak of Æneas, ascends as far as Dardanus; and when he mentions Glaucus, he traces his family up to Sisyphus;—and it is probable that he would have completed his genealogical tables of the heroes, whom he commemorates in his catalogue of the ships, had they not been already executed by Hesiod. A state of things so tranquil, barren as it is for history, is favourable to the prosperity and increase of mankind. About sixty years before the Trojan war, so great was the population of European Greece, that expeditions were undertaken for the purpose of diminishing its redundancy; and this in all probability led to the Argonautic enterprise—the original purpose of which was a commercial intercourse with the savage tribes that inhabited the shores of the Euxine; an object which was defeated by dissensions and strifes amongst the leaders. This expedition ushers in a brilliant but disastrous epoch—and Greece, exhausted by

perpetual wars, did not recover for many centuries. It must be during this interval, between the return of the Argonauts and the Trojan war, that the war between the Etolians and the inhabitants of Calydon, poetically shadowed in the story of the Wild Boar, which the princes of the country assembled to extirpate, and that of the Lapithæ and the Centaurs, ought to be dated. Nor are the capture and pillage of Iolchos by Peleus and the Dioscuri, the two Theban wars, and the several adventures of Hercules in the Peloponnesus, consistently with any sound rules of chronology, assignable to any other period. It was, in truth, to Hercules that the Greeks were indebted for that confederation and unanimity which enabled them to bring such vast resources to the siege of Troy: for it was that warrior, or adventurer, who united the various population of Greece under the sway of the kings of Argos; and when Agamemnon, who had succeeded to the dominion and states of Eurystheus, determined to carry the war into Asia-Minor, he found no difficulty in persuading the other sovereigns to combine their forces with his, and to concede to him the general command of the army.

It is not improbable that the rape of Helen was merely the avowed pretext of the quarrel. Its principal object seems to have been the establishment of new settlements by the European Greeks, who were now experiencing the ills of an exuberant population in a bounded and by no means fertile territory: an inference furnished us by the poem upon the Trojan war, attributed to Stasinus of Cyprus, and commonly called the Cyprian verses.* He begins his work by describing a council of the gods, in which the birth of Helen was decreed; an event which would necessarily be the source of a long and bloody strife between Europe and Asia, but which was deemed advisable in consequence of the complaints and petitions of Terra, who found herself overcharged with inhabitants. Of this expedition the issue is well known. Troy was taken and pillaged, and Greece was exhausted by her efforts to keep an army on foot of 100,000 men. The war was indeed over, but peace was not restored. The Grecians, unable to retain their conquests, returned to their respective countries, from which they were soon afterwards driven, either by more powerful neighbours, or by factions which had grown up during their absence.

To condense what is chiefly requisite to a general and enlightened view of early Greece, from that blended chaos of fable and history, which the learned Professor seems to have considered as involved in cimmerian darkness; by doing which essential and leading facts are presented

* Strabo, 16.

in a shape and compass at once perceptible and tangible, divested of the accessory and unsubstantial tracery with which the warm fancy of poets, or the unfaithful hand of mythology, has embellished them, is one of the most useful offices which can be performed by the instructors of youth. Indeed it seems quite inexcusable to have omitted all allusion to the effects produced by the war of Troy upon the growing civilization of Greece, which, in skilful hands, though lightly touched or cursorily examined, would have tended to throw many lights across the darkness in which her annals are involved from the times of Homer to those of Pisistratus. Nor is one word said respecting that which is the lamp of history—chronology. One, or even two lectures might have been dedicated (and, for a similar omission, Dr. Hill also has to answer,) to a subject essentially interwoven with historical studies, and no apology can justify the entire pretermission: for, although some distaste for this forbidding but necessary pursuit is not to be severely visited upon a man of elegant acquirements, who may be pardoned for not having perplexed himself and his class in the labyrinths of the opposite and conflicting systems of Newton and Freret, yet, as history cannot be read without some system of chronology, the merits of their respective calculations might have been summed up in a few pages, and in a way intelligible to less disciplined understandings than those of a Greek class of young men at an University. Had Professor Dalzel felt a becoming solicitude as to this part of his duty, he would probably have hesitated in affixing the period of Homer to 340 years after the destruction of Troy. Dr. Hill's correcter apprehension deduces an inference respecting that period which is probably nearer the truth. "From the constant coincidence," he remarks, "of Homer's view of manners with those which prevailed during the Trojan war; from a passage in the *Iliad*, which insinuates that he lived at the same time with the grand children of Æneas; and, in particular, from his making no allusion to the return of the Heraclidæ, which happened eighty years after the taking of Troy, there can be little doubt that he flourished only about sixty years after the events which he describes." (Hill's *Essays*, p. 18; 19.) It is, indeed, a question which has been much agitated by critics and scholars; yet we cannot abstain from selecting a few of the proofs on which Dr. Hill's inference is founded, and into which his plan, by reason of its extent and variety, forbade him to enter.

Were the life of Homer,* which has been attributed to Herodotus, deserving of credit, there would be an end of the dispute.

* Vide Herodotus. Edit. Weesseling, in not. prim.

But, abandoning that ground, and resorting only to the testimony of his general history, we find that, although he fixes no precise term for the Trojan war, he states that the father of poetry lived 400 years before his own age.* With respect to the time from that war to the age of Homer, there are passages in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* that speak affirmatively upon the subject. In the first book of the latter poem it is remarked, that those are the fittest subjects for poetic commemoration, which are recent; but that those of older date are heard inattentively. Now if this aphorism, which is put into the mouth of Telamonius, is to be considered as the sentiment of the poet, it is not likely that, in contradiction of his own theory, he would have selected for celebration those affairs of his country which happened three or four centuries before he wrote. But a passage in the *Iliad*, which has been much wrested from its import, in order to show that Homer lived at a period considerably later than the siege of Troy, and on which Thucydides has built the same deduction,—the invocation in the second book of the *Iliad*, which precedes the catalogue of the ships, although it proves that Homer did not live absolutely in those times, proves almost conclusively that he must at least have lived so near them “that it might have been almost doubted,” says Mr. Mitford, † “if his early youth had not been passed in them.” “We have these things,” says the bard, ‡ “only by report, *αὐδ᾽ ἴδμεν*, and not of our own knowledge.” But, if it had been a notorious fact on the contrary that the events of that war were so remotely anterior to the poet who sung them, why is he solicitous to convey to his auditors so superfluous an intimation? It may be rationally conjectured, also, that, having been born so near the period of those events, if he had not declared the contrary, it might have been imagined that he pretended to be an eyewitness of the war which he describes, and that he was anxious to contradict a natural inference; for it is not usual to contradict what could not be supposed. The other passage of the *Iliad*, § to which Dr. Hill refers respecting the descendants of Æneas, is a striking confirmation of the theory. It does not appear, however, that the poet, as the St. Andrew’s Professor imagines, was contemporary with the grand-children of Æneas. Literally interpreted, Neptune’s prophecy “that Æneas shall reign over the Trojans, and the sons of his sons, and those who shall be born after them,” interposes another link or two in the chain of descent, and marks the precise number of generations from Æneas to the time of Homer.

* Herod. 1, 2. c. 53.

† Grecian History, Appendix to chapter 3.

‡ *Iliad*, l. 2, v. 486, 487.

§ *Iliad*, l. 20, v. 308.

Nor is this internal evidence all. There is a species of negative demonstration deducible from his works, which speaks still more strongly. Dr. Hill justly adverts to "his making no allusion to the return of the Heraclidæ, which happened eighty years after the taking of Troy;" and we regret that the Doctor did not take more pains to unfold what we have always considered as an unanswerable argument. Had the poet lived after that great revolution, which effected a total change of affairs through the whole Grecian peninsula, it would surely have furnished to his Greek hearers a much more interesting subject of song than the "Tale of Troy divine." At least it is hardly conceivable that he should never have once alluded to so memorable an event, "by which," says Mr. Mitford, "so total an alteration was made of the principal families, and of the whole population of Peloponnesus, and indeed of all the western coast of Asia-Minor, with the adjacent islands." Homer's geography of that country also is so exact, that Strabo follows him from the remotest antiquity; and yet, whilst in his catalogue, he indulges in more than one mournful reflection upon the vicissitudes which had fallen upon the great families of Greece, not a single exclamation escapes him concerning the pathetic fates of the Pelopids and the Neleids. To this conclusive evidence we must add his silence concerning the new forms of political society, which arose at the period vulgarly assigned to his existence, republics, and tyrannies, concerning which this most observant of historians is completely silent. Nor does he once adopt a general name for the Greek nation, or advert to its division into Ionian, Æolian, and Dorian. Of the council of Amphictions he is moreover silent; and, while he seems familiarly acquainted with Sidon, he makes no mention whatever of Tyre.

One of the most interesting anomalies in the history of ancient times is the legislation of Lycurgus; it involves all the most momentous principles of municipal law and domestic polity, but it has been passed over by the Edinburgh Professor with his usual negligence and rapidity. It exhibits a rare phenomenon in the affairs of Greece,—a system of polity which subsisted in its original soundness and integrity for upwards of seven hundred years, and has been deservedly regarded by orators, philosophers, and historians, as among the most striking monuments of human genius. It was, no doubt, to the salutary, though somewhat despotic authority of the Ephori, and to the *ἐπιθλασία*, a law which prohibited intercourse with foreigners by rigorously excluding them from Sparta, and interdicting their entrance into its dominions, that she owed the duration and compactness of her polity. Dr. Hill concludes his review of the Lacedæmonian

institutions with the following just and philosophical reflections judiciously borrowed from the French Anacharsis.*

"The eminence of the Spartans in war bore ample testimony to the efficacy of the means employed for this end by Lycurgus. The Athenians, fond as they were of military fame, always acknowledged the superiority of that people in the field. By the dread of incurring their displeasure, the Lacedæmonians often disarmed the most powerful confederacies; and so much were they accustomed to victories, that they heard of them with indifference, and scarcely deigned to bestow a reward on the messengers by whom the tidings of them were brought.

"Though the ability, with which Lycurgus made all his institutions conspire to accomplish the ends which he had in view, be deserving of admiration, it must be allowed that the principle upon which the whole of his system was founded is completely erroneous. In a rude state of society, man is little superior to the animal creation, and derives very inconsiderable advantage from the powers of reason by which he is distinguished. It is at the period when his understanding is enlightened by science; when he becomes capable of investigating the operations of his own mind, and the nature and qualities of the objects around him; when by his ingenuity and industry he changes the face of nature, and makes every thing contribute to the convenience and comfort of life; it is then surely that he appears in the most favourable colours, and approaches most nearly to the perfection of his nature. The study of science, so severely proscribed by Lycurgus, has no tendency unfavourable to virtue. It moderates the violence of passion; inspires a taste for innocent and elegant enjoyments; and banishes the desire of the vicious indulgences, which, in a rude state of society, form the principal happiness of man. Even improvement in the arts does not necessarily corrupt the heart. In those who profess them they produce habits of industry and economy, and prevent the pernicious effects with which, in uncivilized ages, excessive indolence is almost always attended. If in the higher classes of society they give rise to luxury; yet luxury, that is, a taste for the elegancies of life, is not in itself an evil. By giving employment to numbers, who in a ruder period would have had no means of subsistence, it increases the population of a country; and is vicious in those who indulge in it only when it occupies too much of their time and attention, or interferes with the discharge of the active duties of life. This then was the first defect in the institutions of Lycurgus. The evils which he dreaded from refinement of manners were imaginary; while, to avoid them, he counteracted the progress which society is perpetually making in the improvement of art and of science, and prevented his countrymen from ever attaining to the dignity and perfection of the nature of man.

"But this was not the greatest error in the system of Lycurgus. The

* Voyage de Jeune Anacharsis, tom. 4.

manners of all uncivilized nations are tinged with ferocity. The individuals of whom they are composed, ignorant of the rights of others, and occupied with the supply of their personal wants, think not of the demands which men have on the kindness of each other; while their rude employments, and the many hardships to which they themselves are often exposed, steel their hearts against the feelings of compassion. It is philosophy which points out the relations in which we stand to each other; which shows the advantages at all times attendant on clemency, and which thus softens the tempers, and humanizes the manners of men. The military character of the Spartans, and the wars in which it often involved them, increased the ferocity resulting from their ignorance of art and of science. Accustomed from their youth to scenes of carnage and horror, they became callous to the finer emotions of the heart, and knew not what it was to feel for the distresses of others.

"From nature women possess a higher degree of gentleness, humanity, and benevolence, than men; and in barbarous ages have sometimes contributed to soften the ruggedness of their manners. At Sparta, women could produce no such effect. Educated together with the men, trained to the same exercises and hardships, they seem to have contracted no less ferocity. What shall we think of women who could rejoice at the death of their sons, if, upon inspection, they found their wounds to be honourable, and could even murder with their own hands such of their children as had fled in battle! The barbarity of the manners of the Spartans was such as these circumstances would lead us to expect. To secure to their citizens a vigour of constitution, they were accustomed to kill immediately after their birth the children who had any appearance of weakness or delicacy; and with the intention of inuring the youth to pain, they on certain occasions scourged them with such severity, that some of them have been known to expire. It is in their conduct to the Helots, those slaves whom they employed in the cultivation of the ground, that we behold the most disgusting display of a ferocity of disposition. Not content with having deprived them of liberty, they were wont to treat them with all the wantonness of oppression. They did not allow them to sing the hymns in praise of valour which formed the delight of the citizens. They annually inflicted on them a number of stripes, to remind them of their condition, and break the independence of their spirits; and they sometimes forced them to drink to excess, that they might exhibit to the youth an example of the effects of intemperance. The cruelty of the Spartans was often of a still blacker dye. They privately put to death the Helots, who displayed uncommon strength of body or generosity of mind. To accustom the youth to stratagem, they sometimes placed them in ambuscade, and allowed them to murder the slaves who passed near the place where they lay concealed; and when the number of these unfortunate men threatened the state with danger, they have been known to butcher thousands of them at once.

"It is shocking to dwell on such instances of barbarity; but they

show the imperfection of the institutions of Lycurgus, and the importance of the study of literature and science to the moral as well as the intellectual improvement of man." (P. 136—141.)

With respect to the treatment of the Spartan slaves, there is no reason for supposing that it was originally introduced by Lycurgus. Slavery existed in every Grecian republic; but the condition of slaves varied in different states. The most remarkable difference was, that, in some, they were purchased barbarians; in others, the descendants of vanquished Greeks. The Lacedæmonian slaves were of the latter description.* They were originally the inhabitants of Helos, an Arcadian dependency of Sparta, who, being vanquished after an ineffectual attempt to shake off the Spartan yoke, were, long before the time of Lycurgus, reduced to slavery, and dispersed in such numbers over Laconia, that the name of Helot and slave became synonymous. The institutions of Lycurgus, although not to be exculpated (for they neither restrained the cruelty of the masters, nor mitigated the wretchedness of the Helots), are, however, not answerable for this disgraceful polity. In fact, his institutions must in some respects have introduced an improvement in their condition: for Lycurgus confined to this unhappy race the exclusive exercise of the mechanical and agricultural arts: their consequence in the state was therefore increased, and it was this consequence which afterwards rendered them objects of unceasing vigilance and jealousy to the government of Sparta. Hence arose that abominable institution, according to Plutarch,† the *Crypteia*. If that intelligent author is to be relied upon, Dr. Hill has somewhat inaccurately represented the practice of placing the Spartans in ambuscade, to murder the slaves as they passed, as having been devised "to accustom their youth to stratagem." It appears that those who formed these ambuscades were invested with occasional commissions for reducing the number of the Helots, by murdering the stoutest men whom they could select, and those in particular who were distinguished by any superiority of spirit, or of genius. Whilst we peruse these horrible facts, we blush for the honour of our common humanity: but this despised portion of mankind were not unfrequently roused to vindicate their insulted nature; and, in spite of her inhuman and merciless precautions, Lacedæmon was oftener in danger of total subversion from the Helots than from her foreign enemies.

It is impossible not to be lost in wonder when we contemplate this most paradoxical of all human polities, and that wonder is augmented in a two-fold degree, when we reflect that it arose

* *Isocr. Panath.*

† *In vita Lycurg.*

out of the genius and foresight of a single man. It is observed by Rousseau, and the observation is just, that had Lycurgus been merely a speculative legislator, his scheme would have been derided as much more visionary than Plato's: but the Spartan had not only the satisfaction of seeing his machine in motion, and all its wheels faithfully answering to their several ends, but the skill and dexterity to ensure its duration, having engaged in its support the Delphic Oracle, that great engine which influenced, through the powerful agency of superstitious reverence, the universal mind of Greece. It is, however, much easier to account for the perpetuation of so anomalous a system than to imagine its original construction. Other constitutions have grown from weak beginnings, and struggled gradually into vigour and greatness; but that of Lycurgus sprung, like Minerva, from the head of Jupiter. Other governments have been prudent systems of compromise with the manners and dispositions of mankind: but for Lycurgus nothing was too dangerous to be attempted, nothing too difficult to be executed. He changed every thing, laws, customs, even the virtues and vices of the people, as with the rod of a magician; and yet the most hazardous of his experiments, and the most violent of his changes, never failed in practice. His genius seemed to have foreseen every emergency, and every disorder was counteracted, as it arose, by its appropriate remedy.

So extraordinary an engine, framed to operate in direct opposition to the natural, social, and moral habitudes of human beings, has, by some writers, been at once removed out of the way by the denial of its existence; and this, to be sure, is the most effectual method of ridding ourselves of the difficulty of explaining it. The change, at once, and by a single hand, of the ancient usages and manners of a nation, they affirm to be impracticable. They have endeavoured to solve the problem comfortably with respect to their own minds, but with great violence to historical truth, by contending that the institutions of Lycurgus were the old usages of the heroic ages, or improvements upon the practices of the ancient Dorian inhabitants of the highland parts of Greece: but the concurrent testimony of antiquity refutes the opinion. Xenophon, Thucydides, Isocrates, and Plato, expressly refer every thing to Lycurgus; and from Xenophon especially we learn that the essential difference of this government from the other states of Greece, consisted in its exacting from its citizens the most implicit devotion and obedience.

Λυκῦργον δὲ (εἴη ὁ Σπάρτης) καταμειψάμενος, ὅτι πρὶν αὖ διαφέρειν τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων τὴν Σπάρτην, ἐποίησεν, εἰ μὴ τὸ πείθεσθαι τοῖς νόμοις μάλα πενίρως αὐτῇ. Mem. Socr. l. 4, c. 4, s. 13. So sudden was the change, and so directly counter to the feelings of mankind

were its spirit and character, that he was compelled to begin by making the citizens of this extraordinary commonwealth blindly and implicitly subservient to its institutions. The habits of obedience, of an almost mechanical obedience, being thus formed, he well knew that the rest of this artificial system would operate without hinderance or interruption.

Professor Dalzel is not much happier in his disquisitions concerning Athens. Still fearful of soaring beyond the comprehension of his young hearers, he continues to creep along the trite and vulgar path of pedantic common-place. This indolent acquiescence has consequences beyond those of a mere literary moment. The loss of time in attendance upon a hasty lecturer, is, of course, an evil; but the adoption of practically wrong principles, which are apt to be adhesive in proportion as they are injurious, and to throw a pollution upon the youthful intellect, which poisons its moral perceptions at their sources, is a still greater evil. We will speak plainly. The unreflecting admiration of the ancient republics, and particularly that of Athens, taught by rote, and perpetuated by habit, has frequently corrupted, through the best feelings of the heart, that early patriotism, which, under right discipline, might have given to the country a race of sober and contemplative statesmen; but which, from erroneous impressions concerning these ancient polities taken in with their first principles, has issued only in the multiplication of noisy and factious agitators. A little school learning upon these subjects has been an ample capital to set up a modern brawler for liberty.

Thus Professor Dalzel, tranquilly adopting the old common places of the lecture-room, talks of the constitution of Athens as the consummation of wisdom, and drawing from the scanty stock of that light holyday reading, which, on some subjects, is worse than ignorance, descants very volubly upon Grecian virtue and Grecian freedom. We were happy, when we turned to the eleventh and twelfth chapters of Dr. Hill's work, to find a calm and perspicuous analysis of the Athenian government, un-mixed with the declamation which many writers conceive themselves bound to furnish, when Athens is the subject of their discourses. We are not insensible to the military valour and heroic devotion with which the Athenians defended their own liberties and those of Greece from foreign invasion; but the later periods of their commonwealth exhibit all the vices of popular government. Never were they traced by a more powerful hand than that of Mr. Burke. As the early productions of that great genius are, in some sort, obscured by the brightness of his maturer fame, an extract from the little tract, called a *Vindication*

tion of Natural Society, a sportive paradox in ridicule of Lord Bolingbroke's Philosophy, may not be familiar to every reader. For this reason, and by way of antidote to the vapid effusions of Mr. Dalzel, we do not apologize for inserting one of the correctest pieces of historical painting within our recollection.

"The Athenians made a very rapid progress to the most enormous excesses. The people under no restraint soon grew dissolute, luxurious, and idle; they renounced all labour, and began to subsist themselves from the public revenues; they lost all concern for their common honour or safety, and could bear no advice that tended to reform them. At this time truth became offensive to those lords, the people, and most highly dangerous to the speaker. The orators no longer ascended the rostrum, but to corrupt them further with the most fulsome adulation. These orators were all bribed by foreign princes on the one side or the other; and, besides its own parties in this city, there were parties, and avowed ones too, for the Persians, Spartans, and Macedonians, supported, each of them, by one or more demagogues pensioned and bribed to this iniquitous service. The people, forgetful of all virtue and public spirit, and intoxicated with the flatteries of their orators (these courtiers of republics, and endowed with the distinguishing characteristics of all other courtiers), this people, I say, at last arrived at that pitch of madness, that they coolly and deliberately, by an express law, made it capital for any man to propose an application of the immense sums squandered in public shows even to the most necessary purposes of the state. When you see the people of this republic banishing and murdering their best and ablest citizens, dissipating the publick treasure with the most senseless extravagance, and spending their whole time as spectators or actors, in playing, fiddling, dancing, and singing, does it not, my Lord, strike your imagination with the image of a sort of complex Nero? And does it not strike you with the greatest horror, when you observe, not one man only, but a whole city, grown drunk with pride and power, running with a rage of folly into the same mean and senseless debauchery and extravagance? But if this people resembled Nero in their extravagance, much more did they resemble, and even exceed him in cruelty and injustice. In the time of Pericles, one of the most celebrated times in the history of that commonwealth, a King of Egypt sent them a donation of corn. This they were mean enough to accept. And had the Egyptian prince intended the ruin of this city of wicked bedlamites, he could not have taken a more effectual method to do it than by such an ensnaring largess. The distribution of this bounty caused a quarrel; the majority set on foot an enquiry into the title of the citizens; and upon a vain pretence of illegitimacy, newly and occasionally set up, they deprived of their share of the royal donation no less than five thousand of their own body. They went further; they disfranchised them; and having once begun with an act of injustice, they could set no bounds to it. Not content with cutting them off from the rights of citizens, they plundered these unfortunate wretches of all their substance; and to crown this master-

piece of violence and tyranny, they actually sold every man of the five thousand as slaves in the publick market. Observe, my Lord, that the five thousand we here speak of, were cut off from a body of no more than nineteen thousand, for the entire number of citizens was no greater at that time. Could the tyrant who wished the Roman people but one neck; could the tyrant Caligula himself have done, nay, he could scarcely have wished for, a greater mischief, than to have cut off, at one stroke, a fourth of his people? Or has the cruelty of that series of sanguine tyrants, the Cæsars, ever presented such a piece of flagrant and extensive wickedness? The whole history of this celebrated republic is but one tissue of rashness, folly, ingratitude, injustice, tumult, violence, and tyranny, and indeed every species of wickedness that can well be imagined. This was a city of wise men, in which a minister would not exercise his functions; a warlike people, amongst whom a general did not dare either to gain or lose a battle; a learned nation in which a philosopher could not venture on a free enquiry. This was the city which banished Themistocles, starved Aristides, forced into exile Miltiades, drove out Anaxagoras, and poisoned Socrates. This was a city which changed the form of its government with the moon; eternal conspiracies, revolutions daily, nothing fixed and established. A republic, as an ancient philosopher has observed, is no one species of government, but a magazine of every species; here you find every sort of it, and that in the worst form. As there is a perpetual change, one rising and the other falling, you have all the violence and wicked policy by which a beginning power must always acquire its strength, and all the weakness by which falling states are brought to a complete destruction."

Concerning the philosophy of Greece nothing is given us in Mr. Dalzel's volumes, except a short analysis of the Socratic doctrines, taken from Dr. Smith's Theory of Moral Sentiments. The thirty-second lecture is dedicated to Grecian eloquence; but the pleasing expectation it raises proves equally unsubstantial. A few biographical scraps about Demosthenes and Æschines are nearly all that it contains; and even here he still keeps the beaten track, from which if he deviates he trusts to the conduct of a misleading guide. That guide is Leland's Life of Philip; a book of little authority, and not original even in its blunders; for they were literally copied from Olivier. Of course, therefore, his estimate of the character of Philip, and of the policy pursued by that able monarch, is conformable to Leland's; and Demosthenes comes in for a corresponding share of praise, or rather idolatry. Such indeed is the historical faith which long habitude renders us unwilling to relinquish; and we confess that we felt some inquietude when maturer years and more attentive reading induced us to part with our early prepossessions. Demosthenes, indeed, struggling amidst the corruptions of the Greek commonwealths, and the proverbial levities and inconstancy of his own, to awaken a

common spirit of liberty against the encroachments of Philip, is a great moral spectacle in the history of the world. Our feelings, however, on these subjects, must not be at variance with reason; something is still wanting to the grandeur of the picture, and, much as we may admire the impetuous torrent of argument and eloquence, which enabled him to wield at will, "that fierce democracy," we cannot revere him as the consummate statesman, without the calm conviction that his great talents were directed to just and patriotic ends. Without such a conviction, indeed, we may feel the magic effects of his eloquence; that genuine eloquence which, at once chaste and vehement, harmonious and robust, borrowed no aid from fancy, contemned the puerilities of illustration and figure, threw off in its athletic course the trappings of vulgar rhetoric as idle incumbrances, and rushed forward at once to its object. But all this will come short of satisfying the taste for moral beauty. We fear that this has been too much overlooked in the notions which are instilled at schools and universities respecting Demosthenes.

It is natural that the enthusiasm excited by such eloquence should bribe our judgments from their integrity. The wily and intriguing statesman is overlooked in the matchless and irresistible orator. Hence we have suffered our historical prejudices to convert a monarch whom the voice of antiquity almost without dissent, has held up to us as an example of moderation and virtue rarely to be found in that elevated condition, into a crafty and overbearing tyrant. We, therefore, owe ungrudging amends to Philip for the part which we have taken against him. They who still adhere to the vulgar opinion that it was Demosthenes who, in the eventful contests of the time, monopolized all its virtue and its patriotism, would do well to recollect that the stern and inflexible justice of Phocion was uniformly ranged against him; that Phocion was the steady friend of Philip, from the earliest to the latest stage of his life; and that even the speeches of Demosthenes himself, when he was at a loss for a keen reproach to the Athenians, bore the strongest testimony to the great qualities of the Macedonian. If any doubt can be entertained by any one on this subject, we will remind him of the letter sent by Philip to the Athenians in answer to the fourth Philippic, which was universally considered as a declaration of war;—a letter full of sound reasoning, and breathing a spirit of moderation and good temper rarely exhibited in the state papers of any age. It has fortunately been preserved by Demosthenes in his speech for the crown, and we strenuously recommend it to the perusal of future Greek lecturers at Edinburgh and St. Andrews.

With regard to the orator himself, he is by no means exempt

from the reproach to which all the Athenian orators are liable,—of pandering to the base passions of the many-headed tyrant; and promulgating maxims repugnant to every notion of honesty and justice. That which the people willed, was always right; that which was for their interest, was always expedient; that which was expedient, was always just. Machiavel himself would have shuddered at the policy recommended by Demosthenes concerning the Rhodians, who were living under a mild and liberal aristocracy. He tells the assembly in plain terms that there must be no aristocracy in Greece.

“Not the Rhodians only, but the Chians, Lesbians, in short all mankind, were living under a form of government different from the Athenian. The danger of the Athenian democracy was alarming, and those who establish any other form of government ought to be esteemed the common enemies of freedom.”

Again—

“If all indeed would be just; then it would be shameful if the Athenians were otherwise. But when all others are providing for themselves with means to be formidable, for us alone to cultivate justice, and scruple to use advantageous occasions, I consider not as upright-ness, but as weakness. All states regulate their rights by their power.”

It is impossible not to contrast with the religious faith and sturdy rectitude of the Roman republic this crooked policy, which reminds us of the studied or accidental adoption of these infernal maxims by the National Convention of France, one and indivisible, at a period not very remote from that in which we now write. We might dilate farther on these topics, but enough has been said to show the importance of conveying correct impressions of the great characters of history.

Were we to draw out a catalogue of Professor Dalzel's omissions, we should occupy a space equal to that which has been consumed already. Of the three great institutions which, after the Dorian conquest, were the main instruments of preserving Greece from a relapse into barbarism, and in every stage of her progress most powerfully influenced her affairs,—the Oracles, the Council of Amphictyon, and the Public Games, little is said, and that little might as well have been omitted. The third part treats of the polite learning of the Greeks; and here we began to indulge the prospect of being repaid by the taste and learning of Mr. Dalzel, for the severe trial to which he had put our patience in other parts of his work. But we were soon taught the error of our calculations.

With expectations, however, still unsubdued by successive disappointments, we hoped, at least, that when we came to the ancient drama, some curious research would open upon us. We

were once more disappointed. The lecturer is so completely satisfied with all that has been said before, that he trudges along in the same heavy march round the circle of vulgar opinions, without one effort or aspiration beyond it. Is it to be wondered at, therefore, that so reverend and consecrated an absurdity as the three dramatic unities should receive the profound homage of Professor Dalzel; that his criticisms upon the ancient drama should wear the livery of this antiquated error; that he should render suit and service to Aristotle, wholly unmindful of the successful revolt of Shakspeare and Nature? His remarks are a dull and superficial echo of the French school; but if the expiring authority of these exploded tenets are ever to be revived, it is not, we will venture to affirm, by such reasoning as we find in this volume.

The diligence of the Greek Professor, however, ought at least to have led him to the passage in Aristotle's *Poetics*, the source of this long contest, which has caused the shedding of so much ink, and puzzled so many understandings. No such thing: he does not appear to have read it. It is a remarkable circumstance that Aristotle,* who has given his name to the unities, speaks only with any minuteness of unity of action, concerning which, liberally interpreted and rightly understood, there can be no dispute,—for it must be admitted to be essentially requisite to dramatic poetry. To the second unity, that of time, he makes only a vague and passing allusion. Of the unity of place he has not said a syllable. “But,” observes Mr. Dalzel, “these rules were strictly observed and attended to by the ancient Greek tragic writers.” This is inconsiderately said. The *Agamemnon* of *Æschylus* comprehends the whole space of time from the destruction of Troy to the arrival of that prince at Mycenæ, which must have been a considerable number of days. In the *Trachinise* of *Sophocles*, the journey from Thessaly, in Eubœa, is made three times. In the *Suppliees* of *Euripides*, an army marches from Athens, arrives at Thebes, gives battle, and returns in triumph, and all this during the recitation of the chorus. In the *Eumenides* of *Æschylus*, *Orestes* returns from Delphi to Athens, a journey of several days. As to unity of place, the continued presence of the chorus rendered a frequent change of scene impracticable; but it is wholly changed in the *Eumenides* of *Æschylus*, and the *Ajax* of *Sophocles*. And here it ought to be observed that, in the ancient theatres, the scene comprehended a much wider space than in ours. It generally represented the public place where there were various buildings, temples, and basilika. When the interior of a building was re-

* *Arist. Poetic.*

presented, a machine called the encyclema gave a view of the inner apartments, and thus answered the modern purpose of raising the curtain.

But it is still more singular that in his twenty-second lecture, which professes to trace the Greek tragedy from its earliest beginnings, Mr. Dalzel should betray an inexcusable negligence of the most extraordinary phenomenon in its progress—the sudden transition, almost anomalous in the literature of nations, with which it leaped, as it were, from its rudest elements to a state nearly mature: a miraculous energy, which repeals the ordinances of nature, and outstrips the developements of time, but not peculiar to the Greek drama only; for the Greek language itself, bounding at once from its oriental infancy, arose almost to sudden consummation, and became immediately in the hands of Homer, ready for every tone of passion and every operation of mind, and furnished with that variety of inflexion, and vigour of combination, which have given it a lasting empire over the heart and the understanding.

Here we must close; there is no end of pursuing the lengthening chain of Mr. Dalzel's errors and omissions.

ART. XVI. *An Apology for the Freedom of the Press, and for General Liberty, with Corrections: New Edition. 1821.*

THE capacity of being the instrument of diffusing happiness, in the purest and most permanent understanding of the term, is man's highest distinction, as it most assimilates him to the divine nature. Knowledge is one of the appointed means; and knowledge can neither be attained nor imparted without free discussion. By virtue of the freedom of the press, a private Englishman, if he be mentally capable of making the fullest use of it, possesses a power of influencing the condition of his fellow-mortals, greater than that of the sovereign who reigns despotically over millions.

Bacon, Newton, and Locke, have modified the intellectual existence of all Europe, and still reign with a silent, yet real, influence. Their works are now, indeed, the common property of mankind; but it is the glory of mental dominion, that it has the principle of perpetuation in itself; and the distinction it confers is not the less honourable, because the homage it receives is voluntary.

The right of free discussion is no less sacred than it is valuable; God has consecrated it by employing it in imparting

the knowledge of his Word, "that last best gift of heaven;" and dearly should England prize a privilege which has given to her sons the will and the power to be foremost among the nations of the earth, in the diffusion of revealed truth. To her blessed agency, in thus employing the power of the press, enlightened millions will, at no distant period, it is probable, confess their deep and lasting obligations.

We deem it important thus to declare our attachment to the liberty of the press, before we enter upon the invidious task of opposing a writer in so many respects, and in some so deservedly popular, as the Reverend Robert Hall; while he contends for rights which have scarcely any other limit than the wisdom of the people who are to exercise them?

It is very foreign to our wish to lessen Mr. Hall's influence as a minister of the gospel. The elegance of his fancy, and the vivacity of his illustrations, when found on the side of the great truths of Christianity, cannot fail to delight as well as interest and instruct; and his conduct in private life we are taught to believe forms a contrast to the spirit which seems to us to characterize his feelings towards those whom he views through the discolouring mists of religious and political differences.

Mr. Hall pleads, in extenuation of the faults his pamphlet may contain, that it was a youthful production. His youth, however, was not very green; having reached the age of twenty-eight years at its first publication: but had this been otherwise, when a Christian minister, at the age of fifty-six, republishes his own work, he must have some very prevailing collateral reason for retaining that which his maturer judgment must whisper to him is calculated to disturb the harmony and happiness of society, of which he forms a part. It is but too probable that it appeared to him, in re-perusing his performance, that its juvenile warmth constituted so large a portion of its vigour, that to quell the fever would be to quench the fire. We shall endeavour to show, in the course of this article, that Mr. Hall has judged well for the success of his publication, in not referring his pretensions as a jurist, a statesman, or a patriot, to the award of calm deliberative judgment, or the test of tried and acknowledged principles, but to the decision of those whose selfish and factious purposes have been at all times carried forward by deceptiously placing before the view of the public impracticable theories and abstract rights, the prosecution of which is experimentally known to be the sure road to military despotism. We will not charge upon Mr. Hall the full knowledge of these consequences, and yet we must not deny him the credit of great acuteness: we will therefore adopt a middle course, and consider him as made the instrument of unintentional mischief by feelings of humanity and views of

perfectibility, urged into dangerous action by the morbid influence of party associations and religious hostility. As for ourselves, we are disposed to narrow our party as much as Mr. Hall seeks to enlarge his; and while he speaks of the Dissenters as "a virtuous and oppressed body of men," (p. 87) "who agree in nothing but condemning all human authority in matter of conscience," (p. 71)—we declare ourselves to be of the party of Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley; of Hooker and Taylor—in a word, of the Church of England: not as it may be seen alloyed in the practice of men, but as it is to be found in her Articles and Liturgy.—In this character, we enter this preliminary protest against condemning the Church of England, because its members partake of the frailty of human nature; and we affirm, that it is very disingenuous and inconsistent with Christian charity, to ascribe to the Church of England the conduct of its members in those respects in which its publicly recorded principles would disavow them.—All who violate the essential principles of the Established Church, among which must be enumerated holiness, brotherly love, and charity, as well as its peculiar faith, are so far forth Dissenters, and must be included in that large and liberal party of which Mr. Hall is the champion and the eulogist; since those persons practically disavow the authority of the community to which they profess to belong; and since no society can be equitably charged with that which exists only in contempt of its authority. In following Mr. Hall through his work, we shall attend, principally, to its spirit, its consistency, and its practical tendency, considering these as the most important and interesting respects in which it can be viewed, either as to himself or to the community.

In his preliminary pages Mr. Hall takes occasion to speak of Bishop Horsley, and of Mr. Pitt; both of them men highly gifted and eminent as public characters; both of them having long ceased to offend when Mr. Hall republished his pamphlet, wherein it has pleased him to record, that he thought some forbearance due to departed genius: alas! that he should have contented himself with so little.

The Reverend Robert Hall is a preacher of the gospel; it would be a breach of charity, therefore, in us to impute to him uncharitable dispositions. We could have wished, however, for the consistency of his principles, and for the honour of that living faith which we know he inculcates, that he could have persuaded himself to have shown a little mercy to the fame and character of the departed Bishop, who appears to have been, in his eyes, an object of such supreme contempt, that had he spared him, out of tenderness to his friends, the cause of Mr. Hall and his party, it would seem, would have lost little or nothing by

But it is needless any further to say that the forbearance of the weak antagonist was not what it must have cost a Christian minister to load a noble church with unmeasured revilings; a man too, who by Mr. Hall's confession, ignorant as he was of those arcana of political science into which he, Mr. Hall, has been initiated, was, nevertheless, endowed with genius of some sort. But let us do Mr. Hall justice. In his advertisement to his present edition, reverting to the original pamphlet, he says, "One passage in the preface delineating the character of the late Bishop Horsley is omitted. On mature reflection it appeared to the writer quite consistent, either with the spirit of Christianity, or with the reverence due to departed genius." Now the reader shall see what Mr. Hall (from his retaining it) must be presumed to think to be quite consistent with the spirit of Christianity, and the reverence due to departed genius.

Original preface, p. 12: "With respect to the first (the gall of bitterness), we must have plenty of that article, since he has disgusted his own; and if the bonds of iniquity are not added, it is only because they are not within the reach of his mighty malice."

The reverence due to departed genius. "It is time to turn from this disgusting picture of sandtimeous hypocrisy and priestly insolence, to address to the reader of the following pamphlet." It is not we that say so, but Mr. Hall. "The political sentiments of Dr. Horsley and in truth, of too little consequence in themselves to engage a laborer's curiosity, and deserve attention only as they indicate the spirit of the times." This is the language of Robert Hall, and concerning Samuel Horsley; and these are not the passages he thought it right to suppress in dispensing his *Unitarian mercies*.

With respect to Dr. Horsley, notwithstanding all that Mr. Robert Hall has expectorated against him, we are not ashamed to avow our admiration and gratitude. There is not a precious fragment of that great man that does not well deserve to be cherished by Mr. Hall himself, if he be as sincere as we suppose him to be for the maintenance and propagation of the "faith once delivered to the saints." It is but lately that he hath again spoken to us from his grave, "a sound doctrine to exhort and to convince the gainsayers;" his dust still retains his fire—his genius still blossoms upon his sepulchre.

Mr. Pitt had the indiscretion to be on a different side in politics from Mr. Hall; and if it were a grievous fault, grievously he answered it.

Mr. Hall having argued the point as to the right of the sovereign to land foreign troops, continues

"But it is needless any further to expose the effrontery, or detect the sophistry of this *thames apostate*."—"A veteran in *frauds* whilst in the bloom of youth; betraying first, and then persecuting his earliest friends and connexions: falsifying every promise, and violating every political engagement, &c. are traits in the conduct of Pitt, which entitle him to a fatal pre-eminence in *guilt*." (P. 3, Adver.)

"The qualities of this man balance in an extraordinary manner, and sustain each other: the influence of his station—the extent of his enormities invest him with a kind of splendour; and the contempt we feel for his meanness and duplicity is lost in the dread of his *machinations*, and the abhorrence of his *crimes*. Too long has he insulted the patience of his countrymen; nor ought we, when we observe the indifference with which the iniquities of Pitt's administration are viewed, to reproach the Romans for tamely submitting to the *tyranny of Caligula or Domitian*."

This was the language of Mr. Hall in 1793. After an interval of 28 years, during which the affairs of the country have, with one short interruption, been administered on the plans and principles of Mr. Pitt, this loud-tongued assailant renews his attack, and goes on to impute to the party who have been dominant in the country for 40 years, and under whom it has made unparalleled advances in science, in population, in wealth, in power, and in liberality of sentiment, "whatever is most illiberal in principle; and intolerant in practice." Pref. to Edit. 1821.

That we were not "confounded in the perilous time," we owe to Mr. Pitt's firm hand and commanding voice; and, probably, had it not been for that "apostate," and those principles which have given him an influence while his body moulders in its grave, Mr. Robert Hall would have had far other political objects against which he might have displayed his rhetoric, and directed the artillery of his tropes and figures, unless a prudent regard to his safety had imposed on him that moderation which the liberty he now enjoys has failed to inspire him with. Mr. Hall establishes his consistency on his adherence at fifty-six to the wrathful effusions of twenty-eight. The pillar of Mr. Pitt's glory rests on what is called his *apostasy*. As he advanced in experience, he gloriously deserved the bitter accusations of those whose errors, or evil designs, the warmth, shall we say the petulance, of his early youth had flattered with the hope of his lasting co-operation.

While the passions were yet warm with the politics which Dr. Price had excited, Mr. Hall has spoken of the indecency, in reference to him, of not respecting the ashes of the dead; and his appeal is made to a sacred principle of common infirmity, which tells us we shall soon be as they are, and lie, in some measure, at the mercy of our enemies: yet this thought does not

dilate the bitter feelings, in youth or in age, of this consistent reformer Mr. Hall, or teach "him to reverence the sacred dead."

We propose to consider Mr. Hall as a jurist, a statesman, and a patriot: and, first, as to his mode of treating the question of the freedom of the press, or more specifically "The Law of Libel."

We have applied our best attention, in vain, to discover what Mr. Hall means by the freedom of the press, for which he undertakes to apologize: whether, in his opinion, it *exists*, or *does not exist*. An apology would imply that there was some life in it, for it is not usual to apologize for a dead friend; yet Mr. Hall assures us "that the following apology for the freedom of the press is an eulogium on a dead friend:" thus it would appear that his friend is dead; when he died is not so clear, although it must have been about the time the apology was originally written, for therein Mr. Hall speaks of him as being in a very bad way: he must have died, probably, about the time when Dr. Priestley, "the first of England's sons," left England, "the most enlightened of countries," (p. 82) for America, and then the apology assumed the character of an eulogium.

It would seem that Mr. Hall means, by the freedom of the press, an irresponsible, and, in that sense, "an unlimited right of discussing every subject which can fall within the compass of the human mind," (p. 2) and that his eye, "in a fine phrenzy rolling," has caught a glimpse of this seraphic state; for he says, with reference to it, "whilst *this remains*, freedom will flourish." But this could be nothing but the apparition of his dead friend,

"Cernere uti videamus eos, audireque vocem,

"Morte obita quorum tellus amplectitur ossa."

It is right that Mr. Hall's admirers should know what glorious privileges he claims for them, and that it is an irresponsible press alone that is free; that not only sedition, but all those other free discussions that frighten women and children, are "wholesome physic to the land;" and that he contends, not only for the privilege to publish all these things, but for impunity to those that do so; and since "magistrates can have power given them, but not wisdom," (p. 2) he says, that an attempt on their part, "to distinguish truth from error, and to countenance one set of opinions to the prejudice of another, is to apply power in a manner mischievous and absurd." (P. 3.) And the reason why the magistrate should not (then, of course, the laws cannot) take any cognizance of public discussion, is founded on a distinction between sentiment and conduct.

He says (p. 3), "The behaviour of men in society will be

influenced by motives drawn from the prospect of good and evil: here, then, is the proper department of government, as it is capable of applying that good and evil by which actions are determined.

Now, we should have thought that that which a man says, and writes, and prints, and publishes, was a part of his behaviour; and have inferred, therefore, that it came within the proper department of government to take cognizance of it: but it is not so; for Mr. Hall continues, "Truth, *on the contrary*, is quite of a different nature, being supported only by evidence; and where this is represented, we cannot withhold our consent; so, where this is wanting, no power or authority can command it." By which it can hardly be meant, and yet what else can be meant, that the reader should infer that, *because* truth is supported by evidence, men should be encouraged by a promise of impunity to publish what they list, however fraudulent or false.

In p. 9, Mr. Hall uses the following argument, "Government is the creature of the people; and that which they have created, they surely have a right to examine."

Thus, it is clear that all the men who live under a government have a right to examine it, and, we presume, arraign and call it to account, and perhaps dissolve it if they can.

These creators of the English government not being conveniently situated to assert their right, the national benefit from this important principle is not quite so clear. Let the right, however, remain. It flatters the majesty of the mob, and serves to supply the sustenance of discontent.

Mr. Hall argues through several pages, very sensibly, on the advantages of free inquiry; but, in following him, it might be as well to bear in mind, that the privilege of free inquiry is one thing; and that whether a man should be responsible or not to the community, through the laws, for his exercise of the privilege, is another.

Mr. Hall knows that the only ground on which a criminal charge can rest is, that the person charged meant to do an injury, and of this intention the jury are to judge. Will Mr. Hall say, that no man can mean to do an injury who uses his pen as the instrument? This would be a new benefit of clergy,—an absolution and indulgence more sweeping and wanton than any which have issued from the prodigality of Papal Rome. Then, if the pen may embody an evil intention, why, when twelve men decide on the life or death of a fellow creature, may they not determine on the charge of libellous intention, "for the repressing of evil acts, on the principle of dispensing good and evil, by which actions are determined." (P. 3.)

As Mr. Hall has said nothing expressly on the subject, should

he chooses to hold that he thinks the magistrate may take cognizance of private libels, and of publications hostile to national purity, what becomes, of "the most capital advantage an enlightened people can enjoy," (p. 2) that of "the liberty of discussing every subject which can fall within the compass of the human mind?"

If a person is made responsible, in one instance, this "most capital advantage" is gone; therefore, we think we do Mr. Hall no injustice when we say, that he considers all attempts to make men responsible to the laws for opinions expressed in print, how false, injurious, and defamatory soever; they may be, to be "an application of power mischievous and absurd." His arguments and general language make strong assertions with respect to private libels, or as to obscenity and blasphemy,* and it is but fair that those who admire Mr. Hall's Apology for the Freedom of the Press, should know to how much that apology extends.

A privilege to publish whatever any individual pleases. Mr. Hall well knew his countrymen to be in possession of, subject only to the condition which we contend should attach to all power, that of being answerable to the community for the intentional mischief flowing from its exercise; and he disingenuously sophisticates in ascribing to the magistrate, whom he assumes "to have power, but not wisdom," the office of punishing, which is in a jury, whose sympathy with the accused is, at all times, if the laws are fairly administered, a sufficient protection to the innocent. If this be the liberty of the press for which Mr. Hall contends, we defy him to name the period when it existed; which, if he cannot do, his dead friend was still born, preserved only in the museum of the new philosophy, among its other extravagant and abortive products.

We repeat, that never since England was a nation did there exist an irresponsible "freedom of discussion as to every subject which can fall within the compass of the human mind." (And we

* In Mr. Hall's Letter to the Editor of the Leicester Journal, he asks, "But when did I plead for the publication of blasphemy, fettered or unfettered?" To plead for the liberty of divulging speculative opinions is one thing, and to assert the right of uttering blasphemy is another. For blasphemy, which is the speaking contumeliously of God, is not a speculative error, but it is an error of a positive kind which no state should tolerate." Compare this with the broad and unqualified claim "of an unlimited right of discussing every subject which can fall within the compass of the human mind." (Apology, p. 2.)

* Any abuses which may have crept into the striking off juries, or the terms of trial, are fair subjects of discussion, and their full exposure must, sooner or later, lead to their correction. The Attorney-general's power of filing ex officio Informations will be best preserved, and, we believe, by no other means than by its temperate exercise.

fully satisfied that there are some publications, which the cupidity and baseness of individuals would circulate, that Mr. Hall, if he had the power, would suppress; and which judges and juries may be allowed to decide upon, with benefit to the country. If by the freedom of the press he means the absence of a censor, and the suspension of all punishment, until a jury shall have pronounced the act an injury, we agree with him in claiming it for our country. If it be the loss of this liberty that he affects to deplore, we consider his grief hypocritical, and his patriotism faction: if he wants more than this, he claims that which never was possessed as a right; and if it could exist as a right, it would be, in truth, a right to do wrong.

Considering Mr. Hall then as a jurist, we feel compelled to doubt whether he has well considered the law of libel, and the effect of the impunity for which he so pertinaciously contends. We congratulate him, however, on the tact, he has shown in withdrawing his publication, when the temper of the times induced the Attorney-general to honour it with his notice; and in establishing it now that a greater degree of what is called liberality of feeling renders any such attention to it improbable.

On associations we have but little to say—they must derive their character from their conduct. To unite for good objects is laudable; to unite for questionable ones is blamable. Persons acting in union can effect that of which individuals are incapable; but as the sense of responsibility lessens with its division, it becomes the more important to watch the spirit and procedure of all such political combinations. The possibility of abuse may raise a question as to their expediency; but their legality can only be questioned by much-mistaking, or ill-designing men. What it is right to wish for, it can scarcely be wrong to take honest means to attain; and surely good men do well to associate in support of the laws, when the bad conspire to do ill in defiance of them. At any rate, such combinations are of a very popular cast. Mr. Hall says, that as the people are the creators of all legitimate government, they have a right to examine it;—we say, that as the people, in a popular and free government, are greatly concerned in the making of laws, they may surely, by honest means, endeavour to enforce them. In the freest governments, and in the freest times of our own government, this has been a province in which the people have acted, and in which the theory of our constitution calls upon them to act. They are, after all, the most effectual conservators of their own peace and their own morals; and while we view with dismay such unions as Mr. Hall would encourage, we can see without apprehension the moral and the loyal uniting to support the laws by recognising, affirming,

and appealing to them in a time when all arts are in opposition to bring them into contempt, and to embarrass their execution.

The question of Reform in Parliament brings Mr. Hall forward as a statesman. Annual parliaments and universal suffrage are with him the great panacea for all the disorders of the state; and the state is, in his view, one mass of corruption.

Mr. Hall's plan of reform proposes to exclude the *sons of peers* from the House of Commons—to remove the elective franchise from decayed or populous places, and to shorten the duration of parliaments.

On the first point he is silent on the advantage the House of Lords derives from the political education which many of its members obtain in the House of Commons, previous to their entrance into the Upper House; but, assuming that "our liberty depends on the balance and controul of the several orders in the state," he says, "it must be extremely absurd to blend them together by placing the father in one department of the legislature and his family in the other."

This extreme absurdity has escaped other reformers. It has perhaps occurred to them that as the balance of the legislature depends as much, at least, on its branches having common as diverse interests, their union of principle may be as fit an object to promote as their jealousy of power.

How highly Mr. Hall appreciates the passion of jealousy on the large scale of national interests is apparent from the following extracts: (p. 40.) "The purest times of the Roman Republic were distinguished by violent dissensions;" (pure times for the radicals) "but they consisted (the dissensions did) in the jealousy of the several orders of the state among each other; on the ascendancy of the patricians on the one side, and the plebeians on the other; an useful struggle that maintained the balance and the equipoise of the constitution."

But even things so excellent as dissensions will not last for ever, for "in the progress of corruption things took a turn," and a strange turn they took, for "the permanent parties which spring from the fixed principles of government were lost." An extraordinary event this to lose "permanent parties" springing from "fixed principles," and so in the progress of corruption to lose "struggles," and "jealousies," and "violent dissensions;" but some purity remained, for "the citizens arranged themselves under Marius or Scylla, Caesar or Pompey, while the Republic stood by without any interest in the dispute, a passive and helpless victim." Which sounds a little extraordinary to common ears like our own; since victims are generally allowed to have an interest in the decision on which their fate depends.

Mr. Hall continues—

"The crisis of the fall of freedom in different nations, with respect to the causes that produce it, is extremely uniform. After the manner of the ancient factions we hear much in England of the Bedford Party; the Rockingham Party; the Portland Party; when it would puzzle the wisest man to point out their political distinction. The useful jealousy of the separate orders is extinct, being all melted down and blended into one mass of corruption. The House of Commons looks with no jealousy on the House of Lords, nor the House of Lords, on the House of Commons. The struggle in both is maintained by the ambition of powerful individuals and families, between whom the kingdom is thrown as the prize, and the moment they unite they perpetuate its subjection and divide its spoils."

Thus, a momentary union perpetuates its subjection; but it is a peculiar consequence that they do not get the kingdom for a spoil, but only the spoils of the kingdom; "they divide its spoils."

In p. 27, Mr. Hall gives us his notion of the theory of the constitution, and says that it presents three independent powers. "The King as the executive head, with a negative in the legislature; an hereditary House of Peers, and an assembly of Commons, who are appointed to represent the nation at large." "From this enumeration," (one, two, three,) "it is plain that the people of England can have no liberty, that is, no share in forming the laws, but what they exert through the medium of the last of these bodies, nor then but in proportion to its independence on the other." It is a great pity there are no Englishmen in the House of Peers, otherwise this sad consequence, that "we can have no liberty but that which we exercise through the House of Commons," would not follow: for the English nation might then have liberty, (or make laws, which Mr. Hall says is the same thing,) through the medium of its two Houses of Parliament, although they should unfortunately agree together touching some points of legislation. Mr. Hall forgets that the great excellency of the British constitution is, that all its parts sympathize; and that it is only when this sympathy would be likely to yield to selfish or private feelings, that its branches, like those of the compound pendulum, being differently affected, regulate each other. In almost all cases, especially those which regard the security of property, and the liberty of the subject, the Peers have the same interest as the Commons, and are therefore natural guardians of the national rights, with a bias, it may be, against democracy, which many as good judges of the British constitution as the Rev. Robert Hall, will be apt to admire and approve, because they think that all power is in and of the people, and because they attend to the teaching of experi-

ence, which shows how ill-qualified are the people for its direct exercise.

It is the part of common prudence to distrust all schemes of alteration when they come from those who dissent in toto from the system they propose to set right. A man can have no sincere interest in improving that which he wishes to be demolished. Mr. Hall must therefore excuse us for hesitating upon this preliminary ground to receive his advice. We have also another personal objection to listening to the "voice of this charming charm he never so wisely," arising from a certain prejudice we entertain against a reverend gentleman's desertion of his vocation to give us lectures in politics. There is a province of reformation falling within the immediate circle of his duty, to which it would be happy for himself and others could he persuade himself to confine his talents; especially at a time of life, too, when the pastoral care, and the labours of love and peace, have an acknowledged right to engross a man who has taken upon himself the charge of human souls. We have observed, too, that men who travel out of their proper sphere to engage in controversies and concerns foreign to their function, character, or profession, are the most apt to adopt all the extravagances and excesses of the department into which they obtrude themselves. We allow that it is a most masculine and courageous part which a firm and virtuous clergyman has to perform, to whatever communion he may belong; but in one respect we may compare him with the gentler sex, who, when they step out of their natural and prescribed province to assume a robuster character, are usually found to exhibit that character in its least agreeable and useful form: the clerical wanderer from the peaceful path of his pastoral labour rarely preserves a correct line, or bears his faculties meekly in the foreign capacity with which he has chosen to invest himself. There is something of dislocation and disorder in all his proceedings;—his actions display an eccentricity which show that they belong to another sphere.

We shall not attempt to follow Mr. Hall through the desultory windings of his political aberrations. Two or three remarks are all we shall make on his favourite maxims of reform. He is always for carrying us to the first elements of society, and for helping us to ascertain the source and rudiments of power. We deprecate all this useless unravelment; we think that all that we have now to do with power is to watch its modifications and distribution in the organized and balanced scheme of our constitutional liberties: we are afraid of an explosion, and therefore would rather be excused from too frequently revisiting the original magazines. Mr. Hall is very sure of the vast benefits we

should derive from annual parliaments and universal suffrage. We do not believe a word of all this. It is an empirical nostrum, formed of poisonous ingredients, that would soon set off all these bad humours of the body politic, which, if let alone, will perform, as it has performed, all its functions well. We see nothing but the perpetuation of tumult and disorder in annual parliaments, or, perhaps, what is almost as much to be deprecated, an overbearing aristocratical ascendancy of wealth; for, what small proprietor, or man of middle station, could enter into annual contest with the man of great estate? If votes are to be so reduced in value, men will have little value for their votes; and what is now the object of influence or favour will settle down into a money price, and be the permanent property of the best bidder. What might be the result no man can know before the experiment is made; we know only that it would put all things to hazard, and that we have much to lose.

As to universal suffrage, we have this short answer: we believe that the country is well and effectually represented—not numerically represented, certainly, which is nonsense; but that a fair impression is taken off of that which alone has substance, unity, and consistency, the intelligence of the thinking part of the community. Looking upon the representation of the country as a representation of mind, we consider that in the multifarious nature and composition of the House of Commons, the mind of the country is much more faithfully represented, than if all the members were brought in upon the shoulders of the people, who, in the mass, usually elect without reflection, discrimination, or regard to the solid qualities of human character. We think, that, in the terms of the preamble to the Bill of Rights, to the framers of which we attribute as much practical political knowledge as to the Rev. Robert Hall, "all the estates, (i. e. orders, classes, and degrees,) are represented." The people are not individually, but they are virtually represented; and if we fear not to say to Mr. Hall, that, as the House is at present constituted, its moral and intellectual fund is infinitely greater, and such men as himself in talents are much better represented, than if there were no way of getting into that assembly, but by harassing and cajoling the multitude.

The hostile jealousy of the House of Peers, which Mr. Hall inculcates, would have a direct tendency to make its members equally hostile to the power of the other House. A cordial sense of their common interests is the best security for their respecting and maintaining each other's rights.

Mr. Hall opens his fourth section, "Of the Theories and Rights of Man," with this passage:—"Among the many alarming symptoms of the present time, it is not the least, that there is a

prevailing disposition to hold in contempt the theory of liberty as false and visionary."

What theory is here meant we are left to conjecture; he can scarcely mean that the possibility of the existence of liberty is held to be false and visionary, which seems to be the import of his expression; that would, indeed, be an alarming symptom.

From the context, it may be guessed that Mr. Paine's is the theory of liberty alluded to, and that the disposition to hold it in contempt was among the more alarming symptoms of the times in which Mr. Hall wrote. He introduces the names of Sydney and Locke as the founders of the theory of liberty; and proceeds to specify instances of what he considers natural rights.

On the reality of this distinction between natural and civil rights must depend the merits of this section. If it shall prove a mere fiction, the probable motive for inserting it must be some other than a love of liberty.

The instances adduced of natural rights, are

1. The free use of our faculties in distinguishing truth from falsehood.

2. The exertion of corporeal power without injury to others.

3. The choice of a religion and worship.

These are all the natural rights Mr. Hall enumerates, and we beg to ask him, whether these are not all civil or political rights, and whether he ever knew any one to be disturbed in the exercise of them? It was no fault of the government if he did not freely exercise his faculties in writing, or republishing his Apology. He is not prevented, it is apparent, from beating the air; and we answer for it, that the Secretary of State has not concerned himself with Mr. Hall's religion and worship.

This affected vapouring about rights, "which cannot, with any propriety, be yielded up to human authority," is highly ridiculous, since there is not the slightest pretence for saying that the government requires their surrender. This shadow of a shade, this picture of an imaginary grievance, Mr. Hall must have known full well could have no practical application, no tendency to meliorate the condition of his fellow-citizens, or to improve even the theory of liberty.

Mr. Hall makes considerable use of the ambiguity of the term "natural rights." Sometimes he uses it to express the rights of men, in an imaginary state, in which men never existed, nor ever could exist. At another, he speaks of natural rights in political society, which obviously must be included in civil rights, properly understood; for reason and justice require that every individual in society should have all the good of which he is capable in his relative situation; to this every man has a right.

natural right in civil society; but this has nothing to do with the rights of man in a solitary state, and it is on this sophistical quibble that Mr. Hall founds the following notable argument:

"From the notion that political society precludes an appeal to natural rights the greatest absurdities must ensue. If that idea be just, it is improper to say of any administration that it is despotic or oppressive, unless it has receded from its first form or model. Civil power can never exceed its limits until it deviates into a new track; for, if every portion of natural freedom be given up by yielding to civil authority, we can never claim any other freedom than those precise ones which were ascertained in its first formation.

"The vassals of despotism may complain, perhaps, of the hardships they suffer; but, unless it appears they are of a new kind, no injury is done them, for no right is violated. Rights are either natural or artificial: the first cannot be pleaded after they are relinquished, and the second cannot be impaired but by a departure from ancient precedents. If a man should be unfortunate enough to live under the dominions of a prince, who, like the monarchs of Persia, could murder his subjects at will, he may be unhappy but cannot complain; for, on Mr. Hey's theory, he never had any rights but what were created by society, and on Mr. Burke's, he has for ever relinquished them. The claims of nature being set aside, and the government despotic from the beginning, his misery involves no injustice, and admits of no remedy. It requires little discernment to see that this theory rivets the chains of despotism, and shut out from the political world the smallest glimpse of emancipation and improvement. Its language is, he that is a slave, let him be a slave still." (P. 53.)

Now let Mr. Hall name the nation where *salus populi* was not the ostensible foundation of the social compact, and he will establish his distinction between natural and political rights; but if, as we shall contend, even in the most despotic government that ever existed, the principle of obedience, in the minds of its subjects was, that it was best for the community to obey;* then the good of the community is the first, the most essential and inalienable principle of government; and out of this, which is a political principle, must grow all the rights to which man in society can with reason pretend, or in his most perfect state attain to.

Thus if the reader will but bear in mind that in the sense, in which Mr. Hall here uses "natural rights," they are identical with civil or political rights; the sophistry of the whole argument will be apparent, and the theory that would "rivet the chains of despotism," will appear to be of Mr. Hall's own invention.

* Mr. Hall confirms this at p. 9, where he says, "In spite of the attempts of sophistry to conceal the origin of political rights, it must inevitably rest, at length, on the acquiescence of the people."

Politicians out of employ are usually birds of ill omen; and their prognostics are generally "written within and without lamentations, and mourning and woe." As in the chequered course of human events their predictions must sometimes appear right, so their failures we are willing to forget in the greater interest of passing events: This inglorious impunity Mr. Hall is too magnanimous to accept; and he favours the world in 1891 with his prophecies, which thirty years have conspired to falsify, in the hope, perhaps, that he may still prove right; and that he may not lose the credit of it, if such should be the event, we will extract a few of his raven notes.

By adverting to Mr. Hall's view of the state of the country when he wrote his pamphlet;—to his opinion of what was indispensable to its preservation;—to his views in 1803, and to its present state, we shall be aided by the different lights in which Mr. Hall has placed the subject, to form an opinion of what his Christian patriotism suggests upon it.

"Uninstructed by our calamities, we still persist in an *impious* attack on the *liberties* of France, and are eager to take our part in the great drama of *crimes* which is acting on the Continent of Europe. Meantime the violence and injustice of the internal administration keeps (keep) pace with our *iniquities* abroad." (P. 1, Adv. to 3d edit. of Apology.)

"Liberty and Truth are silenced."
"We have arrived, it is a melancholy *truth*, which can no longer be concealed; we have *at length* arrived at that crisis that nothing but speedy and effectual reform can save us from ruin." (P. 88.)

"That the seeds of public convulsion are sown in every country in Europe (our own not excepted) it were vain to deny: seeds which, without the wisest precautions and the most conciliating councils, will break out, it is to be feared, in the overthrow of all governments." (P. 4.)

"The ordinary routine of ministerial chicanery is quite unequal to the task. It would be a mockery of our present ministry to ask whether they possess the necessary qualities." (P. 5.)

"A silent stream of corruption proceeding over the whole land, has tainted every branch of the administration with decay." (P. 98.)

"There is a respect in my apprehension due to civil governors, on account of their office, which we are not permitted to violate, even when we are under the necessity of blaming the measures." (First Sermon, 1803, p. 20.)

"At this season, especially when unanimity is so requisite, every endeavour to excite discontent by reviling the character and depreciating the talents of those who are entrusted with the administration is highly criminal."

"Without suspicion of flattery, we may be permitted to add that their (the ministers) zeal in the service of their country cannot be questioned; that the preparations they have made claim our gratitude;

and, if they have committed mistakes, they are amply entitled to a candid construction of their measures." (P. 23.)

Here fidelity compels me to advert to a circumstance, which I mention with sincere reluctance, because it implies something liberal on those whom it is our duty to respect; I mean assigning part of the Sunday to military exercises." (P. 58.)

"It seems a favourite point, with a certain description of men, to step the progress of inquiry, and throw mankind back into the darkness of the middle ages, from a persuasion, that ignorance will augment their power, as objects look larger in a mist. There is, in reality, no other foundation for that alarm, which the Bishop expresses." (Original Preface to Apology, p. 2.)

"The present crisis is, in my apprehension, the fullest of terror and danger we have ever experienced. We behold the seeds of political ruin quickening into life." (Apology, p. 104.)

"There cannot be a clearer symptom of the decay of liberty than the dread of speculative opinions, which is at present carried to a length in this nation that can scarcely be exceeded. Englishmen were accustomed, till of late, to make political speculation the amusement of their leisure, and the employment of genius; they are now taught to fear it more than death.

"Under the torpid touch of despotism, the patriotic spirit has shrunk into a narrow compass, &c." (P. 92.)

"Are not inquisitorial tribunals erected in every corner of the land?" (Apology, p. 93.)

"We are the only people in the eastern hemisphere who are in possession of equal laws and a free constitution." (Fast Sermon, P. 75.)

"The little public virtue that still subsists is no match for disciplined armies of corruption." (Apology, p. 104.)

"In a country where the people have a voice in the government, the corruption of their laws must first have inhered and become inveterate in their manners." (Fast Sermon, p. 31.)

"Taxation can hardly be more oppressive, representation more venal and inadequate—the influence of the people more extinguished, or falsehood and deception more triumphant, than they are at present." (Apology, p. 105.)

"The freedom which poured into our lap, opulence and arts; and embellished life with innumerable institutions and improvements, till it became a theatre of wonders." (Fast Sermon, p. 76.)

"There now remains but two political parties, the patrons of corruption and the friends of liberty;—they who are waiting for the disorders of the government to ripen into arbitrary power, and they who are anxious to bring back the constitution to its original principles." (Apology, p. 105.)

"A growing unanimity has prevailed among the good in different parties, who, finding a centre of good in the great truths of revelation, and in a solicitude for its interests, are willing to immerse their smaller differences in a common cause." (Fast Sermon, p. 67.)

"I am perfectly aware, that to speak in terms of decency and re-

spect of the French Revolution, is to incur in the prevailing disposition of the times the *last of infamies*. If we dare to rejoice at the emancipation of a great people from thralldom, it must be at the peril of the *foulest* imputations that imagination can invent or *malignity* supply. In contempt of these calumnies I am free to confess the French Revolution has *always appeared* to me, and *does still appear*, the most splendid event recorded in the annals of history." (Apology, p. 107.)

"The popular delusion is passed; the most unexampled prodigies of guilt have dispelled it; and after a series of rapine and cruelty have torn from every heart the last fibres of mistaken partiality." (Fast Sermon, p. 69.)

"When we look at the *distraction* and *misery* of a neighbouring country, we behold a scene that is enough to make the most hardy republican tremble at the idea of a revolution." (Apology, Original Preface, p. 13.)

"Its seeds were sown by some of these with an unsparing hand in France, a congenial soil, where they produced a thick vegetation. The consequences were soon felt. The fabric of society tottered to its base; the earth shook under their feet; the heavens were involved in darkness; and a voice more audible than thunder called upon them to desist. But unmoved amidst the uproar of elements, undismayed by that voice which astonishes nature and appals the guilty, these men continued absorbed in their calculations. Instead of revering the judgments or confessing the finger of God, they only made more haste (on the principle of expediency) to desolate his works and destroy his image, as if they were afraid the shades of a premature night might fall and cover their victims." (Fast Sermon, p. 50.)

"But if a contrary course be taken, the sun of Great Britain is set for ever, her glory departed, and her history added to the catalogue of mighty empires, which exhibit the instability of all human grandeur: of empires which, after they rose by virtue to be the admiration of the world, sunk by corruption into obscurity and contempt.

"If any thing shall then remain of her boasted Constitution, it will display magnificence in disorder, majestic desolation, Babylon in ruins, where in the midst of broken arches and fallen columns, posterity will trace the monuments of our ancient freedom." (Apology, Original Preface, p. 14.)

"As a people, the most certain means of securing lasting prosperity, and of enabling us to transmit unimpaired to those who shall succeed us, the *rich inheritance* devolved from our fathers, will be a speedy return to the spirit and practice of the Gospel." (Fast Sermon, p. 65.)

* In his Letter to the Editor of the Leicester Journal, page 4, Mr. Hall thus expresses himself, in justification of his republication of his Apology. "It is certainly very unusual for a writer to suppress his own publications, unless he has recanted the principles they contain. To persevere in doing so naturally exposes him to the suspicion that he has renounced his former opinion, or that he is afraid to own them. But neither of these situations is mine: I have changed no principle, and I feel no fear."

"But when we consider how many of his sincere worshippers, how large a portion of his church, together with how rich a fund of wisdom, of talents, and of all the elements of social order and happiness which he must approve, are enclosed within the limits of this highly favored land, we cannot believe that he intends to give it up a prey unto his enemies." (P. 68.)

"The practice of the Constitution brands with proscription and disgrace a numerous class of the inhabitants on account of their religion." (Apology, p. 99.)

"Religious Toleration has never been complete, even in England." (P. 6.)

"With us the darkness has long been past, and the true light has arisen upon us. We have long possessed the clearest display of divine truth, together with the fullest liberty of conscience." (Fast Sermon, p. 27.)

The reader is requested to consider the contrast between these extracts from the Apology, as written in 1793, and republished in 1821; and the Fast Sermon of 1803; and while he admires the statesmanlike character of the latter, he must deplore that Mr. Hall should have "apostatized" a second time, for the sake of consistency. That, after having held one of these opinions in 1793, and adopted the other in 1803 (as it must now seem in a panic of apprehension), he should for the sake of consistency resume the former in 1821, seems most extraordinary; and seeing the honour Mr. Hall had done himself by the manly and patriotic character of his Fast Sermon, it is a change much to be regretted. Would that we might be the means of recalling him to those patriotic and Christian sentiments which he so eloquently expressed in 1803.

Mr. Hall's fifth section is "On Dissenters;" and he takes occasion to enumerate and bewail the grievances he considers them to have long lain under—to make various grave charges against the members of the Church of England, and to eulogize the Dissenters without discrimination, claiming for them, of all descriptions, equal loyalty and morality with the members of the establishment, and, as an indisputable fact, much more piety.

The propriety of the re-publication of this tract must depend on the applicability of its contents to existing circumstances; and it is with this reference that we proceed to consider it. We shall extract the passages on each of the above heads, and ask the judgment of the reader, whether Mr. Hall has furnished an example of Christian candour; and whether an interval of twenty-eight years might not have been reasonably expected to have abated more of that warmth of feeling, which, when repented of, youth and inexperience may indeed extenuate, but which requires to be in itself defensible when found in a re-publication by a reverend divine verging on his grand climacteric.

That the bearing of the following quotations may be apparent, we state distinctly the charges which we consider they substantiate.

We charge Mr. Hall with speaking most injuriously of the Church of England—we think most calumniously.

We charge him with disingenuously claiming for the Dissenters an attachment to the constitution of England, while he knows that that constitution is, by the law of the land, equally established in church and state; and while he himself tells us that the Dissenters are nearly all agreed in hostility to a church establishment.

We charge on him, that he endeavours to widen and inflame the differences that exist between Churchmen and Dissenters: by flattering and making a common cause with persons whose want of religious principle he must, in his heart, abhor; attached to them only for their hostility to a church, whose principles, on the essentials of Christianity, we think we may defy him to confute.

Before we proceed further, we will quote Mr. Hall's definition of a Dissenter, which will much elucidate the subsequent extracts.

"The religious opinions of Dissenters are so various, that there is perhaps *no point* on which they are agreed, except in asserting the rights of conscience against all human controul and authority." (Apology, p. 71.)

"A disposition to impose their religion on others, cannot be suspected in men, whose *distinguishing religious tenet* is the *disavowal of all human authority*." (P. 72.)

The grotesque form of this body of men, the Dissenters, "if shape it can be called which shape hath none," is very amusing: the quality "of denying all human authority in matters of conscience," forms the sole element of the union, and this the imagination must supply to make the heterogeneous mass cohere. Along this unsubstantial line arrange themselves the sympathizing members of this variegated body—Atheists, Deists, Theophilanthropists,—Unitarians, Arians, and Trinitarians,—Calvinists, and Arminians,—Methodists, and Antinomians. That these cannot form a body of which Jesus Christ is the head, is apparent from their mere names; but they are not thereby prevented from joining in that *very religious doctrine*, "the disavowal of human authority," and are therefore taken by Mr. Hall under his motley banners, as worthy to wage holy war against that corrupt thing an establishment.

Having ascertained what descriptions of partizans and allies this body of men includes, let us see what virtues Mr. Hall ascribes to them—not to some individuals among them (to whom we doubt

not might be properly ascribed to the most eminent Christian graces, but to the body constituted as we have seen.

To the possession of the moral virtues it was hardly to be expected that they (the Dissenters) were at least, as exemplars to their neighbours, while the more immediate duties of religion, if there be any distinction, it lies in their carrying to a greater height, sentiments of seriousness and devotion." (Apology, p. 68.)

Mr. Hall, in the progress of a few pages, must have had some nowlight flash upon him; for in p. 76 he says,

"It must likewise be plain to every observer, that piety flourishes most not among the Dissenters, than among the members of any establishment whatever."

"Confiding in the mildness of the times, and conscious that every trace of resentment was vanished from our breasts, we fondly imagined that those of churchmen were equally replete with sentiments of generosity and candour." (P. 82.)

"Encompassed, as Dissenters are, by calumny and reproach, they have still the satisfaction to reflect, that these have usually been the lot of distinguished virtue: and that in the corrupt state of man's interest and passions, the unpopularity of a cause is rather a presumption of its excellence." (P. 86.)

Vox Populi, Vox Dei.

"When the cloud of misrepresentation being scattered, it will be seen they (the Dissenters) are a virtuous and oppressed people, who are treading, though with unequal steps, in the paths of those illustrious prophets, apostles, and martyrs, of whom the world was not worthy. In the mean time they are far from envying the popularity and applause which may be acquired in a contrary course, esteeming the reproaches of freedom, above the splendour of servitude." (P. 82.)

"The enmity of the vicious, is the test of virtue." (P. 83.)

"Ergo, the enmity of churchmen proves the virtue of Dissenters."

The following is a good transition passage, as it combines praise of the Dissenters, with calumny of the Church of England.

"Under these circumstances, whatever portion of talents or worth Dissenters may possess, serves only to render them more hated, because more formidable. Had they merely revelled with the wasters, and drunk with the drunken; had they been clothed with courses, they might have been honoured and esteemed, notwithstanding, as true sons of the church; but their dissent is a crime too indelible in the eyes of their enemies for any virtue to alleviate or any merit to efface." (P. 80.)

"If a splendorous influence will always ultimately debase the clerical character, and preachers both in discipline and doctrine every error and abuse." (P. 75.)

"Turn a Christian society into an established church, and it is no

longer a voluntary assembly for the worship of God: (Why not?) It is a *powerful* corporation, full of such sentiments and passions as usually distinguish such bodies; a dread of innovation; an attachment to abuses; a propensity to tyranny and oppression." (P. 75.)

"Our very language is tinctured with this delusion, in which church and king are blended together with an arrogance that seems copied from Cardinal Wolsey's '*Ego et rex mens.*' (I and my king.) As if the establishment were of more consequence than the sovereign who represents the collective majesty of the state." (P. 76.)

It is strange that Mr. Hall should not be aware that the sentiment of church and king is an allusion to the divine and human government, and that an apostle suggested it, when he said, "Fear God; honour the King."

"The spiritual submission it (the alliance between church and state) exacts is unfavourable to mental vigour, and prepares the way for a servile acquiescence in the encroachments of civil authority." (P. 77.)

"To select and endow a particular order of clergy to teach the duty of submission is useless, as a means to secure the peace of society; though well fitted to produce a slavish subjection."—"They will insensibly become an army of *Spiritual Janisaries*.—Depending, as they every where must, upon the sovereign, his prerogative can never be exalted too high for their emolument, nor can any better instruments be contrived for the accomplishment of arbitrary designs." (P. 78.)

"If we wish to see the true spirit of an hierarchy, we have only to attend to the conduct of what is usually termed the high church party. When they had sufficient influence with the legislature, they impelled it to persecute; and now that a *more enlightened spirit* has brought that expedient into disgrace, they turn to the people, and endeavour to inflame their minds by the arts of calumny and detraction." (P. 79.)

"From the opposition of the bishops to the repeal of the penal statutes, we learn that they have lost the power, rather than the inclination, to persecute." (P. 79.)

"The *truth* is, that unwilling to relinquish the right of persecuting, though they have no immediate opportunity of exercising it, they retain these statutes as a body in reserve, ready to be brought into the field on the first occasion that shall offer." (P. 80.)

"The prejudice against us is not the work of a day, but the accumulation of ages, flowing from the *fixed antipathy* of a numerous and powerful order of men, distributed through all the classes of society: nor is it easy to conceive to what a pitch popular resentment may be inflamed by *artful* management and contrivance." (P. 80.)

"The clamour of the fanatic rabble, the *devout* execration of Dissenters, will remind the reader of ecclesiastical history of the excesses of Pagan ferocity, when the people, instigated by their *priests*, were wont to exclaim, '*Christianos ad leones.*' There is the less hope of this animosity being allayed, from its having arisen from permanent causes." (P. 80.)

"We accordingly ventured on a renewal of our claims as men and

as citizens, but had not proceeded far before we were assailed with the bitterest reproaches. Our enemies let us see that, however languidly the flame of their devotion may burn, that of resentment and party spirit, like vestal fire, must never be extinguished in their temples." (P. 82.)

"These beautiful specimens of loyalty, (that is, plundering their neighbours, breaking into oaths and excretations, and rioting) belong to the virtue and moderation of the high church party alone, with whose character they perfectly correspond." (P. 85.)

"On the abuses, (of the church) it is to little purpose to expatiate, as they are too numerous to be detailed, and too inveterate to be corrected. Unless it be a maxim that honesty will endanger her existence, her creeds ought, in all reason, to correspond with the sentiments of her members. The world, it is to be feared, will be little edified by the example of a church, which in compelling its members to subscribe opinions, that few of them believe, is a discipline of fraud." (P. 80.)

As we began this head, so will we end it, with an antidote, which Mr. Hall has kindly furnished, to the virulent matter it contains.

"Were we indeed a religious people, were the traces of Christianity as visible in our lives (Dissenters and all) as they are in our **CAREERS** and **CONFESSIONS**, we might derive solid support from the comparison of ourselves with others." (Fast Sermon, p. 28.)

If the Church of England can bear such fruits;—if its creeds and confessions are scriptural enough to afford a solid ground of hope for the divine protection; can all the intermediate matter be true of its members, as such? Whatever bad passions Mr. Hall may have observed afloat among his countrymen, he would do more wisely to trace them to the corruption of human nature, than to a church, one of whose fundamental articles it is, "that nothing is to be required of any Christian man, but what can be proved by certain warrant of holy writ;" and whose members, therefore, must stand condemned whenever they violate that charity which is the pervading principle of Christianity. Whoever forgets this, be he nominally Churchman or Dissenter, is not of the flock of Christ—not of the true church: and the Church of England is no more answerable for his conduct than Mr. Hall would be should it be imputable to one "who disavows all human authority in matters of religion."

We have yet to prove that Churchmen are not injurious to Dissenters when they charge them with being hostile to the constitution, as by law established; and to do this, it is not necessary to show that they are ill affected to the whole, but that they are to a main branch of the constitution; and for this, Mr. Hall furnishes abundant materials.

P. 72. "They (the Dissenters) begin to discern the impropriety of

all religious establishments whatever; a sentiment in which they are now nearly united."

P. 77. "The steam from that infernal pit (that of intolerance) will issue through the crevices, until they are filled up with the *ruins* of all human establishments."

P. 100. "True magnanimity would instruct the clergy to recede from a claim (that of tithes) which they will probably be compelled shortly to relinquish. But no reform it seems must take place in the church, any more than in the state, that its corruptions may keep pace with those of its ally."

P. 84. "—— it must be considered as the natural effect of the absurd conduct of the legislature. Exposed to *pains* and *penalties*; * excluded from all offices of trust; proscribed by the spirit of the present reign; † menaced and insulted wherever they appear; they must be more than men, if they felt no resentment, or were passionately devoted to the ruling powers."

P. 68. "The zeal of the dissenters in opposing Charles I. has been an eternal theme of reproach; but it should be remembered, that when that resistance first took place, the *parliament* consisted, for the most part, of *churchmen*, † and was fully justified in its opposition by the arbitrary measures of the court."

P. 74. "Happy had it been had civil establishments of religion been useless only instead of being productive of the *greatest evils*. But when Christianity is established by law, it is requisite to give the preference to some particular system: and as the magistrate is no better judge of religion than others, the chances are *as great* of his lending his sanction to the false as to the true."

Here the magistrate is spoken of because it aids better the sophistry of the statement, although the magistrate has no more to do with it than the constable. The church is established by the great council of the nation in parliament assembled—by the legislature: and that legislature is always competent to alter that which it has established; and as folly is seldom consistent, Mr. Hall may expect it will do so, if it is no better judge of religion than he maintains it to be.

Mr. Hall holds too much in common with the Church of England to attack it on the ground of essentials; he, therefore,

* What are they?

† This applies to the reign of George III. Let Mr. Hall say if it is true of that monarch, that he proscribed the Dissenters. If he yields to the dictates of his heart, he will allow that the late reign was, in a remarkable manner, characterized by the progress of liberal opinions, in which the monarch fully shared. To proscribe is to banish, to outlaw, to doom to death, to sequester and seize one's estate. Surely Mr. Hall will feel shame when he makes his memory in vain for one solitary act of the government or legislature, that would justify his imputing, even in a figurative sense, proscription of the Dissenters at all; how much further is it going to make it the character of the reign!

‡ How is this consistent with an attachment to abuses—a propensity to tyranny and oppression—(p. 75)—servile acquiescence, slavish subjection—(p. 78). Is not this to blow hot and cold with the same breath?

opposes it as an establishment, insinuating that the chances are against it on its own merits, while he knows that every Article of the Church of England was formed with a conscientious reference to the Holy Scriptures, and not without its compilers being ready "to give a reason for the faith that was in them."

Mr. Hall's genius is much greater than his policy, and he seldom fails to be led thereby to furnish an antidote to the mischiefs of his own aberrations: having said all the evil he can divine of an establishment, he thus involuntarily proves its admirable fitness to minister to the best interests of a country.

P. 78. "Their compact and united form, composing a chain of various links, which hangs suspended from the throne, admirably fits them for conveying the impressions that may soothe, inflame, or mislead the people." And so, of course, admirably fits them to lead them in the right way, if the principles of the establishment are sound:—to these we appeal, and this appeal will conduct us to the rock of ages; to the church of the first-born; to pure primitive Christianity. The members of the Church of England who have "searched the Scriptures to see whether these things are so,"—"who prove all things, holding fast that which is good,"—are in no danger of being moved by attacks, whose strength consists in assuming that an establishment must be erroneous on the doctrine of chances: they know what they have believed, and they have experienced consolations in her communion, which only can be the fruits of the Spirit.

Mr. Hall has uttered many hard sayings against the members of the Church of England; simply injurious now, if they were ever applicable:—at least they offend against the golden rule of not repeating old grievances, and tend to excite mutual animosities among those whom it would be rather his duty to exhort to love as brethren. We require to be informed of the practical good that can result from this "woman's war of railing and complaint," and ask him if he thinks these things are done in the spirit of that command that requires us "not to return evil for evil; but, contrariwise, blessing;"—of that spirit which says, "when ye are reviled, curse not;" and "let not the sun go down upon your wrath."

Thirty years is considered the average period of a human generation; and thus Mr. Hall is visiting on the children the sins of their forefathers; and that either because there has not been time enough for his passions to subside, or for the sake of preserving the identity of a pamphlet.

Mr. Hall is too powerful a writer for his errors to be innoxious. We beseech him, therefore, to concede to us any thing he can on the points we have contested. The government, in church and state, is, with all its faults, the best that the world ever saw: and

this consideration is a great encouragement to seek its improvement in a spirit of gratitude and love. As practical statesmen, we may do this, notwithstanding its faults—as patriots we may glory that we possess that which, could we impart it to any other country in the world, with the spirit of the people which has grown up under its fostering influence, would be, we doubt not, in the judgment of Mr. Hall, a blessing. Surely if it be good that a city should have peace within its walls, it is wiser and better to find points of union than of discord; and, if once engaged in the search, few could display them to more advantage than Robert Hall.

Since the above was written, we have seen the reply of Mr. Hall to the Review in the *Christian Guardian*; and we feel compelled, by the disingenuous manner in which he endeavours to evade the charge of being a false prophet, to express ourselves more at large on that point.

The Reviewer, having noticed the following prediction in p. 88. of the Apology,—“We have arrived; it is a melancholy truth which can no longer be concealed; we have at length arrived at that crisis, that *nothing* but speedy and effectual reform can save us from ruin,” ventures to say, “That the general state of the country is better, and not worse, than at the time when Mr. Hall first published this direful presage.”

Mr. Hall, in a Letter to the Editor of the *Leicester Journal*, replies to the charge in the following sober and dignified manner:

“I am at a loss to reply in suitable terms to a writer who seems to glory in setting truth at defiance. Let me ask the reader, whether he thinks there is a single person to be found in the nation, who really believes our condition, as a people, is improved in the last thirty years? Where is the improvement to be found? Is it in the augmentation of the national debt to three times its former amount; in the accumulated weight of taxes; in the increase of the poor-rates; in the depression of land to one-half its former value; in the agricultural interest; in the thousands, and tens of thousands, of farmers who are distrained for rent, and they and their families reduced to beggary? Has this writer already forgotten the recent distress of the manufacturing class, who, from the failure of employment, and depression of wages, were plunged into despair, while numbers of them quitted their homes, and sought a precarious and scanty relief by dragging through the country loaded waggons and carts, like beasts of burden? Is it in the rapid and portentous multiplication of crimes, by which our prisons are glutted with malefactors? If these are indications of increasing prosperity, we may justly adopt the language of the Liturgy, from such prosperity ‘good Lord deliver us.’”

Mr. Hall thus tauntingly enumerates the points in which he thinks the country has deteriorated, suppressing all allusion to those in which it has made unparalleled advancement. Nobody

in their senses will look for a direct proof of prosperity in increased debts and charges; but if they are now punctually and honourably met to an amount that would have been impracticable thirty years back, (and Mr. Hall then pledged his "mediocrity of talent," that taxation had reached its limit,) then it is a proof that the resources and wealth of the country have increased in proportion to the charges upon it; and if a real balance of five millions of revenue over the nation's expenditure shall be realized in the current year, it will be a proof that the resources and prospects of the country are improved and improving.

Mr. Hall, with a strange short-sightedness, strives to swell his catalogue of grievances by allusion to the commercial distress, which he admits has passed away; and which fact must suggest the hope, that as the agriculturists are necessary to the country, they will ere long be able to maintain themselves from the produce of the soil they cultivate.

The poor rates are a never-failing topic of declamation with those who, from various causes, are jealous of their country's glory; and on a superficial view they countenance gloomy forebodings much more than they would on a fair investigation.

In the year 1790 they amounted to more than $2\frac{1}{4}$ millions, with wheat at 6s. 4d. per bushel, a population of about 8 millions, and taxes one-third of their present amount. According to recent returns, the poor rates have increased to 8 millions with wheat at 9s. per bushel, a population of nearly 12 millions, and taxes increased as above. Now estimate their positive increase by these data. Take $2\frac{1}{4}$ millions for 8 millions of people and it will require $3\frac{3}{4}$ millions for 12 millions.

Take wheat at 6s. 4d. per bushel at one period, and 9s. at another, and it will account for an increased expenditure of nearly one half, say from $3\frac{3}{4}$ to $5\frac{1}{4}$ millions.

Consider that the whole of this population is subject to taxation increased three times in amount, and if the taxes constituted 10% per cent. on the expenditure 30 years ago, they now form 30% per cent., or $\frac{1}{3}$ th of the whole more than then, and this will increase the amount of poor rates at the present time to $6\frac{1}{4}$ millions, without any relative increase of pauperism.

Next consider the practice which has prevailed in the agricultural districts of paying for labour in poor rate, and it will be admitted that any increase this may have caused will not be a proof that the poor are a greater burden to the country; but that the selfishness of the farmers has led them to abuse a trust to the injury of their labourers, and consequently to their own injury.

Again, let it be borne in mind that during the last thirty years the general humanity of the country has much dilated, and

consequently the condition of paupers has been improved; better workhouses, better food, and better clothing, have been provided: this must have caused an increase of expenditure; but who will say that it is a proof of the deterioration of the country?

Now the two last items will go far to account for the 1½ million of increase; and where is the formidable symptom of the national ruin in the increase of poor rates?

Mr. Hall alludes to what he calls a portentous increase of crimes, which he says has glutted our prisons with malefactors. Does he forget that prisons have no vegetative power whereby they can expand in proportion as they are crammed, and that, however lamentable, it is a general truth that the number of criminals is multiplied by an increase of wealth and population? Does he know that from the days of the benevolent Howard, until very recently, no addition had been made to receive the criminals of a nation doubled in population; and that he pointed out the mischiefs resulting, in his time, from crowded prisons? Is it a period when most extensive and substantial reforms in this obvious cause of the increase of crimes have been effected that Mr. Hall chooses to taunt his country with an evil which they are actively engaged in remedying? A patriot would rather point, exultingly, to the good that had been done as an inducement to perseverance; but Mr. Hall had foretold the ruin of his country, and it is not ruined. The country must not put his pamphlet out of countenance.

The power to pay increased taxes is a proof of increased national wealth. The more liberal provision for the poor is a proof of increased power and liberality; and the cessation of commercial distress is an earnest of the passing away of the agricultural. The progress made in prison discipline, which has effected, in some instances, a diminution in the proportion of criminals recommitted from 20 in the hundred to 3 per cent., is a proof of national improvement; and all this in the teeth of Mr. Hall's pamphlet. England, poor England, has most of all that constitutes wealth—she has most intellect,—literary, scientific, mechanical:—she has most capital,—money, machinery, manufactures, and natural products:—she has most integrity,—look to the low rate of interest of her immense debt:—she has most humanity,—look to her contributions, dispersed like the dew of Heaven, when calamity overtakes her fellow men; look to her sacrifices, pecuniary and commercial, to rescue Europe from the crime, and Africa from the scourge, of the detestable slave trade:—she has most religion,—look at the glorious sum of 100,000*l.* voluntarily contributed annually to diffuse the sacred Scriptures:—she has surely her share of military and naval glory,—may she long draw on her rich stores

of renown, and, by her equity and moderation, still overcome her enemies. She is the freest among the free,—for of America, which alone could rival her, be it remembered that a large part of her population are slaves, having no rights, degraded to the level of cattle, and that this is permitted in a federal union of boasted freemen.

England is free, and her freedom has grown with her growth and strengthened with her strength: she is therefore naturally free, and she is more free than she was thirty years ago.

These are our reasons for thinking Mr. Hall ought to take shame to himself for clinging to a false prediction, which Divine Providence has enabled his country to refute. If he still glories in his prophetic foresight, we cannot but designate him as one of those “who glory in their shame.”

ART. XVII.—*A Retrospect of the First Ten Years of the Protestant Mission to China (now, in Connexion with the Malay, denominated the Ultra-Ganges Missions), accompanied with miscellaneous Remarks on the Literature, History, and Mythology of China.* By William Milne. Malacca, at the Anglo-Chinese Press, 1820. 8vo. pp. 376.

WE have heard so much of late years of the journals of Roman Catholic Missionaries, and, particularly, thanks to Mr. Southey, of the Jesuits in South America, that we took up, with some interest, the present narrative of a modern Protestant Mission, embracing a sphere of operation at the least as important as the Abipones of a Dobrizhoffer, or any other half-explored horde of either hemisphere. We confess, however, that we have been disappointed in the character of much of the information contained in Mr. Milne's volume. It is, in truth, a long, and often a very heavy, detail of the unimportant as well as important events which have befallen the Protestant Chinese Missionaries, with their wives and children, during ten years, and might, so far as the public are concerned, be very advantageously condensed into one-fourth or fifth part of its present dimensions. The benevolent author has a most grievous habit of writing dissertations where it was only necessary to relate facts, as well as of relating facts which are often of as little value to the public as some of his dissertations; yet, with these somewhat severe introductory remarks still wet on our paper, we must not fail to

add, what affords some excuse for the tediousness of many of Mr. Milne's details, that his work is intended chiefly for the use of those persons who are, or may be in future, employed in the Ultra-Ganges Missions, to whom much of what is very dry and tame to an ordinary reader, especially in Europe, may be very useful and necessary. It may be well also, as a matter of history, to have this minute account of the early proceedings of an establishment, which, in future ages, may perhaps be referred to as an early germ of Ultra-Ganges Christianity. The unborn historiographers of China, and the Malayan Archipelago, will have to thank Mr. Milne for a narrative, which, though it may now appear disproportionately long and minute, will fill a chasm in their histories, which the antiquaries of Europe would gladly find supplied in our own. With what interest should we now peruse an authentic and detailed account of the first ten, or first hundred years of Christianity in Great Britain: though even in this case we could dispense with some of the particulars which the Ultra-Ganges annalist has thought it necessary to record,—particulars very proper doubtless to be noticed on the minute-books of the mission, or to be discussed as matters of business at the scene of action, but quite unworthy to figure at full length in print for the edification of general society.

To all persons, however, who are interested, either practically or speculatively, in missionary exertions, the present volume will afford much valuable information; and even for readers who have little taste for this species of intelligence, a class with whom we by no means wish to symbolize, Mr. Milne communicates many particulars which deserve their perusal and attention. We could wish, because it would powerfully tend to promote the public interest in religious missions, that missionaries would more generally endeavour to secure a perusal of their publications among persons of general literature, by enriching them with communications of universal interest to the reading part of the community. Much indeed has been done in this way; and we could easily show that geography, history, philology, the science of antiquities, and miscellaneous literature, are under obligations of the very highest class to Christian missionaries; and never more so than at the present moment, when in every quarter of the globe are to be found among the agents of benevolence persons of enlarged and philosophical minds; who have diligently surveyed and reported on the countries they have visited, and added as much to the stock of universal knowledge as to the diffusion of Christian principles. We believe that it is from the purest motives that still *more* has not been effected in this department; and we can well feel with Mr. Burke, in his panegyric on Howard, how far more sublime is the moral taste

that actuates a faithful agent of benevolence than the gratification of a more scientific or literary predilection. Still we think, that our missionaries, without in any way debasing their higher tastes, or diminishing their religious usefulness, might devote a share of attention to points of very subordinate importance to *them*, but which would greatly interest and instruct many readers who do not generally trouble themselves with missionary narratives. No human mind can for many years together profitably devote itself with close attention, for seventeen or eighteen hours every day, to one given subject; there must be a certain degree of change in its habits of thought; both body and mind require some intervals of relaxation and variety of employment. Without, therefore, any sacrifice as respects his great object, an intelligent and industrious missionary may do much for the promotion of science and the general interests of human nature. Located, perhaps, in a region almost unknown to his countrymen, or the literati of Europe, he may, in his walks and recreations, almost without effort, collect, in the course of years, a variety of important facts in geology, meteorology, botany, and geography; he may amass a fund of thermometrical, barometrical, magnetical, and other scientific observations; he may note the phenomena of winds, and tides, and currents; in short, he may incidentally confer upon science such benefits as will command general attention and respect to his communication. It is superfluous to add how much benefit he may render to man *as man*, and apart from, though not unconnected with, his higher and spiritual destinies, by introducing the arts of civilized life; by naturalizing useful vegetables and animals; by improving the agriculture and rude manufactures of a country; and by convincing both his civilized neighbours at home, and the immediate objects of his benevolent labours, that a missionary, while he is devoted supremely to his immediate vocation as a spiritual instructor, is not necessarily destitute of any taste or quality that can adorn, or ameliorate, or exalt the ordinary condition of humanity.

Mr. Milne begins his work with showing that Christianity is suited to, and intended for, all nations; and proceeds to epitomize the efforts of former ages to diffuse its benefits. He states that the first attempts to extend the Gospel to China were made by the Nestorians, who, from the fifth century, when that sect arose, to the end of the seventh century, penetrated through the various countries eastward of Constantinople, as far as Tartary, where they spread their doctrines and formed Christian societies. They arrived in China about the end of the seventh century, and established churches; from which period little is known of them for nearly five hundred years. In the thirteenth century they are stated by Mosheim to have had a flourishing church in the

North of China, where it still continued to exist in the beginning of the fifteenth century, after Christianity had been nearly extinguished in Tartary. During the course of the fifteenth and the early part of the sixteenth centuries, Nestorianism is thought to have entirely died away in China.

Mr. Milne states, what appears somewhat remarkable, that though, according to Mosheim and other ecclesiastical historians, Christianity had existed in China, in the Nestorian form, for more than eight hundred years, no authentic Chinese record that our author had been able to discover, notices the circumstance of its introduction, or alludes to the efforts, doctrines, sufferings, or extinction of its votaries; nor, with the exception of one stone tablet, mentioned by some Romish missionaries, could Mr. Milne learn that any Christian monument, or inscription, or any vestiges of ecclesiastical edifices, had been noticed by any Chinese writer. Besides which, no part of the Nestorian doctrines or ceremonies appears, according to our author, to have mingled with the pagan systems of China. These circumstances are the more singular, as the Chinese writers notice every other foreign sect which has entered their country; and particularly several which prevailed at the very period at which, according to Mosheim and other historians, the Nestorians were a flourishing community in China.

The Church of Rome, which, with all its enormities, has made at different periods truly zealous efforts for the conversion of the heathen, directed its attention in the thirteenth century to this country. An embassy, composed chiefly of ecclesiastics, was sent from Pope Nicholas IV. to the Emperor of the Tartars; their principal object being Tartary; though it is said that they erected some churches also in China. In the year 1307, the Gospel had made such progress in this country, that Pope Clement V. elevated *Cambalu*, which some think means Peking, into an archbishoprick. At the commencement of the seventeenth century, numbers of Jesuits, Dominicans, Franciscans, and Capuchins, entered China, from which period there were considerable accessions of native converts. Some of the Romish missionaries in this country have been eminent models of zeal, patience, and Christian piety; though unhappily all were not of this character. To the western fictions and fopperies of the Romish church, began to be added many of oriental growth; divisions were introduced into these infant societies, and commissioners were despatched from Rome, armed with pompous powers, to hear and determine controversies, which they only exasperated by their interference; all which circumstances greatly impeded the extension of pure Christianity among the natives.

Of late years the Romish missionaries have been violently

persecuted; they have also melted away in consequence of the modern reverses which have befallen the papal power, and crippled the efforts of the Romish propagandists throughout the world. And, what is still worse, from the wretched policy of withholding the Scriptures from their lay members, they have left no germ behind them to keep up a succession of converts; who, thus deprived both of oral and written instruction, have gradually relapsed into their primitive paganism.

Mr. Milne's second chapter is devoted to a rapid sketch of the history and national character of the Chinese. The following passage will show that our author's estimate is not very high:

"China, notwithstanding the advantages which she has enjoyed from the writings of her sages and the wisdom of her lawgivers, possesses little intellectual and moral excellence—little honourable principle as a nation—little regard to truth; but much fraud and artifice, and contempt of other tribes of men. She possesses, in an astonishing measure, the art of turning all her intercourse with foreigners to her own honour and advantage; while they are made to feel their own insignificance and dependance. Idle displays of majesty and authority must satisfy those nations which seek her alliance; for in vain will they look for truth or respectful treatment. If they can be contented to bow down, and acknowledge that their bread, their water, and their existence are the effects of her bounty; she will not deal unkindly with them. But, woe to that nation which dares presume even to *think* itself equal, or within a thousand degrees of equality—that nation is rude, barbarous, obstinate, and unfilial; not to tear it up root and branch, is a display of forbearance worthy of the Sovereign of the Celestial Empire alone!

"If in her intercourse with foreign countries, China cannot with truth and justice make all things appear honourable to herself, she makes no difficulties about using other means. She discolours narrative—she misquotes statements—she drags forth to the light whatever makes for her own advantage—and industriously seals up in oblivion whatever bears against her. She lies by system; and, right or wrong, must have all to look well on paper." (P. 24, 25.)

The religious codes of China are thus described:—

"Most of the forms of mythology which make any figure in the page of History, now exist in China; except that their indecent appendages and their direct tendency to injure human life, have been cut off. The idolatry of ancient Canaan, of Egypt, of Greece, of Rome, of Chaldea, and of India, are all to be found here, though with some slight variations. China has her Diana, her Æolus, her Ceres, her Esculapius, her Mars, her Mercury, her Neptune, and her Pluto, as well as the western Pagans had. She has gods celestial, terrestrial, and subterraneous—gods of the hills, of the vallies, of the woods, of the districts, of the family, of the shop, and of the kitchen! she adores the gods who are supposed to preside over the thunder, the rain, the fire; over the grain, over births and deaths, and over the

We would extend our author's remark to every country and city in the world where a British consul, resident, or other official agent is acknowledged. In many considerable towns, even in Europe, with which we have frequent intercourse, and where many subjects of this realm are always to be found, the natives are left to infer either that we have no religion at all, or that we are ashamed of it; or, at least, that we think it a subject of too slight importance to introduce it as an ordinary want and craving of the national appetite. The effect is deeply injurious even to the mother country itself; for the absence of religious worship and Christian pastors in so many parts of the world with which we have constant intercourse, imparts a sceptical and irreligious cast to the minds of tens of thousands, we might say millions, of our fellow-subjects, who, on their return home, import with them that indifference to religion, and that hostility to the salutary rules of an established church and the duties of the Christian Sabbath, which they had acquired in the scenes of their emigration. In some instances it is even stated that funds, appropriated by the British Parliament expressly for the maintenance of religious worship in places of diplomatic or commercial residency, have been gradually allowed to flow in the merely secular channels of official dignity. We are not very forward to propose, in this intermeddling age, new subjects of parliamentary inquisition; yet we cannot but think that it would form an interesting and beneficial topic of inquiry, what provision is made by the public for the maintenance of our national worship in every part of the world where a British representative is stationed; and in what way, where funds are voted for that purpose, they are appropriated; and whether any practicable measures can be devised for extending the religious benefits of a Christian and Protestant community to other places where our countrymen are at present destitute of this inestimable advantage.

As the state of China renders prints and other missionary avocations difficult and precarious, Mr. Milne informs us, that it was determined by the friends and members of the Ultra-Ganges mission to make Malacca their principal station. Since this project was carried into execution, other missionaries have arrived at that place; and an establishment has been formed, entitled, "The Anglo-Chinese College;" where various publications, Chinese, Malay, and English, have been prepared, printed, and widely circulated; and among others, a periodical work, "The Indo-Chinese Gleaner," which contains a considerable portion of oriental information.

We pass by the affairs of the mission, to extract some of Mr. Milne's remarks on Chinese printing, the details of which may probably be unknown to most of our readers.

"The Chinese have three methods of printing. The first invented, and that which almost universally prevails, is called '*Moh-pan*, or *wooden plates*.' It is a species of stereotype, and answers all the ends thereof; as the letters do not require to be distributed and re-composed; but, being once clearly cut, they remain, till either the block be destroyed, or till the characters be so worn down by the ink-bush, as to be illegible.

"The second is called *Läh-pan*, i. e. '*wax plates*,' and consists in spreading a coat of wax on a wooden frame, after which, with a graving tool, they cut the characters thereon. This method is rarely adopted, except in cases of haste and urgency; and it differs from the former only in the kind of plate on which the words are engraved. This sort of printing I have not seen practised by the Chinese, nor observed it noticed in any book. The printers employed at Malacca, say that when an urgent affair occurs, a number of workmen are called in, and a small slip of wood, with space for one, two, or more lines, is given to each, which they cut with great expedition, and when all is finished, join together by small wooden pins; by this means a page, or a sheet, is got up very speedily, like an Extra Gazette in an English printing office. This method they say, is, from its expeditiousness, called *Lah-pan*, and they knew nothing of the other.

"The third is denominated *Hwö-pan*, i. e. '*living plates*,' so called from the circumstance of the characters being single, and moveable, as the types used in European printing. *Kang-he*, in 1722, had a great number of these moveable types made of copper; whether cut, or cast, it is not said. The Chinese are not however entirely ignorant of *casting*, though they do not use it to any extent. The Imperial seals on the Calendar, are cast with the Chinese character on one half of the face, and the Manchow Tartar on the other. Copper vessels used in the temples, and bells, have frequently ancient characters, and inscriptions, cast with them. Whether they have ever attempted to cast single characters, or to frame matrices, similar to those which are used in casting types for alphabetic languages, does not appear. These *Hwö-pan*, or moveable types, are commonly made of wood. The Canton daily paper, called *Yuen-mun-pao*, (i. e. A report from the outer gate of the palace,) containing about 500 words, or monosyllables, is printed with these wooden types; but in so clumsy a manner as to be scarcely legible.

"At Macao, in the Missionary department of the College of St. Joseph, I have seen several large cases full of this description of type, with which they print such Roman Catholic books as are wanted for the Missions. In the Anglo-Chinese College Library at Malacca, there is a *Life of the Blessed Virgin* in two, and the *Lives of the Saints* in twenty-six, volumes, 18mo. printed with the wooden type, at the College of St. Joseph; but all that can be said of the printing is, that it is barely legible—a vast difference between it and the other Catholic books, which were executed in the common way,—those of them that were cut at Peking in blocks, are elegantly printed. On asking the priests at St. Joseph's the reason why they used the moveable type, seeing it was so much inferior in beauty to the other

method, they answered that the persecution in China had obliged them to adopt this method, as blocks were more cumbersome, and not so easily carried off, or hidden, in cases where the Missionaries were obliged to flee, or where they expected a search to be made by the Mandarins. The copper types look better on the paper than the wooden ones; but the impression is inferior in beauty to that from moderately well executed blocks. A history of the *Loo-choo Islands*, in 4 vols. octavo, compiled by the authority of *Keen-lung*, was printed with copper types; and may be given as an instance of this inferiority, though its execution is by no means bad. The Chinese have no press; but whether the forms are of wooden blocks, waxen plates, or moveable types, they have the same method of printing, or casting off that is, by means of a dry brush rubbed over the sheet.

"The Chinese have six different kinds, or rather six different forms, of the character, each of which has its appropriate name; and all of which are occasionally used in printing. That which, like our *Roman*, prevails most generally is called *Sung-te*. To write this form of the character, is of itself an employment in China. There are men who learn it purposely, and devote themselves entirely to the labor of transcribing for the press. Few of the learned can write it: indeed they rather think it below them to do the work of a mere transcriber. With respect to moveable types, the body of the type being prepared, the character is written *inverted*, on the top: this is a more difficult work than to write for blocks. After this, the type is fixed in a mortise, by means of two small pieces of wood, joined together by a wedge, and then engraved; after which it is taken out, and the face lightly drawn across a whetstone, to take off any rough edge that the carving instrument may have left.

"The process of preparing for and printing with the blocks, or in the stereotype way, is as follows. The block, or wooden plate, ought to be of the *Lee* or *Tsau* tree, which they describe thus:—The *Lee* and *Tsau* are of a fine grain, hard, oily, and shining; of a soulish taste, and what vermin do not soon touch; hence used in printing. The plate is first squared to the size of pages, with the margin at top and bottom; and is in thickness generally about half an inch. They then smooth it on both sides with a joiner's plane; each side contains two pages, or rather indeed but one page according to the Chinese method of reckoning; for they number the *leaves*, not the pages of a book. The surface is then rubbed over with rice, boiled to a paste, or some glutinous substance, which fills up any little indentments, not taken out by the plane; and softens and moistens the face of the board, so that it more easily receives the impression of the character.

"The transcriber's work is, first to ascertain the exact size of the page, the number of lines, and of characters in each line; and then to make what they call a *Kih*, or form of lines, horizontal and perpendicular, crossing each other at right angles, and thus leaving a small square for each character—the squares for the same sort of character, are all of equal size, whether the letter be complicated as to strokes, or simple: a letter or character with fifty strokes of the pencil, has as large space assigned to it than one with barely a single

stroke. This makes the page regular and uniform in its appearance, though rather crowded, where many complicated characters follow each other in the same part of the line. The margin is commonly at the top of the page, though not always so.—Marginal notes are written, as with us, in a smaller letter. This form of lines, being regularly drawn out, is sent to the printer, who cuts out all the squares, leaving the lines prominent; and then prints off as many sheets, commonly in *red ink*, as are wanted. The transcriber then with black ink, writes in the squares from his copy; fills up the sheet; points it; and sends it to the block cutter, who, before the glutinous matter is dried up from the board, puts the sheet on *inverted*, rubs it with a brush and with his hand, till it sticks very close to the board. He next sets the board in the sun, or before the fire, for a little, after which he rubs off the sheet entirely with his fingers; but not before a clear impression of each character has been communicated. The graving tools are then employed, and all the white part of the board is cut out, while the black, which shews the character, is carefully left. The block being cut, with edged tools of various kinds, the process of printing follows. The block is laid on a table; and a brush made of hair, being dipped in ink, is lightly drawn over the face. The sheets being already prepared, each one is laid on the block, and gently pressed down by the rubbing of a kind of brush, made of the hair of the Tsung tree. The sheet is then thrown off; one man will throw off 2,000 copies in a day. Chinese paper is very thin, and not generally printed on both sides, though in some particular cases that is also done. In binding, the Chinese fold up the sheet, turning inward that side on which there is no impression. On the middle of the sheet, just where it is folded, the title of the book, the number of the leaves, and of the sections, and also sometimes the subject treated of, are printed, the same as in European books, except that in the latter, they are at the top of the page, whereas here, they are on the front-edge of the leaf; and generally cut so exactly on the place where it is folded that in turning the leaves, one sees one half of each character, on one side, and the other half, on the other. The number of sheets destined to constitute the volume, being laid down and pressed between two boards, on the upper one of which a heavy stone is laid, are then covered with a sort of coarse paper—not with boards as in Europe; the back is then cut, after which the volume is stitched, not in our way, but through the whole volume at once, from side to side, a hole having been previously made through it with a small pointed iron instrument. The top and bottom are then cut, and thus the whole process of Chinese type-cutting, printing, and binding, is finished.” (P. 223—228.)

Our author enters into a long argument respecting the advantages and disadvantages of the Chinese method of printing—namely, by means of blocks, like our engravings on wood—as contrasted with the European, and gives the preference very decidedly to the former. Some of his arguments appear to us quite inconclusive. His remarks, for example, that Chinese

block-printing "possesses all the advantages of European stereotype, except two—*durability of the block*, and the combining of several pages in a large *form* for printing." Now the first of these exceptions is the very point which constitutes the chief utility of stereotype-printing, and to be deficient in this, is at once to concede the superiority. We of course concur with Mr. Milne, in admitting the difficulty of applying the European method of printing by moveable types to a language of hieroglyphics, in which there is no regular alphabet, and where, perhaps, forty thousand characters would be necessary. But we are by no means convinced that the obstacle is insuperable. It is true, indeed, that no missionary society, or individual type-founder, could undertake the expense and risk of preparing forty thousand matrices, from which not a single fount of types might ever be disposed of. But if by the public spirit of the government, or of some opulent body of individuals, such a set of matrices were once prepared, from which founts might be cast at a very moderate expense for every part of the empire, and every place where Chinese is written or spoken; we are inclined to think that the uniformity, correctness, and superior beauty of workmanship of such characters above those of wooden blocks, would in time bring them into use. There would indeed be many difficulties in composing from such a multitude of characters, which it is not necessary to detail; but a few years' experience and practice would doubtless enable a compositor so far at least to overcome them as to set up his types with incredibly greater rapidity than a wood-cutter engraver could form his blocks, the best workman being able to cut only about 150 letters in a day. The types when done with could be distributed, and would be ready for any other work; the press might also be easily corrected, which at present can only be done by a laborious process, the workman cutting out the wrong character from his block, fitting in a slip of wood in its place, and cutting the right character upon it. If there be a letter to be expunged, he cuts out not only the delinquent, but its two neighbours on both sides, inserts a new slip of wood, and engraves four characters in the place of the five. If several words, or a line, or more, are omitted, the same process is adopted, and the corrected text inserted in a smaller type, so as to crowd the whole into the necessary space. Mr. Milne thinks that though the appearance of the page is "a little injured thereby," it is of no consequence, so long as the legibility and usefulness of the book are preserved; but we make no doubt, that if cast types were once generally adopted, the eye of the Chinese would become as fastidious as that of Europeans, in its demand for uniformity; and that the art would be greatly improved. Perhaps, however,

in the present state of the Chinese language, the greatest immediate improvement in printing would be, by means of the lithographic press; an invention which, as far as we know, has not yet been introduced into that country. We strongly recommend Mr. Milne, and other gentlemen connected with Chinese printing, to make a trial of its powers, which we think would be far more advantageously applicable to Chinese printing than to any other branch of art to which they have been hitherto applied.

But, after every improvement in printing, the present mode of conveying language by short hand pictures instead of alphabetical letters, will always present an obstacle of formidable magnitude to the wide and rapid diffusion of knowledge in the Chinese tongue. It would probably be an achievement quite impracticable, to publish, for example, one of our daily London newspapers in China. But one finisher we presume could work at one block, and supposing there were several engravers assisting him, each with his one hundred and fifty characters per day, they must be several days in giving to the public a single debate in parliament; which, in London, is on our breakfast tables sometimes before the debaters can have well retired to rest after their labours. If China is ever to vie with Europe, in the wide and rapid diffusion of literature, it must be by the adoption of an alphabetical method of writing, instead of her present cumbersome system. The whole civilized world may, perhaps, in the course of a few centuries, realize the dream of an universal character, if not an universal language. The Roman alphabet, so long the standard of the greater part of Europe, has already, by means of colonization and commerce, become familiar throughout the world. England, in particular, has not only conveyed it westward, together with her language, into the vast regions of North America, and given it also to many savage nations where no written sign had before existed, but is extending its conquests in every part of the East; and, if Dr. Gilchrist's system continue to advance with its present progress, we may expect that, in time, not only will Europeans write the oriental languages in the Roman character, but that the natives themselves will imitate the practice of their conquerors. Possibly even of China itself, hostile as that country is to innovation, may gradually adopt this widely diffused character, though not probably till long after its old hieroglyphics shall have ceased to be used any where but within the precincts of the celestial empire. We certainly retain some classical feelings which forbid our viewing with unmingled satisfaction the innovation which commercial habits, and modern contrivances for shortening labour, are working on the oriental alphabets, which we have

been so long accustomed to identify with the languages whose sounds they represent. We never take up, for example, any of the modern race of oriental books now so frequently published in the Roman character, without feeling somewhat outraged at the innovation, and recoiling as from the Greek quotations in some of the editions of Matthew Henry's Bible and other works, in which a similar practice is adopted, to the great annoyance of the scholar, and with no conceivable benefit to the English reader. We are willing, however, to confess—what by the way might have settled some warm recent disputes on the very subject we have just alluded to—that the requirements of commerce, and the elegances of literature, are of a very different character. We believe that Dr. Gilchrist, for example, may be quite right in opening his easy way to the oriental languages, to young men who have no opportunity or desire to attain more than a competent colloquial or business-like acquaintance with them; while we think the East India Company's colleges are equally right in viewing the question in a more classical and scholastic manner, and studying not so much how a youth can obtain the quickest “knack” of speaking and reading an oriental tongue, as how he may be most deeply and maturely grounded in all its native peculiarities.

But we must return to our author, whose plans, and those of his worthy colleagues, for Christianizing the vast tracts eastward of India, we earnestly wish may be crowned with abundant success. Their sphere of action embraces the various nations and islands commencing with Burmah, proceeding westward along the continent to the isles of Japan, including the Malayan Archipelago, and the vast groups of islands lying between Pulo Penang and Corea. These scenes comprise some of the most populous countries in the world, and contain, perhaps, a third of the human race. Many of the tribes in the interior of the islands are in the lowest stages of barbarism; from these the gradation is minutely marked, up to the highest ranks of native oriental culture and civilization. All, however, except a few tracts where Christianity has penetrated, are sunk in Mohammedan or Pagan superstition; and loudly demand the benevolent energies of European Christians to promote their political, moral, and, above all, their spiritual and eternal welfare.

It is a great and noble enterprise, and one which will do much to advance the cause of Christianity in the East. The author's plan is to send out a number of missionaries, who will be assisted by a large number of native converts. The plan is to send out a number of missionaries, who will be assisted by a large number of native converts. The plan is to send out a number of missionaries, who will be assisted by a large number of native converts.

Art. XVIII.—*Sermons on the Christian Character, with Occasional Discourses, by the Rev. C. J. Hoare, A. M. Rector of Godstone, and late Vicar of Blandford Forum.* Hatchard. London, 1821.

It is not often that sermons come under our critical cognisance. We feel a tenderness in touching them. Orthodox and evangelical discourses, however written, are entitled to their benefit of clergy against any sentence of profane criticism. Never shall their operation be impeded or weakened by one word of disapprobation from us, where, whatever may be their defects of diction or execution, they faithfully promulgate the word of God, and inculcate lessons which, however trite in form and expression, are grounded upon the warrant of scripture and the testimony of the conscience. It is moreover not easy to calculate in any particular case how the heart is to be best approached, or what mode of exhibiting a spiritual truth may happen, from certain associations, to find the readiest way to the conviction of the person appealed to; still less within our knowledge is it to forego to what efforts, he, "without whom nothing is strong," will vouchsafe his effectual though secret support. These considerations secure from the grasp of our criticism the exertions of mediocrity, in a department wherein to endeavour sincerely is to do well, and wherein that which gains no laurel here, may gain a crown hereafter. The productions of a higher sort in this branch of composition are seldom those which furnish the matter of a critical journal. The great truths and doctrines of religion are not to be approached in a light and careless way; nor do they seem to be in their appropriate place when inserted amidst a medley of secular or profane topics, or made to float down the stream of ephemeral interest with those comparatively idle products of intellect which begin and end with this perishing scene of mortality. We have said thus much partly to excuse the infrequency of articles in our journal on this description of publication, but more particularly to mark the distinction with which we wish to be considered as treating the singularly useful and able discourses which now lie upon our table, and which take us out of our usual course by an imperious attraction.

Of the progress of religion in the soul—of its necessary and characteristic operation upon the temper and habits—of its spiritual elevation of the heart towards God—its subduing influences on the "lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life;" of its great and vital peculiarities; the fallen state of man; and his desperate condition without the Saviour; of these instructive views of internal Christianity, the divinity-shelves of our libraries display no want. Neither is there any scarcity of vo-

lumes illustrative of the practical morality furnished by the example and precepts of the Divine Founder of our faith; but we seemed to want just such a book as is here presented to us, in which the conduct specifically to be observed by the consistent Christian in the particular situations and relations in which he must exhibit himself to the world, so as to preserve an uniform correspondence with his professions, and, if we may be allowed the allusion, to keep his parallelism with himself in all parts of his orbit, is determinately marked out and prescribed. Man's whole duty, and the serious call which his Christian profession makes upon him, have been the subjects of many excellent volumes; but the defect we remark in them is this: they bring the Christian scheme at once into conflict and collision with all the gaieties and fascinations of life, and put them at once and altogether under the ban of an austere and inexorable interdict: the heart droops, the resolution falters, a gloom overspreads the spirits; heaven appears to frown upon human happiness, and so delight in the mortification and sorrow of the creature but if Christ's religion is placed before us as a religion of love, if we are made sensible of the sanctity and serenity which it introduces into our duties and exertions, correcting and purifying all the purposes and propensities of the heart, shaping our delights, so as to point them towards God and eternity, rendering sensuality distasteful, multiplying innocent and holy joys, facilitating self-conquest, attenuating care, disarming disappointment, and taking out the sting from the vexations that hourly torment us; we are then on a principle of calculation convinced how greatly we are gaining every way by following Christ and forsaking what he forbids; it is then that we understand the saying, that "his yoke is easy and his burden is light." To take the Christian by the hand, and lead him by the lamp of the gospel through the labyrinths of life and its multifarious duties and relations, so often perplexing to the conscience; to shew him the method by which his sacred obligations are to be reconciled with his temporal business and social duties; to teach him how to bring religion home to his business and bosom, and to make it transpire through all his actions, is the most difficult, and, if the word may be applied to such a subject, the most delicate function of the Christian instructor; and this we think Mr. Hoare, the author of the sermons before us, has done.

It is not for us to enlarge a clergyman for having done his duty affectionately, zealously, and faithfully, in his parish. It was the least he could do after taking upon him the high commission; and woe to the spiritual deserter of his colours in the present predicament of the church militant of Christ. But we think it only justice to say that these sermons bear all the marks

of having been written by one who felt every line as he wrote it inscribed on the "table of his own heart." The occasion of the publication was, as it appears by the prefatory address prefixed to it, the dissolution of the connexion which had subsisted between the parishioners of Blandford, in Dorsetshire, and Mr. Hoare, as their pastor for fourteen years; the pain resulting from which separation is pleasingly and touchingly expressed. The address carries in it a strong internal evidence of sincerity. One can have no doubt in reading it, even without a knowledge of the author, that his parishioners must have largely participated in his feelings of regret. He has left them, however, a valuable legacy—a vested capital from which they may draw at pleasure without diminishing the fund; a reservoir which, unlike other reservoirs, will perpetuate its supply, even after the fountain shall be dried up: for the waters of this well are living waters, and contain the principle of eternity in themselves. We cannot indulge ourselves in laying much before our readers in the way of specimen, our room being very contracted by the quantity of other matter devoted to this Number of our Review; but we consider the short sketch of Christianity given by the author in his preface as so remarkably correct and edifying, that we should think it a breach of duty to pass it by.

"In order to be saved by Christianity, it is necessary we should duly understand what Christianity is. If we imagine it a mere set of moral precepts, a law to be observed, and a proportionate reward to be obtained at last; we virtually re-establish a law of works; by which, it is expressly declared, as the very foundation of Christianity, that 'no flesh can be justified.' If, on the other hand, we regard it as a mere exemption from the law of works, on a supposed plea of faith; or, a hope of pardon, on the condition of *sincere*, instead of *perfect* obedience: then we each become the judge of our own sincerity! we indulge a hope of pardon on most uncertain grounds; we may still love the sin we partially forsake, and loathe the righteousness we partially practise; and, in truth, render the gospel of Christ the means of encouragement in a negligent and worldly practice. Against both these errors it has been my object, as I believe it to be the end of true Christianity, to guard you.

"Christianity, we must consider, is intended to furnish an adequate remedy for the existing disorder of human nature. That disorder consists in a departure from our original righteousness; an inclination, of our own nature, to evil; and, by consequence, an exposure to the wrath and displeasure of God. The remedy for this must be, to restore us by other means, than our own merits, to the favour of God which we have forfeited; and, at the same time, to lead us back to the very paths of righteousness which we have forsaken. Every thing short of this must be regarded as inapplicable, or inadequate to our need; and, therefore, not as the language of true Christianity. To the

guilty it were inapplicable, to propound a law by obedience to which they should procure their *own* justification before God: and to the depraved it were inadequate, to offer precepts of righteousness, by which they should be directed to any thing less than faith, and a law of their *original* purity. The law of Christianity is, at once, a law of faith and a law of holiness;—of faith, by remitting us, for our justification before God, to the merits of *another*, even of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ;—and of holiness, by exhibiting to us a *perfect* transcript, both by precept and example, of the holiness we have lost. It does more than merely exhibit to us such a transcript. It directs us to effectual methods, by which we are enabled again to aspire after its resemblance. Weak, it offers us the means of spiritual strength; and dead, as we may be represented to be, in trespasses and sins, it furnishes the means of life and peace, through the sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit.

“Christianity viewed in this light admits, indeed, of no reliance upon *ourselves* either for the attainment of pardon, or for the practice of righteousness. But yet it must be considered, as leaving no ground for fear to the truly penitent and awakened sinner: whilst it offers no encouragement to those, who seek the gratification of their evil inclinations. To every alarm of the humbled and awakened conscience it replies, by representing the fulness of the atoning Sacrifice for sin: but to every rising inclination to indulge sinful desires, or sinful practices, it replies, by pointing to the purity of the divine law, and the fulness of divine grace. The wilful sinner finds no refuge whatsoever in the code of pure Christianity. The self-deceiver is driven from every strong hold; the careless, roused from every lulling consideration; and no security is offered to any, but in a submission to the humbling and purifying doctrines of the cross of Christ.” (Address, p. x—xii.)

After the above specimen of this author's manner, perhaps few of our readers will be reluctant to be led by the hand of this minister of God through every part of the Christian's walk, and to learn from him, first, what the name and profession of a Christian imply: Secondly, how he is to commune with his own heart, to examine and purify his thoughts, and to direct them upwards to God and his Saviour: Thirdly, how he is to regulate and direct his household: Fourthly, in what manner he is to prepare, exercise, and demean himself in his public devotions, as a genuine and cordial member of Christ's church: Fifthly, his proper carriage in his intercourse with the world, and in the discharge of his secular duties: and, Lastly, how to prepare for, and receive, the messenger that will summon him from the scene of his trials and his labours, to tread that last dark passage which opens into the realms of glory, where his faith and his hope, and his holy strivings, are to be absorbed in light and victory, and joy everlasting. This is the course in which this amiable and faithful pastor still invites and encourages his former parishioners to persist, with a power of persuasion which few, if any, of his

fellow labourers in Christ's vineyard possess in a superior degree. Others may write with the same talents; but the spirit of "servent charity" is to be found in no compositions of the same kind that we know of more genuinely and characteristically expressed.

The sermons which exhibit the various phases (if we may so say) of the Christian character in its practical progress through life, are seven in number. The Christian in his Home—the Christian in his Closet—the Christian in his Family—the Christian in his Church—the Christian in the World—(which subject is followed out through three successive discourses)—and the Christian in Death. These are succeeded by six other occasional discourses,—on the Season of Advent—the Season of Lent—Good Friday—Easter day—Whitsunday—and the New Year. We wish we could afford an extract as a specimen of the author on each of these blessed topics, thereby to assist and forward his benevolent and spiritual intentions; and, indeed, we should feel ourselves in a manner called upon so to do, were we not in great hopes that this little comprehensive volume will become a manual in every family where there is a serious wish in the head of it to draw down upon it the peace of heaven, and to make the Saviour his secret guest. To attract more particularly the attention of the person filling the responsible station last alluded to, we will lay before him what we think cannot but reach his heart, and awaken in him a peculiar sensibility to the holy charge for which he is responsible to God and man.

"But these sentiments will further and fully appear in what I secondly propose to consider, namely, the careful cultivation of family devotion. The principles of the Christian will always break forth beyond the narrow limits of his own heart into corresponding acts. His acknowledgements, therefore, of the Supreme authority of the God of his fathers, will necessarily lead him to make such arrangements, as will best qualify and dispose his household to acknowledge the same God, and to offer Him an united worship and service. This he will endeavour to accomplish in many ways.

"By the exercise of a wise selection and a due authority in his household. Abraham, in the passage already quoted, was said to have *"commanded his children, and his household after him, to keep the ways of the Lord."* David also, in the Psalm before referred to, is still more explicit in his resolution on the subject. He wisely determines, as far as possible, to select none for his inmates but those, who will neither offend himself, nor injure others, by an ungodly life or corrupt conversation. "Mine eyes," saith he, "shall be upon the faithful of the land, that they may dwell with me: he that walketh in a perfect way, he shall serve me. He that worketh deceit shall not dwell within my house: he that telleth lies shall not tarry in my sight." Those who would desire to have all "of one mind in an house," for the best purposes, must follow the example of David;

must study to remove that "evil communication," which "corrupts good manners;" and regard no services as well purchased, by an allowance of the open and known practice of sin in any member of the household. "I will not know a wicked person."

"But to this must be added, further, active measures of *authoritative instruction and mutual admonition*. As by these means the very worst may, through God's grace, become the best; so without them the best may gradually become the worst. Either to make, or to keep good the human heart, is an effort indeed far beyond mere human power. But the Christian householder will never imagine that he has done his part towards it, till he has fully and plainly set before his children and dependents the great truths of the gospel; and represented to them the strong grounds of moral and religious conduct, to be found in the gospel of Jesus Christ. From such seed, under the divine blessing, the fair fruit of moral culture may, both in reason, and in faith, be devoutly hoped. But without this what *must* we expect? Would that the complaints too frequently heard around us of disobedient children, of dishonest, idle and dissolute servants did not furnish an answer to the question. My brethren, if these complaints arise, where the great duty of family instruction has been wholly neglected, or even imperfectly or carelessly performed, does not the unanswerable appeal of conscience at once teach us to take the whole blame to ourselves? and might it not be justly said that these persons have not learned their duty to parents and masters, only because we had not first taught them their duty to God? The wise Christian will not choose, at least, to have their guilt lying upon his soul, and finally required at his hands. He will deal out the bread of life to his household with the same conscientious care, with which he gives to each his portion of bodily meat in due season. He will teach them to reverence that sacred and invaluable code, which includes the duty of children, and domestics, as well as of elders and superiors; which enforces sobriety, docility, honesty, industry; which teaches us, in fine, "in all our ways to acknowledge God," and then promises, that "He will direct our paths." (P. 49—51.)

"But I must here more particularly advert to a practice, without which family devotion would be most imperfectly attained, even after the best precautions of every other kind; nay, which may be truly considered as first and last in the arrangements of the Christian family; and that is, *family prayer*. This is indeed the most fit, as it is the only stated, occasion on which the Christian will have to acknowledge God in his family: and this is the proper opportunity for diffusing religious instruction through his house. As we have here a subject of very great moment, and, through a too frequent neglect in these days, calling for the most serious admonition, permit me, my brethren, to premise my observations on the Christian's conduct in this respect, with one remark of general application. It is this; that, should the practice of assembling the members of our household night and morning, for the purpose of social worship and hearing the word of God, be felt a duty, it affords no good reason whatever against pursuing it, that it is not the fashion to do so; that you might appear sit-

gular in attempting it; or that it might interfere with other domestic arrangements. Beyond a question, such arrangements might very soon, and very conveniently, be made to bend to this object: and it is a fact, that no families are so well ordered as those, which begin and end the day with family power. A family without prayer has been well compared to 'a garment without hem or selvage.' That such a practice should be singular in an age, or in a world where no settled principle exists to act for the honor of God, and the true benefit of our fellow creatures, would be by no means wonderful. And to decline the charge of singularity, did it really fall upon us for acting up to the dictates of plain duty, were the part only of cowardice, and of a double mind. But I must go further, and deny that it is singular at all amongst those, whose example, or whose opinion in subjects of religious practice, are of any weight. So far from this being the case, I would boldly say, on the other hand, that, amongst persons duly aware of the importance of personal religion, feeling for the souls of their relations and inmates as for their own, and regarding all as fellow-heirs with themselves of life eternal, the neglect of family prayer were indeed the highest and most unwarrantable singularity. The great Archbishop Tillotson has strongly remarked; 'The setting up of the constant worship of God in our families is so necessary to the keeping up of religion, that where it is neglected, I do not see how any family can in reason be esteemed a family of Christians, or indeed to have any religion at all.' One greater than any uninspired teacher has told us with equal clearness, and still greater authority: 'Thou shalt teach' these things 'diligently to thy children, and shalt talk of them, when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. And thou shalt write them upon the posts of thy house, and upon thy gates.' Nay shall I say it? the very heathens themselves were not ashamed to own their household Gods, and to offer them a customary tribute around the family hearth; thus guarding, as they thought, their houses and their households from harm; and paying a homage, which some persons, calling themselves Christians, would now deem a *singular* offering to the 'God of all the families of the earth.' (P. 52—54.)

We have long thought that scarcely any part of the conduct of a professed Christian calls more upon the faithful minister than his exterior behaviour in the house of God. A careless deportment during the service, and especially a sitting posture during the prayers, and a variety of other vanities, levities, and indecencies, that denote the absence of that sober spirit of worship and of that holy fear, without which a Christian's service is neither graceful nor edifying, are treated in the fourth sermon with great impressiveness of language and piety of sentiment. In the hope of making it felt by some who have hitherto treated this subject with too much unconcern, from not considering enough how much a consistency and constancy of feeling is kept up by a sort of devotional harmony between the inner and the outer

man, and how much a certain characteristic manner, at once unaffected and undissembled, aids the devotion of others; and propagates the sentiment of piety, we shall produce one extract from the fourth discourse, exhibiting the Christian in his church.

"The Christian will stedfastly attend on the services and rites of his Church. I have already observed, that, under the general expressions of the text, we may aptly comprize the whole circle of Apostolical Services. Public Prayer, the preaching of the Word, and the administration of the holy Sacraments, more especially of that blessed Sacrament, dear to every faithful believer, which 'shows the Lord's death' by the act of 'breaking bread,' and drinking wine;—these, my brethren, form the main business of the Christian in Communion with the Church; these are his points of most familiar, and most delighted contact with her; these are the rich reward, which is all he claims, for his steadfast attachment to her cause; these teach him to view her, as the channel of intercourse with the Great Father of Spirits; the very pledge and testimony of the Divine Presence upon earth, the surest token to returning sinners of a reconciled and gracious God. In the services of his Church, he views the mercies of his God. In complying with the invitation to sacred worship, he considers less the act of obedience to his Church, than the feast she spreads for his refreshment, the wealth she opens to his view. The very building, in which these stores are opened before him on every returning Sabbath, is incalculably precious in his eyes. He views it, might I say so? as the mystic, "banqueting-house" of his "beloved" Saviour, over which "the banner is love." Or he describes it, as Jacob did; the place of his vision by night: "This is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of Heaven." More especially, the Christian marks his attendance on the public services of his Church, by a due preparation of spirit for their performance—an uniform and consistent use of all such sacred occasions—an abiding spiritual impression after the solemnity.

"As a preparation for the prayers and services of his Church, the Christian adopts the caution of the Wise Man: "Keep thy foot, when thou goest to the house of God." He considers before hand, to what place he is going, whose work he is undertaking, into whose presence he is entering. He remembers the command given to Moses, and again to Joshua, when they were standing in the Divine Presence; "Put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground:"—a caution, conveying to his mind, that he should tread in silence, and with care and deliberation, the very ground on which the most High God condescends to meet His creatures. He applies to himself the further injunction of the Wise man: "Be not rash with thy mouth, and let not thine heart be hasty to utter any thing before God; for God is in heaven, and thou upon earth: therefore let thy words be few."—The Christian studies, now more especially, than ever, to "keep his heart with all his diligence." His inmost thoughts, those "feet" of the soul, he desires to be where his body appears,

when kneeling before God. He trembles to indulge a state of mind, like too many, in the presence of God, which, if laid open to man, as it is before the Searcher of all hearts, would display a mere scene of idleness and folly; perhaps of pride, and many guilty passions. He "makes not his Father's house an house of merchandise."—The attitude of his body will comport with the feelings of his soul. In prayer he will appear in the posture of prayer; in hearing, of attention; and at all times will shew, by silence and solemnity of manner, the holy occupation, and awful impression of his soul. He will fear to give the proof too many give, by visible appearances, to all around them, of a careless soul;—too fearful proof, that "all are not Israel, who are of Israel;" and that all are not preparing, as he humbly hopes to be, by such a solemnity, for the united and heart-felt worship of saints and angels before the throne of God." (P. 78—80.)

The following short extract, which we cannot avoid taking from the seventh sermon, closes in upon us with so lively and exact a description of two opposite extremes of conduct, into which the whole body of what is called the religious world is perpetually falling, that we cannot dismiss this estimable little volume without extracting it.

"There are, on this point, two opposite errors to be avoided. One is, the practice of an ostentatious and Pharisaical religion. When we studiously display what our Great Teacher has himself commanded us to conduct in private, our alms, our prayers, our fasting, with other forms or expressions of devotion perhaps still more easy to adopt, and to abuse; we then lay ourselves open to censure, and expose our religion itself to mockery and contempt. This is not "*to provide things honest in the sight of all men.*" It is rather to incur the imputation of practising a part of religion which is seen, to the neglect of that which is unseen; of courting human approbation, rather than the praise of God only: of affecting an holiness we do not possess; nay of cloaking selfish and injurious designs under a shew of religion. This, in its worst features, was truly exemplified in the character of the ancient Pharisee, and was continually on the lips of our Lord, as the object of His severest censure and reprobation: "All their works they do, that they may be seen of men."—"Verily I say unto you; they have their reward." Religious display, from whatever motives, argues great perverseness of judgment, if not great dishonesty of heart. It is at once guilty and contemptible. And he, who is so far wanting in respect for himself, as to carry on for any purpose the arts of the hypocrite, has little claim to be respected by others; injures the credit of religion; and must sooner or later, through every disguise, expose his shame to God and man.

"But the other, and, I apprehend, far more prevalent error, is that of being altogether ashamed of our religion. This, I know, may sometimes in appearance arise from a desire to escape the guilt above mentioned. But under the specious pretence of avoiding an imprudent or affected profession of religion, men will too often consult their fear or love of the world, at an expence both of the fear and

love of God. Afraid of the censure, the scorn, or the gaze of bad men, they will be found, far from affecting the good principles they have not, studiously concealing the good they have. They will dare to act against the dictates of conscience, in order to escape the shame of appearing more righteous than their neighbour. By a species of hypocrisy, base in the extreme, they pretend the wickedness at which they secretly shudder; and disclaim the piety, of which they feel the obligation. They "*provide things*," specious, rather than "*honest*," or *creditable to their christian profession*, "*in the sight of all men*:" and their aim is at once, the disgraceful and vain attempt to appear sufficiently righteous before God for His approval, and sufficiently unrighteous before men, to obtain, *and* their good will. They are ashamed of that, which ought to be their greatest glory; and, for a reward, are suffered to "glory in their shame." They are rash before God, and cowardly before men. They are "afraid of a man that shall die, and of the son of man, which shall be made as grass: And forget the Lord their Maker."

"It is not so, my brethren, but very far from this, with the Christian in the world. He has a consistency and sincerity of mind, which instinctively retreats from every thing approaching either to affectation, or to concealment. He has an high courage, as well as an holy fear, which makes him utterly regardless either of worldly censure, or worldly applause, for its own sake; while, to act with unfeignedness to God, would fill him with just apprehension. He has a reverence for his Heavenly Father, an affection for his adorable Saviour, which would no more suffer a compromise to their dishonour, than he would fail in his fidelity to an absent and insulted friend. His faithfulness to God is that which will make him, and him alone, successfully aim at "*providing things honest in the sight of all men*." This will lead him equally to shun the service which is only practised for human praise, and to perform that which might only obtain the divine favour. This will direct him far rather to provide what is really honourable to his profession, than what is *seemingly* profitable to himself. This will induce an uniform adherence to Christian principles, in the sight of *all* men of *every* class. And if he "*becomes*" in a sense, as the Apostle speaks, "*all things to all men*," it will be with the express view, "*by all means to save some*." His mind will be like that of the prophet of old, "*very jealous for the Lord of hosts*:" and his own example he will never wish or dare to withhold, when it can countenance religion, or those that practise it. That example, however, he will desire to speak rather of itself, than at his bidding; by a secret influence, than a sudden flash. Above all he will wish it to appear the brightest in those qualities, which are the least showy, and the most self-denying." (P. 140—143.)

With these samples of Mr. Hoare's publication we take our leave of it: but it is with regret that we take our leave. Nor can we do it till we testify to our little virtuous world of readers the very high sense we entertain of its wisdom and its worth. It is a truly valuable compendium of Christian morals. We do not often see

trade our recommendation, being content with bestowing praise or censure, as the work appears to deserve the one or the other; but we do decidedly, feelingly, and confidently say of this book, that it will be a blessing to the family into which it shall introduce its beautiful and holy lessons.

ART. XIX.—ON THE ORIGINAL POPULATION OF THE BRITISH ISLANDS.

Horæ Britannica; or Studies in Ancient British History; containing various Disquisitions on the National and Religious Antiquities of Great Britain. By John Hughes. 2 Vols. 8vo. Blanchard. London, 1818, 1819.

Recherches Historiques sur La Bretagne, d'après ses Monuments Anciens et Modernes. Par M. Maudet de Penhouët, Chevalier de St. Louis, &c. Orné de Gravures. Première Partie. 4to. pp. 156. Didot, à Paris, 1814.

If the labours of the antiquary are sometimes disregarded or ridiculed, it is not that their object is either useless or trifling. It is, indeed, no other, than to elucidate the obscure and to correct the disjointed parts of history,—of history which teaches morals, politics, and religion, by the attractive and impressive method of example. The Christian will reflect, that the greater part of the Bible is historical. It comprises, with the only complete national history extant, the only certain light that can be thrown on the original sources of all nations. We have lately shown that it also supplies important means of adjusting the historical fragments of ancient profane history; and we may add, that it furnishes no less valuable aid to connect these with the most authentic records, and the earliest traditions, of the principal modern nations. The Jewish prophets and historians denominated every nation, with which they had intercourse, after its original progenitor: and Josephus has satisfactorily explained to us the affinities of several nations of Europe, that are still distinguishable by their situations, their languages, or diversities of personal character. A brief view of these nations may best assist us to ascertain the original sources of our own intermingled, and consequently diversified, population.

Beginning from the East, we find in the Russian empire, many Moschite, or Muscovite tribes, that use dialects of the same language to which the Lapland, the Finland, the Esthonian, and also (though much varied) the Hungarian, dialects belong. The

Moschi of Greek geographers, that occupied Caucasus and Cappadocia, appear to have been their progenitors; and these are by Josephus derived from Meshech, a son of Japheth. With them are interspersed in Russia, numerous *Slavonic* tribes, which also chiefly occupy Poland, Bohemia, parts of Prussia and Austria, and the Turkish provinces on the Danube. These are well known to be descendants of the Sarmatians, whom Herodotus described as a branch of the ancient Scythian nation; and Josephus (who likewise expressly confirms their mutual affinity) derives them from Magog, another of Japheth's sons. In the seventh century before our era, they expelled from the northern coast of the Euxine, the Cimmerians, or (as Josephus terms them) Gomerians, that is, descendants of Gomer, Japheth's eldest son. From three sons of Gomer, Ashkenaz, Riphath, and Togarmah, he derives also the Phrygians, the Paplagonians, and the Eubœan founders of Rhegium in Italy. All these, therefore, were correlative with the Cimmerians, whom Josephus identifies with the Galatæ, or *Gauls*.

That he understood, by that appellation, inhabitants of Gaul, is evident from a description of them by the younger Agrippa, which he has recorded; but they were probably better known to him as colonists of Galatia in Asia Minor; of whom Augustus consigned 400 mercenaries to the elder Herod, as his guards. Jerome asserts, in his preface to St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, that they retained, in the fourth century of our era, a dialect resembling that of Treves, where he had formerly pursued his studies. No other speech is known to have ever been commonly used there, than German; and though Julius Cæsar entitled the inhabitants Gauls, he remarked that they boasted a German origin.

To elucidate and reconcile these testimonies, it must be considered that Cæsar, who both discovered and conquered the countries westward of the Rhine, adjusted their nomenclature as he thought proper. A nation which the Romans called *Galli*, or Gauls, had crossed the Alps, six centuries before our era; and had conquered from the Tirsenes (or Etruscans) the country on both sides the river Po, and on the coast of the Adriatic Gulph, to the small river named Rubicon. They advanced, 687 B.C. to the city of Rome, which they took and plundered; but they were shortly repulsed, and afterwards gradually deprived of all their acquisitions in Italy; to which the Romans consequently assigned the name of Cisalpine Gaul. Cæsar, while governor of this country, and of a smaller province beyond the Alps, found that the same nation possessed a territory extending to the Atlantic Ocean, between the estuaries of the rivers Garonne and Seine; that another people, whom he called *Belgæ*, occupied the coun-

try extending from the latter river to the mouths of the Rhine; and a third people, called Aquitani, dwelt between the Garonne, and the Pyrenees. "All these," he reported to "differ from each other in language, customs, and laws;" but he left it unexplained, whether their varieties were such as to indicate that they were of three different original *nations*, or three *tribes* of the same nation, or *two* belonging to one nation, and the third to another. He gave also the name of Gallia to the whole country which he conquered; and that of Galli (or Gauls) to all its inhabitants, without regard to their mutual distinction or diversity.

Cisalpine Gaul had formerly been inhabited by a nation which the Greeks named Ligyes, and the Romans Ligures, who also possessed territories westward of the Alps. They continued to occupy the latter, and the maritime district of Genoa, when dispossessed by the Tirsenes of the rest of Cisalpine Gaul. Their capital, at first, was Massylia, now Marseilles; which, being captured by a Greek colony (from Phocæa, in Asia Minor,) became a seat of commerce, inferior only to Carthage. From these navigators, Herodotus learned, that a people denominated *Celtæ* had spread from the sources of the Danube, to the coast of the Atlantic, westward of the narrow entrance of the Mediterranean Sea; but that a different nation named Cynetæ, or Cynésil, was situated still more westward. By later writers, this westernmost European nation was called *Iberian*; and one of its tribes, named Cynetes, and Cunei, was described as occupying the banks of the Guadiana. The resemblance of the names Κυνήσιοι and Κονισκοί, however, may indicate the same tribe to have reached a northern district of Spain, which Strabo assigned to the Cantabri Conisci: and if, as is not improbable, by Cyantes (a name given to the *Vēneti* of Gaul,) was meant Cynetes, it would also imply *them*, or else some prior occupants of their country, to have been originally Iberians. The latter being understood to have been the primitive inhabitants of Spain, the Greeks called that country Iberia; and the *Celtæ* being better known to them than any other people dwelling north of the Pyrenees, they called *that* region Κελτική, Celtica, in general, without defining its extent. Cæsar understood that the nation which the Romans had named Galli, called themselves *Celtæ*; and he accordingly restricted that title to the midland inhabitants of Gaul, in distinction from the Belgæ and the Aquitani; naming all of them, in common, Galli; and distinguishing them from nations dwelling eastward of the Rhine, by calling the latter (in general) *Germani*.

Of these, the Romans had no other previous knowledge than as associates of the Celts, in some of their incursions into Italy;

and it is supposed that the title Germani was used to denote their apparent affinity to each other. Some of them were found to be denominated Cimbri; and it was conjectured that they might be descendants of the Cimmerii. Others were called Teutones, by a Latin inflection of the only name that was ever assumed by the German nation, Deutsch (Teut-ish) which we call Dutch, but which they pronounce like the English proper name, Dyche. The same people (likewise in concurrence with the Gauls,) made formidable inroads on Greece; and the remains of one of these expeditions, in the third century before the Christian era, settled in Asia Minor. The Greeks usually called them, indiscriminately, Celtæ and Galatæ; but subsequent to the conquest of Gaul by the Romans, some Greek writers distinguished the Gauls by the former, and the Germans by the latter appellation; while others reversed that nomenclature. Ptolemy connected these titles together, naming Gaul, Celto-galatia, as distinguished from Germany.

Strabo, who wrote half a century later than Cæsar, says of the Gauls, "Some make a tripartite division of them into Aquitani, Belgæ, and Celtæ: but the Aquitani entirely differ; not in language only, but in person also, resembling the Iberians, rather than the Galatæ. The rest are of a Galatian appearance, though they are not all alike in language, but some vary a little, and differ also in government and manner of living." When he substitutes Galatæ and Galatian for Gauls and Gallic, he therefore evidently refers to the Celtæ and the Belgæ conjointly, exclusive of the Aquitani. Speaking of the former as one people (το δὲ συνᾶντων φωνὴν ὁ νυν ΓΑΛΛΙΚΟΝ καὶ ΓΑΛΑΤΙΚΟΝ καλεῖται), he says, "At present they submit quietly, and obey the orders of the Romans who have subdued them; but that they formerly were as we have described them, we learn by customs that are still extant among the Germans; for both are correlative, and similar by nature and institutions, only inhabiting countries divided by the Rhine, and in most things resembling each other." * More particularly he adds, "The Germans inhabit the country eastward of the Rhine, next to the Celtic people; and vary little from the Celtic branch, in ferocity, stature, or complexion; but in tallness, fairness, manners, and food, resemble the Celts." †

We cannot refrain from pausing, at this stage of the discussion, to submit to the judgment of our readers, whether, on these testimonies, it appears possible that the CELTS should

* Strabon. Geog. lib. 4 (Falconer) pp. 241, 273.

† Ib. lib. 7, p. 418, Strabo distinguishes the stature and complexion of the Germans, as Tacitus afterwards did; *πλεγμαὶ τῆ μεγέθους καὶ τῆς ἐξωτερικῆς ἰδέας*, *coma, magni artus*.

have been *Welsh*. The Celts were clearly, strongly, and repeatedly asserted, by a contemporary and well-informed writer, to differ little from the *Germans*, in language or in person. The *Germans*, having never been subjugated by a foreign nation, remain at present, in these respects, essentially the same as when Strabo wrote. Tacitus, in the same century, described the personal appearance of the *Silures* in Britain, similarly to that of the modern natives of *Wales*, who are their undoubted descendants. The difference of the *Welsh* and the *German* languages is well known to be no less striking than that of the personal aspect of the two nations. Of course, the *Welsh* cannot have descended from the Celts, because these greatly resembled the ancient *Germans*.

It is probable that the irruption of the Celts into Italy, was occasioned by assaults from some more ferocious neighbours, rather than by the mere increase of their population; especially as they undertook, at the same juncture, an equally formidable expedition, in a different direction. The countries north of the Danube, in the time of Herodotus, either were not inhabited, or were unknown by the Greeks to be so. The Celts penetrated to, and occupied *Bohemia*, and afterwards spread along the banks of the Danube, to *Illyricum* and *Thrace*. Strabo repeatedly asserts that the *Thracian* tribes, and those which he calls *Celtic* and *Galatian*, spoke the same language.* It appears, therefore, reasonable to infer, that both *Germans* and *Gauls* had migrated from *Thrace*, though at a period prior to all authentic history of the countries. That of the *Greeks*, indeed, commenced so late as to render this easily credible; but their mythological traditions, which probably (like those of other nations) disguised historical events by fictitious embellishments, may intimate the causes and epochs of such remote emigrations.

The original occupation of *Thrace* by *Tiras*, and that of *Greece* by *Javan*, both sons of *Japheth*, cannot reasonably be doubted; but it does not appear, that the descendants of *Tiras* retained the possession of *Thrace*, at the epoch of the *Trojan* war. That country was then, and long continued to be, inhabited by *Phrygian* tribes, descended from *Gomer*. The family of *Saturn* was *Paphlagonian* by origin; and acquired the dominion of *Thrace*, and *Greece*, probably about thirteen centuries before the *Christian* era. Numerous *Gomerian* tribes, both northward and southward of the *Euxine*, seem to have crowded into *Thrace*, which Herodotus deemed the most populous region of *Europe*. The appellation of *Thracians* devolved to them

* For a demonstration of the identity of the ancient *Thracians*, *Goths*, and *Germans*, see Dr. Pritchard's *Physical History of Man*, pp. 495—507.

with the country; and the former inhabitants, partly emigrated, partly mingled with the Greeks, sought shelter in a few mountainous districts of their former territory, or remained subject to, and merged in, the victorious nation. Such, at the dawn of authentic history, appears to have been the state of the *Pelasgi*, who are said to have been so named after one of their kings. Some of them (as the *Athenians*) became wholly Grecian; and their language probably had much influence on the Hellenic dialects. The few who retained it unchanged, preserving a local independence, were named (from *Tiras*) *Tirsenes*. Many took refuge in Italy, where they were also called *Tyrrhenes* and *Etrusci*. Many might ascend the southern bank of the Danube, and open a path to the various subsequent migrations from Thrace, which seem to have contributed to the mixed population of Gaul. If yet there are distinct remains of the *Pelasgi* in their original habitations, they can be no other than the *Albanians*; and their state altogether corresponds with such an origin. Their language, next to the Greek, has most affinity to that of the French; more especially resembling it in a redundancy of nasal sounds, that cannot easily be traced to any other source.

The contentions of Saturn's family terminated in his own removal to Italy; but his name does not appear to have been more venerated there than by our Saxon progenitors. *Seadorn* not only was an object of their worship, but gave his name (as among the Latins) to the seventh day of the week. The name *Titanes*, which the Greeks gave to Saturn's kindred, varies little from that of *Teutones*, the genuine appellation of the ancient Germans. As they revolted from Saturn, but were overcome by Jupiter, they were likely to form a second colony, and to follow the track of the original Thracians toward Gaul. Another emigration might result from the conflict between the giants and the reigning deified family; and the uncommon stature of the ancient Germans favours such a conjecture. *Dis* (or *Pluto*, brother of *Jupiter*), is said to have been the principal divinity of the Celts; and his dominions were supposed by the Greeks to comprise the remotest western regions. If he commanded one of the western colonies from Thrace, the fable may be naturally explained. *Hermes*, also, appears to have been venerated by the Germans, who still call a ruler, *Herr-man*. It was his office to guide departed spirits to *Pluto's* realm; and perhaps he might conduct a later colony westward. One of the three earliest German tribes was named *Herminiones*. Finally, Justin has preserved a tradition, that the Giants fought with the Gods in the forests of the *Cynetes* in Spain; which can hardly be otherwise interpreted, than of the Celtic invasion of that district;

and Callimachus denounces the Celts, who assaulted the temple at Delphi, as the posterity of the Titans, returning from the extremity of the *West*.*

On similar conjectures, our readers will readily exempt us from enlarging; neither should we have glanced at these, but that, in other old national traditions, we have traced authentic facts, no less disguised and distorted. That the language of the Goths, in Thrace, was originally the same with that of the modern Germans, is evident from Ulphilas's version of the Gospels. Of the proper Celtic language, few terms comparatively have been preserved: some of these are German, some are found in the Welch and its collateral dialects, and others are foreign to both languages. The words which Schœpflin collected in Alsace vary greatly from those which are used in Bretagne; and the Gascon dialect differs much more widely from both, being obviously related to the Basque language; the affinities of which, to any of the British dialects, are so latent, that their connexion has been denied, by natives of the countries, as well as by eminent foreign philologists. Scaliger could not trace, in the Basque language, a radical resemblance of any other: and Latour d'Auvergne Corret, a native of Bretagne, and a fervent admirer of the Biscayans, has said, "J'ai fait de cette dernière langue une étude réfléchie, pendant un long séjour dans la Biscaye: j'ai compulsé presque tous les livres écrits dans l'idiome des Basques: le résultat de mes recherches a été de me convaincre, que non-seulement cette langue n'offroit aucun point de rapprochement avec le bas-breton, mais qu'elle différoit entièrement de toutes les langues de l'Europe." (Origines Gauloises, p. 126.) Of the last point, we do not think that this brave man was competent to judge; and we doubt whether the Cantabrian New Testament ever fell in his way. From this, however, we have known an entire gospel transcribed by a member of the university of Oxford, who was a native of Wales, without his discovery of any resemblance between the Welch and the Basque. Strong as these testimonies are, we can, nevertheless, only regard them as conclusive, against the original *identity* of the Cantabrian with any other language of Europe. That it has *affinities* to the ancient British dialects, was decided, by a person probably better qualified than any other individual to determine so difficult a question. The learned, ingenious, and indefatigable Edward Llwyd has inserted in several departments of his *Archæologia Britannica*, nearly 400 Cantabrian words, of which have a resemblance, more or less obvious, to corres-

* Hymnus in Delum. Βαρβαρικὴν καὶ Κελτὸν . . . οὐρανὸν Τίτην; ἀφ' ἑσπερὶ ἐσχάτου τοῦ κόσμου.—173—175.

ponding terms, in the Welch and Irish dialects. There are also others (probably many) so much disguised by the complicated inflections of the Basque language, as to bear no apparent affinity to any other: but, when divested of their grammatical appendages, and reduced to a radical monosyllable, the term is often found closely to resemble one of the same signification in ancient British dialects. We infer, therefore, that the original language to which such terms belonged, had entered into the composition of the Cantabrian; but in a much inferior proportion to another language from which it radically differed. Its original source can only be conjectured, in the present defective state of glossology: but the means of improvement in that science have so rapidly multiplied, since the formation of the British and Foreign Bible Society, that we may reasonably hope for the elucidation of much that has hitherto been wholly involved in obscurity. We cannot, however, but intimate our concern and surprise, that the pious and zealous conductors of that institution have not yet reprinted the Cantabrian New Testament, which has long been extremely scarce. The language differs almost as much from Spanish, as Welch from English; and the Biscayans are no less attached to their native tongue than our ancient Britons. To reprint their New Testament would, therefore, be the surest way to excite their attention to it; and would probably give occasion to revised versions of it, in the dialects of Biscay and of Guypuzoon, if not in those of Alaba, Navarre, and the French Pyrenean departments. It would also confer an obligation on philology, that could not but redound greatly to the credit of the society, and must thereby augment its utility.

Strabo, in maintaining that the Aquitani resembled Iberians rather than Celts, doubtless comprised the ancient Cantabri, the ancestors of the Basques, among the former, by whom he meant the earliest inhabitants of Spain. Beside these, Varro enumerated the Persæ, the Phenicians, the Celts, and the Carthaginians, as constituting together the population of that country: but as it is unknown that any Persian colony was planted there, and extremely improbable that it should be, in the order of time that he intimates, the term Persæ seems more likely to have been written for Perorsi, whom Pliny mentions as an Ethiopian tribe, situated in Mauritania: for part of the Spanish population was black; and this was omitted by Varro, if not designed by the term in question. The Iberians are described by Tacitus as dark-complexioned, with short curling hair; which indicated an African origin, but not an Ethiopian, or Negro descent. Lehabim, a son of Mizraim, conquered the African coast as far west as the lake Libyus or Tritonis, now called Lake Loudeah, probably

from Ludim, Mizraim's eldest son. The whole northern coast of Africa was consequently called Libya, although first inhabited by descendants of Phut, the third son of Ham; whose name was retained by a river of Mauritania, which Pliny, as well as Josephus, has mentioned; but the inhabitants of the coast greatly varied.

A considerable number and diversity of tribes were in general classed as Iberians, chiefly because their personal resemblance indicated a common origin. It denoted them, in general, to be emigrants from Northern Africa, (in distinction both from the Asiatic Phenicians, and the European Celts) whatever minor differences might attach to their various tribes. The descendants of Phut (like those of Gomer) probably used several dialects of the same original language; while the posterity of Ludim and Lehabim spoke a language radically different. The latter, however, was likely to become mingled with that of the easternmost descendants of Phut, whom they conquered; especially in the district of Byzacium, the boundary of the two nations, so much celebrated for its peculiar fertility. It does not, therefore, follow, because the inhabitants of Spain, prior to the Phenician and Celtic invasions, (with the exception of some black colonists,) had a mutual personal resemblance, that their language was universally either the same, or only modified by diversities of dialect. The Basque tongue, essentially as it still differs from all dialects used in other parts of Spain, (which also vary greatly one from another,) has evidently been very much affected by the same causes that operated more completely on other dialects. It is very copiously impregnated with Latin terms, and, in some degree, with others of Hebrew affinity, though less than might have been expected from the successive intrusions of Phenicians, Carthaginians, and Saracens, the vestiges of which in the Spanish language are remarkably strong.* We do not apprehend that the question at issue between the Cantabrian and Spanish antiquaries, whether the language of the former ever generally prevailed in Spain, or was always confined nearly to its present boundaries, can be decided by *internal* evidence. We are inclined to the latter conclusion: partly, because (so far as we have examined) most Cantabrian terms that are common to the Spanish and Portuguese languages, are likewise found among

* What we call Spanish, and Spaniards the Castillian, retains more vestiges of Arabic than other Spanish dialects. The Portuguese most resembles it, except the Galician, which is a medium between them. The Catalan and the Valencian (which is called, Español, and is also used in the Balearic isles) are varieties of the old Provençal, or Romanese language. The Romans gave the name of Hispania to the country; and appear to have changed its language much more than the Saracens did.

the ancient British dialects; and partly, because the composite nature of the Basque language, and both the ancient and modern appellations of the people, indicate them to be a mixture of two nations by which the north of Africa was peopled. The main body of African emigrants to Spain was likely to consist of tribes situated near the narrow strait that separates the two continents. These were the Maurusii; between whom and the proper Libyans, both the Numidæ and the Gætuli intervened. The westernmost extreme of the Libyans was (as has been observed) Byzacium; and the names Byzacium, Biscay, Basque, Vascones, Gasconne, (in Welch, Gwas-gwyn,) have an obvious resemblance, that fully comports with such a derivation. The Libyan conquests might first urge the western Africans to cross into Spain; and they might, in the course of time, be pursued thither by some of their invaders: but it is most probable, from their comparative numbers and different local positions, that the Maurusii, with their correlatives, and not the Libyans, contributed chiefly to the population of Spain. It is certain, that the former, by whatever means, either almost wholly emigrated from Africa, or were nearly exterminated there. In the time of Pliny, very few Maurusian families remained; and their neighbours, the Numidian Massæsyli, were said to be completely extirpated.

The Massyli, situated next to Byzacium, seem to have emigrated as early, and as numerous, but in a different direction from the Maurusii. Sardinia lay opposite to their country, and was likely first to receive them. Corsica intervened in their way thence to the Italian coast: and in all these positions were found the Ligerians, who spread over the north of Italy and the south-eastern part of Gaul, and appear to have given their name to the river Liger, or Loire, which rises in the vicinity of the Rhone, and issues in the Atlantic ocean. Their capital was Massylia; their principal tribe the Salyes; and some of them retained their original appellation, as Libyci. From their Greek denomination Ligyes, their territory was called Ligustica; from their Latin name, Ligures, it was better known (when confined between the coast and the Appenines) as Liguria. They were first surnamed Ibero-Ligyes, probably from their personal resemblance of the Iberians; afterwards they were denominated Celto-Ligyes, when subdued by, and mingled with the Celts, on both sides of the Alps, as well as in Spain, where they penetrated to the river Ebro, and were also distinguished as Celtiberians. The Ligurians, therefore, appear to have had a similar origin with the Iberians; but to have been separated from them, and to have met again, on the confines of Gaul and Spain. We have before mentioned their subjugation

in Italy by the Pelasgic Etruscans, who were conquered, in their turn, and expelled, by the Celts, from their settlements in Cisalpine Gaul.

The view that has now been taken, of the origins of various nations of Europe, was requisite to decide on that of the earliest Britons; for there is hardly any one of these nations from which they have not been deduced. Our legendary chroniclers, in imitation of their Roman conquerors, aimed to derive their countrymen from Greece or Troy. Modern Britons have rejected these fables; but have substituted, on no other ground than the use of a British dialect by a tribe that was attached to the ancient *Æsty*i (when resident on the Vistula), a claim to that people as their ancestors. From the *Æsty*i came the modern *Esthes*, or *Esthonians*, who are of the *Moschite*, or *Fennite* nation: but mistaking them for a *Sarmatian* tribe, some Welch writers have classed all the Slavonic dialects with the language of the ancient Britons; although a moderate acquaintance with the former might have guarded them against so palpable an error.* It has more commonly, and indeed almost universally, been taken for granted, that the Celts were the ancestors of the Britons: but concerning the Celtic nation itself, the most opposite opinions have been maintained. Some ancient writers applied this, and other national appellatives, promiscuously to all the inhabitants of countries that had once been occupied by the nations so called; and sometimes with such laxity, as to comprise even all that dwelt in the same quarter of the world. Thus the denomination of *Scythians* was not only transferred to the *Thracian* *Getæ*, when they spread into *Scythia*, but was used of all the northern nations, without distinction. In like manner, all western nations were termed Celts; the eastern, *Indians*; and the southern, *Ethiopians*. From so vague a nomenclature, the principal geographers of the sixteenth century inferred, that all (or nearly all) European nations were but branches of the Celtic stock. Their influence gave general currency to the hypothesis; and M. Pelloutier exhibited it under its completest form, in his *Histoire des Celtes*, 1740, 1750. Some writers, indeed, had intervened, who dared to deviate from the beaten track, and to insist that the ancients in general represented only the Germans and Gauls (and colonies planted by them) to be Celtic: and one writer, even of the sixteenth century, maintained that the Gauls alone were Celts. The last opinion, however, found few supporters; and even these regarded both the *Belgæ* and the *Celtæ* as derived from Germans, till the learned and ingenious Schœpflin, in his great work, on

* See Appendix to Mr. Hughes's first volume, p. 328.

the History of Alsace, folio, 1751, advanced the positions, that the Celts were a nation wholly distinct from the Germans, and that they originated from Gaul. He fulfilled, in the *Vindiciae Celticae* (thin 4to. 1754), his engagement to illustrate and support this hypothesis. His conclusion (p. 93) was, that

“All Gaul was once inhabited only by the Celts, unmixed with other nations, and using the same language and customs; that the Cantabri and Vascones from Spain, on the south-west, and the Germans crossing the Rhine from the north and east, mingled with the Celts, and respectively introduced differences of dialect and customs, among those who dwelt between the Pyrennees and the river Garonne, or between the Rhine and the Seine. . . . So, the Belgic dialect sprang from the Celtic and the German idioms; and the Aquitanian, from the Celtic and the Basque. The Celts occupying the middle territory, between the Belgæ and the Aquitani, retained their native language pure from any corruption by other idioms.”

He subjoins in a note,

“The remains of the three ancient languages of Gaul are still found within its limits. The Armorican language, used in Lower Bretagne, exhibits the remains of the original Celtic tongue. The Cantabrian, or ancient Vasconic, is still used, not only in the adjacent mountainous parts of Spain, but likewise on this side the Pyrennees, in the French district of Soule, about Bayonne.”

Of what he meant by *remains* of the third ancient language of Gaul, the Belgic dialect, which he supposed to be a mixture of the ancient Celtic and German languages, the author gave no intimation: and we do not perceive how the deficiency can be supplied. Beside the Bas-Breton and Gascon dialects, the common French alone can be called a third Gallic language; and if this was Belgic, why should it prevail equally in Celtic as in Belgic Gaul? If any other dialect was meant, it ought to have been specified, no less than the other two remains of ancient languages. Some reason should also have been given for assuming that the Aquitani used a mixed language: since they might, for aught we know, speak pure Cantabrian, till the Roman conquest. To assert that the Celts “retained their native language pure from any corruption by other idioms,” is a mere *gratis dictum*, unsupported either by historical facts, or by the collections that have been made of Celtic terms, some of these being German, some Welch, and some of unknown derivation. But the grand absurdity in Schoepflin's hypothesis is, that of supposing any nation, which was radically distinct from all other nations, to have originated in Gaul! To demonstrate that the Celts did so, is the entire scope of his argument: and although some parts of it are disputable, and others admit of easy refutation, we think that he has established his main

point; and we fully admit, that genuine Celts, wherever their colonies spread, always came from Gaul. But what follows? If Gaul was their centre and source, they could not be an originally distinct nation. The Celtic people must have been formed in Gaul by a mixture of different original nations; as the English nation was formed, in Britain, whose colonies, now dispersed incomparably farther than those of the Celts ever were, have consequently all originated hence.

No ancient author intimates, that more than two distinct original nations had reached the western countries of Europe. Disputes on this subject have arisen chiefly from the different modes of nomenclature customary among Greek and Roman writers. The Romans commonly described nations no otherwise than from the countries which they inhabited; and meant by the terms, Britons, Gauls, Germans, and Spaniards, only the people, in general, who inhabited the countries of Britain, Gaul, Germany, or Spain. The Greeks, on the contrary, usually denominated nations from their apparent affinities: and therefore distinguished the Aquitani, as resembling the Iberians, from other inhabitants of Gaul; while to these, what they called Celts or Belgæ, and to the Germans in general, they gave the name of Celtæ or Galatæ: apprehending them (whether justly or not) to be branches of the same original nation. These diversities of nomenclature affected even their modes of describing the personal forms and languages of nations. Tacitus discriminated the Gallic from the German speech; but without intimating that variations of language existed among the Gauls. In like manner, he distinguished the British tongue, both from the German and the Gallic; but although he described three classes of the inhabitants of Britain, as varying in personal form and complexion, he omitted to state any diversity in their language, unless that those Britons who were situated nearest to the Gauls, differed little from them, in this, as well as in other respects.

Julius Cæsar had observed, that "the interior of Britain was inhabited by natives of the island; but the sea-coast, by others, who had passed over from the Belgæ, for plunder and warfare, almost all of whom retained the names of those communities from which they originated; and war becoming habitual, they remained there, and began to cultivate lands." Tacitus doubted, "whether the first inhabitants of Britain were indigenous or emigrants;" but remarked, that

"Their temperament of body was various, whence deductions might be formed of their different origin. Thus the ruddy hair and large limbs of the Caledonians point out a German derivation. The swarthy complexion and curled hair of the Silures, together with their situation opposite to Spain, render it probable that a colony of the ancient Iberi possessed

themselves of that territory. They who are nearest Gaul resemble the inhabitants of that country : which may be imputed either to the duration of hereditary influence, or to that similarity of climate, proceeding from the mutual approach of the coasts, which occasions similarity of constitution. On a general survey, however, it appears probable that the Gauls originally took possession of the neighbouring coast. The sacred rites and superstitions of these people are discernible among the Britons. The languages of the two nations do not greatly differ." *

These passages remind us of our obligation to the *Bible*, for information, that men did *not* grow up, like trees, out of the various lands which they first inhabited ; and, therefore, for our essential advantages over the best informed heathens, in tracing the remote origins of nations. We should also recollect, that the Greeks and Romans supposed the direction of the British Channel to be nearer *south* than west ; so that they did not suspect Cornwall to have intervened between Wales and Spain. The Silures, who occupied both sides of the Bristol Channel, were a principal tribe of the original Britons ; and doubtless were named by Tacitus as representatives of those inhabitants of the interior, whom Cæsar had mentioned. "*Pars interior ab iis incolitur, quos natos in insulâ ipsâ, memoriâ proditum dicant.*" (Bell. Gall. v. 10.) The "*proximi Gallis*" of Tacitus, also, were evidently those of whom Cæsar had said, "*Maritima pars ab iis, qui, prædæ ac belli inferendi causâ, ex Belgis transierant.*" The only *maritime* part with which Cæsar was acquainted was that which was nearest Gaul. Those inhabitants of Britain, therefore, whom Tacitus compared with the Gauls, were the *Belgæ*, who had crossed the Channel from the opposite coast, and had settled in the southern and eastern parts of our island. Cæsar very seldom distinguishes Belgæ from Celts, mentioning them usually, in common only, as *Gauls* ;

* As this is the only express testimony of ancient writers to the origin of the first Britons, having quoted the version of Dr. Aikin, as a judicious and impartial translator, we subjoin the original, enclosing in brackets a part, which Schoepflin (for a sufficiently obvious reason) excluded, on quoting the passage, Vind. Celt. p. 98.

"Ceterum Britanniam qui mortales initio coluerint, indigenæ an advecti, ut inter barbaros, parum compertum, [Habitus corporum varii, atque ex eo argumenta ; namque rutilæ Caledoniam habitantium comæ, magni artus, Germanicam originem adseverant ; Silurum colorati vultus, et torti plerumque crines, et posita contra Hispaniam, Iberos veteres trajecisse, easque sedes occupasse, fidem faciunt ;] proximi Gallis et similes sunt, seu durante originis vi, seu procursantibus in diversa terris, positio cæli corporibus habitum dedit ; in universum tamquam estimanti, Gallos vicinum solum occupasse credibile est. Forum sacra deprehendas, superstitionum persuasione, sermo haud multo diversus." (Vit. Agricola, 11.)

Dr. Aikin has considerably deviated from the original in the last sentence, by applying it to the *two nations* of Gauls and Britons. Tacitus appears to refer only to those who occupied the opposite coasts of the Channel, whom he had contrasted with the German Caledones and the Iberian Silures.

but as he expressly states these to be *Belgæ*, he would probably have intimated the inhabitants of the interior to be *Celts*, if he had known, or supposed, them to be so. He understood them, on the contrary, to have been immemorially natives of the island: Tacitus, from personal knowledge of them, observing that they strongly resembled the Iberians (whom Strabo contrasts both with the *Celts* and the *Belgæ*) concluded, that they had come to Britain from Spain; and as he supposed that country to be opposite to theirs, he naturally referred to the circumstance, not as the foundation of his opinion, but as coinciding with it. He describes them as the reverse, in personal appearance, of the *Caledonians*, who occupied the northern part of Britain; whom he derived (without any hesitation) from the *Germans*. His decisions, in both respects, are the more to be depended upon, for his deliberation in judging, whether the inhabitants of the south coast of Britain, notwithstanding their resemblance of the *Gauls* on the opposite side of the channel, had migrated thence; or, dwelling (as he supposed) in the same latitude, had been assimilated by the influence of climate.

The only ancient testimony, therefore, to the national origin of the earliest Britons, and that too of the most satisfactory nature, by the most acute and discriminative of all classical historians, and who possessed adequate means of judging, decides, that our *British ancestors* were NOT *Celts*, but *IBERIANS*, of a nation totally distinct from, and strongly contrasted with the *CELTS*.

This conclusion strikes at the root of Schœpflin's hypothesis: for, if the *Bâs-Bretons* were descendants of the ancient *Celts*, then the *Welsh* too, whose ancestors were the *Sihures*, must be so; because they both still retain nearly the same language. Tacitus, however, could not but be summoned on this cause; and how should it be contrived to pervert his evidence, so as to make it seem to imply, that the earliest Britons were *Celts*?—The matter, doubtless, was difficult; but it was indispensable to accomplish it. Schœpflin, accordingly, quoted the beginning of the paragraph, in which Tacitus stated the general obscurity of the sources of barbarous nations: then, wholly excluding the descriptions which he had given of the *Caledonians* and the *Sihures*, he leaps to what was said of those who dwelt nearest to the *Gauls*, representing what follows, to the end of the quotation, and nothing but that, to have been written by Tacitus, of all the inhabitants of Britain!

To Schœpflin we readily accord eminent learning, talent, and industry: but it appears to us impossible that any writer should act thus, who was not contending for victory, rather than for truth. Had he cited the whole testimony of Tacitus, and the

reflected what relates to the Britons; however weak his arguments against it might have been, we could have acquitted him of intending to deceive others, and have supposed only that he deceived himself. Even now, we give him credit for having honestly formed his opinion, and we tax him with dishonesty, only for his manner of maintaining it. Amidst his laborious researches into the history of Alsace, he laudably selected from the *Patris* of the peasantry, such terms as were foreign both to the Latin and the Teutonic languages, regarding them as relics of a dialect which had been used before the Roman conquest of Gaul. Among these, he found several words that are likewise used by the Bâs-Bretons; although others bore no resemblance to their language. He considered the affinity, however, on the whole, sufficient to warrant the inference, that the Bâs-Breton language had once been used from the western to the eastern extremity of Gaul, and consequently, that it was the genuine Celtic speech; and as it appeared to differ radically both from that of the Germans, and from that of the Basques, he concluded, the Celts to have been a nation originally distinct both from Germans and Iberians.

Thus he evidently assumed (what is strenuously denied by the best Spanish grammarians) that the Cantabrian language was formerly that of Iberians in general; and likewise (what was in immediate question) that the Celts were *not* of German origin: for if they were so, the Teutonic terms also, that are now preserved in the dialect of Alsace, must have formed part of the Celtic speech, equally with those which are used likewise by the Bâs-Bretons. The latter class of terms, might belong to a people that had occupied Gaul, before the Celts, from Germany, invaded and conquered it; and that people might be of Iberian origin, notwithstanding the radical difference between their language and that of the Cantabrians and Aquitani. Schœpflin's ground, therefore, was by no means strong enough to stem the entire current of ancient testimony, which invariably tends to establish, that the whole of western Europe was occupied, at the dawn of authentic history, by *two* nations only; the more western, denominated Cynetes and Iberians; the other, Celts and Germans.

If, however, Schœpflin persisted to assume the existence of a third distinct nation, first discovered by himself, it surely became him to assign some probable origin to so unheard-of a people: but this he scrupulously declined. The Germans could he trace from Thuringia; the Iberians, through Spain, from Africa; but by what route, and by what route, came the Celts, if they were neither Germans nor Iberians, nor an intermixture of those nations? His answer is this:

“ *Primi hujus regionis incolæ nec ut fungi nec ut insecta, ex terrâ*

prodiit, sed in eam advenirent aliunde. Coloniae haec, an ab Antiocho Hecside (cui nomen Celtæ Cluverius tribuit) posteris ducta fuerit, atque a ponte Euxino; Danubii oras legens, ad Rhenum ascenderit, eoque transito, Sequanorum nostrorum caput, Vesontionem condiderit, quod juniores quidam nris conjectandi libertati, tradiderunt, *definitis* *nemo*. Nec asseruerimus idioma, quod antiquissimum in oram nostram adventu attulerunt, ipsum illud Celticum fecisse, quod ante Ocerus in hanc regionem adventum fuerat in usu. Ex prima enim qualisque primorum hominum lingua, diversæ dialecti, ex dialectis linguae novæ ex his novæ dialecti, longâ millenariorum seriè nasci possunt. (Lingua Alsatiae sub Periodo Celtico, 1.)

The admission, that a more ancient language than the Celtic may have been spoken in Gaul, affects the very ground on which he assumed the Celts to have been a distinct nation from the Germans and Iberians: for, supposing the Iberian language to have been spoken in Gaul before the Germans arrived, the Celtic language might be composed of this, intermixed with that of the Germans. Throughout his *Vindiciæ Celticae*, he has given no information whatever of any probable origin of the Celts. His whole aim was to maintain, that Gaul was the original seat of the Celtic nation; and that wherever else they were known to have dwelt, they came thither from Gaul. The last sentence of his *preface* is thus expressed:

Ex omnibus his veterum documentis, quæ elicienda sententia sit, judicat lector. Singulis in Republicâ literatâ senatoribus liberum est, rem proferre. Brunt fortassis, qui causâ examinâtâ sentient: Galliam solam natale proprium extitisse Celticum.

We think too highly of Schoepflin's discernment, to suppose that he was not aware of defects and incongruities in his hypothesis: but he had pledged himself, in his history of Alsace, to establish it; and he had probably taken too much pains for the purpose, before he discovered its fallacy, to be willing to abandon it. Besides, he had completely subverted the prevailing system, which Pelloutier had so recently brought to its greatest perfection: and accordingly, his work produced a revolution seldom paralleled in other branches of literature. Very few antiquaries or glossologists, comparatively, pretended any longer, to class both the German and the Welch languages as dialects of the ancient Celtic; but reasonably assigning the former to the Gothic nation, they too hastily concluded that the ancient British language must be the Celtic, as Schoepflin had assumed it to be. Having been deemed such from the time of Ortelius (in common with other European languages), its right to that appellation remained undisputed; and the concurrence of so profound a scholar as Michaelis, in Schoepflin's decision, could not but in-

fluence their countrymen. In his *Spicilegium Geographiae Herodorum extera*, published 1769, under the title *Gomer*, Michælis says,

"Monendos autem censeri cives meos, Celtas, quos patrias amore cum Germanis confundere solent, suam gentem fuisse, origine et lingua a Germanis diversissimos; quod quidam peroratum a summo Schœpffino in Alsatia illustrat, ut notum et concessum sumo." (P. 19.)

He even supposed, that Josephus, in deriving the Celts from *Gomer*, referred to the Welch denomination, *Cymry*; of which, hardly any thing can be less probable than that Josephus ever heard! He was likely to know, that Strabo reckoned the Gauls and Germans to be of the same original nation; and that the Gauls in Asia Minor used a language resembling that of the Germans; and consequently, to derive the Gauls from *Gomer*, if he believed the Germans to be descendants of that patriarch. He also probably knew, that the Cimbri, who are represented by all Roman writers as a German tribe, were supposed by some of them to have descended from the Cimmerians, whom he apparently meant by *Γόμμερ*, or Gomerians. The term *Cymry*, on the contrary, is well known to be formed of two Welch terms, *cyn* and *bro*, making in composition *cymro*, and signifying *first country*. The ancient British bards also call their nation *Cynet*, which is the plural of *Cyn*, and *Cynwys* (from *cyn* and *gwy*), which signifies *first people*. These terms, both in the orthography and the pronunciation, so closely resemble the *Κυμροι* and *Κυμνιοι* of Herodotus, that they appear, almost unquestionably, to have been designated by the *Cynetæ* and *Cynesh*, whom he knew to dwell westward of the Celts.

The Scandinavians did not relinquish the appellation of Celts so readily as the Germans. The learned Ihre, in his *Suo Gothic lexicon*, likewise published 1769, insisted on the affinity of the Gothic and Welch languages. To Englishmen, however, the disparity was too obvious to be mistaken. Bishop Percy, in the preface to his translation of Mallet's Northern Antiquities, 1770, collated the Lord's Prayer in various dialects of each language, rendering thereby their radical difference as evident as it could be made by so brief a specimen. He prudently entered no further into Schœpffin's hypothesis, than to prove the Germans and the original Britons to have been of nations originally distinct. This by no means satisfied Mr. Pinkerton; who, in 1787, published his dissertation on the Scythians or Goths, identifying those nations, though Herodotus had as clearly distinguished them as the *Cynetæ* from the Celts. He fell into the same kind of error that he opposed; confounding as many na-

hops under the title of Scythians, as others had denominated the Celts.* Mr. Pinkerton's laborious research, (and partly, perhaps, his positiveness and vehemence) gave such apparent force to his arguments, that hardly any English writer has since ventured to call the Welch or Irish by their proper names, lest he should appear to be ignorant that they were Celts! One member of the Society of Antiquaries presumed, indeed, to oppose this general practice. In the 16th volume of the *Archæologia*, published 1809, pp. 95 to 122, are three letters, dated 1807, which were intended to demonstrate, from classical authorities, authentic British documents, and the existing remains of ancient languages, that the original Britons were not Celts, but Iberians, as we have shown them to be; but the author does not appear to have known what Schœpflin had adduced in proof that the Celts originated from Gaul; and, therefore, by implicitly following ancient Greek writers, he identified Celts with Germans, and Cantabrians with Iberians, in general.† We do not recollect that, in any other instance, (excepting one or two periodical publications) the hypothesis of an Iberian British derivation has either been followed or discussed. English, Scotch, Welch, and Irish antiquaries, continue to assign

* "Let us now shew," says he, p. 52, "that the Thracians, Illyrians, Greeks, Italians, Germans, Scandinavians, were all Scythians." Under the name of Greeks, he confounds the Pelasgi with the Hellenes. Dr. Jamieson, by attending closely to Mr. P.'s foot-marks, has greatly injured his learned and valuable work, published 1814, which he miscalled *Hermes Scythicus*. The Scythians, according to Herodotus, knew nothing of Hermes; and if they had, could have assigned him no better office than that of a wheel-wright. The striking affinities, which Dr. J. has laboriously investigated, of the Greek and Latin languages to the Gothic, may be sufficiently explained on the principle, that the Pelasgi were the original inhabitants of Thrace, as before intimated; since all that is common to these languages might be of Pelasgic derivation.

A farther development of the Albanian language (in which a version of the New Testament, by aid of the British and Foreign Bible Society, is expected) will probably throw light on this interesting subject. Mr. Henke (*Recherches de Grèce*, 4to, 1814, ch. 2.) has furnished much valuable information on this subject. Dr. Pritchard (*Researches into the Physical History of Man*, 8vo, 1819) has demonstrated, that the Slavonians, not the Goths, are descendants of the ancient Scythians, pp. 475—519. In most other instances, also, Dr. P.'s historical investigations, equal, in literary knowledge and accuracy, all modern discussions on similar subjects. He has, likewise, ably demonstrated the natural probability of the scriptural statement, that all nations originated from a single pair; but the facts, which he has collected for the purpose, by no means prove, that changes of complexion have generally from darker to lighter colours. The name Adam, signifies red; and that the first human pair were probably of a medium colour, like most nations that descended from them; rather than so pale as the posterity of Japheth, or so dark as that of Ham.

† M. de Humboldt, p. 52, quotes from these letters an anecdote, respecting the vestiges of the ancient British language, are found in the interior of the Northern Africa. The lady to whom it referred died last year, and could only remember that the common people of Algeria used several terms resembling Welch for familiar objects; as a bull, a cow, &c. Such terms occur in every Southern language of Europe, and even in Latin and Greek.

to all descendants of the original inhabitants of our islands, the customary appellation of Celts, in distinction from our Saxon, or Gothic population; which, with still more glaring impropriety, is almost as often denominated Scythian.

French antiquaries, as might reasonably be expected, have discovered most reluctance to give up the claim of their ancestors to the original population of Europe. Pelloutier did not fail to answer Schœpflin, in defence of this system; but he did not live to publish his reply. When it appeared in the *Bibliothèque Germanique*, tomes 24, 25, his exposure of the unfairness of his opponent could not avail to re-establish his own hypothesis. The whole of his writings on the subject were, however, reprinted 1770; and those of his antagonists (including a French translation of the *Vindiciæ Celtae*;) were annexed. The Editor, M. de Chiniac, offered to insert whatever M. Schœpflin might choose to rejoin; but received only this laconic reply: "*Outre mes Vindiciæ Celtae, je n'ai rien écrit sur cette matière, ayant trouvé bon de m'abandonner à la décision de la République des Lettres, et de ne jamais répliquer.*" We confess ourselves unable to believe, that, sixteen years after the publication of his work, the author remained unconscious of those defects in his argument to which we have adverted; or, that he could be insensible of the perplexities to which his followers were thereby exposed. He could not have had a fairer opportunity, either to explain, or to retract, than that which the editor's candour and politeness proposed to him. Rather than avail himself of it, nevertheless, he left every one to supply as he could, the defective parts of his hypothesis. Hence Michaelis inferred that the Galatians of Asia Minor were Welch; Mr. Pinkerton, that they were Germans; and Adelung concluded them to be Irish. The latter writer (of whose learned and laborious performance, intitled *Mithridates*, a copious analysis was given in our Twelfth Number,) has injured his glossological arrangements, by adopting Schœpflin's invention of a third original nation in Western Europe. Mr. Pinkerton, by transforming the denominations Cimberii and Cimbri to Cymry, traced the Welch (as Celts) to the ancient Cimberians as their progenitors. Adelung, knowing that the Cimbri (on the contrary) were Germans, but confounding the appellations Cimbri and Cymry, represented the Celts to have been Irish; and the Belgæ (composed of Irish intermixed with Cimbri) to be the Cymry, or Welch; who, having expelled the Celts from Gaul, pursued them to Britain, and drove them thence to Ireland. He accordingly denominates the Irish language, the Celtic; and the Welch language, the Cello-Germanic. The original population of Ireland is naturally so much connected with that of Britain, as to render the discussion of

either difficult without treating of both. At present, however, we shall endeavour to restrict our investigation wholly to Britain, expecting ere long an occasion of rendering equal justice to the sister island. We would only remark that neither historical nor traditional testimony furnishes any support of Adenau's hypothesis on this subject; and that he has left the origin of the Celts as enigmatical as Schœpflin had made it. He conjectures, indeed, that they passed from Asia to the right bank of the Danube, and ascended it to Gaul; but he does not attempt to trace them from any known oriental nation. This essential deficiency of Schœpflin, which Mr. Pinkerton in vain endeavoured to supply, remains, therefore, incorrigible; and the palpable objection against a distinct nation originating in the West of Europe, retains, and apparently ever must retain, unabated force. If, then, Schœpflin has proved, as is now pretty generally admitted, that Celts, wherever they dwelt, had emigrated thither from Gaul, he has thereby proved them to be not a radically distinct, but a mixed nation; and the only question is, of what other nations they were composed. Two nations, radically different from each other, are proved to have entered Gaul—the Iberians, and the Germans. Of these, whether alone, or with accessions from other nations, the Celts must have been composed; and every ancient testimony concurs to establish the predominance of their German affinity. The reasons which we have assigned for concluding that the Pelasgi, also, contributed to the Celtic population, we submit to the candid judgment of our readers. We apprehend, that part of the Ligurian nation likewise merged in the Celtic; but that they were correlative with the Iberians.

In the earliest of the volumes before us, composed by a French officer, by birth and residence a Breton, and well qualified to decide, both by literature and extensive observation, the principal fact on which Schœpflin grounded his hypothesis, is discussed and controverted. M. de Penhouët denies that the Breton language was that of the Celts, or was ever generally used in France, or even throughout the province of Bretagne. Its present limits coincide with a boundary line which a Breton prince, named Eusebius, traced at the close of the fifth century, passing near the extremities of the gulph of Morbihan, to the river La Vilaine. Beyond the adjacent parishes of Elven, Suniac, Beric, Musillac, and Arzal, a dialect is used called the Gallo, unmixed with Breton terms, but retaining many obsolete French words that are found in manuscripts of the fourteenth century. As a much earlier specimen of the French language, M. de Penhouët cites an oath which was taken by the subjects of Charlemagne, bearing hardly any resemblance

blanc of Breton. He adduces the judgment of the learned Benedictines of St. Maur, who wisely declined to pass any positive decision respecting the ancient Celtic language, but apprehended it more to have resembled the Teutonic than the Bas-Breton. Various Celtic terms, when proposed to Bretons, were wholly unintelligible to them. "Nous ne l'avancions," said the Benedictines, "qu'après l'avoir nous-mêmes éprouvé." "Ceux qui s'occupent profondément (adds M. de Penhouët) de la recherche des langues, et dont les ouvrages accrédités parmi les savants de notre siècle attestent l'érudition, sont les vrais juges en pareille circonstance. Je puis donc m'appuyer d'un glossaire nouvellement publié par M. de Roquefort. Les recherches infinies de l'auteur sur la langue romane devaient naturellement l'entraîner à l'étude de la langue des Gaulois; ce qui l'a conduit à s'assurer que le bas breton et le celtique n'étaient pas la même langue."

The two divisions of Bretagne have immemorially been distinguished by their language: lower Brittany being called on the spot la Bretagne bretonnante; and upper Brittany, la Bretagne non bretonnante. M. de Penhouët resides on the boundary of these two districts; and he testifies, "que les paroisses limitrophes des deux pays ne s'entendent pas plus que les habitants de Calais n'entendent ceux de Douvres."

"La ligne de demarcation est cause que, dans les évêchés de Nantes, de Rennes, de Saint Malo, de Saint Brieuc, les noms des lieux ne commencent pas, ainsi que dans la Basse Bretagne, par *ker, pen, tre, lan*; ou du moins cela est si rare, que, s'il s'en trouve de semblables, on peut l'attribuer à des changements de propriétaire.* Or je vous demande, si vous étendez cette observation au Poitou, à l'Anjou, à la Basse Normandie, pays qui avoisinent la Bretagne, comment pourrez-vous croire qu'on y a jadis parlé la même langue?"

This interrogation intimates the epistolary form of M. de Penhouët's discussions, which, though not without some advantages, we think on the whole unfavourable. We should reply to his question, by reminding him, as he spent several years in this country, that such prefixes to names of places, (*caer, lan, tre, pen, &c.*) are as rare in our country as in France, except in Wales and Cornwall; yet we have no room to doubt that, by much the greater part of Britain was formerly occupied by tribes

* In Gregoire de Rostrenen's preface to his *Lexicon Franco-Celticum*, as quoted by Schœpflin (Alti. III. p. 96), the Breton language is said to be used, more or less, in seven out of the nine bishoprics of Bretagne; and that it was wholly extinct only in those of Rennes and St. Malo. It was used throughout the dioceses of Trequier and Leon; that of Quimper, with the exception of four parishes; and that of Vannes, excepting 14 or 15 parishes. It was spoken also in 13 or 14 parishes of the diocese of St. Brieuc; in one quarter of that of Nantes; and in several parishes of that of Dol, enclosed in the other bishoprics. The various districts have considerable differences of dialect.

that did not vary in language, more than the recent Cornish from the Welch. His closing argument, therefore, to be conclusive respecting France, requires, either that the obliteration of the Breton language, if it once generally prevailed, cannot be accounted for by causes similar to those which have obliterated the Welch and Cornish languages in England; or else, supposing similar causes to have operated in both countries, that the retention of the ancient language, notwithstanding their operation, cannot be accounted for in Bas Bretagne, as it may in Wales and Cornwall.

Schoepflin endeavoured to obviate the latter objection to his hypothesis, in a note, p. 93, Als. III.

"Sunt qui Celtici sermonis usum, a Romanis apud Aremoricæ abolitum planè fuisse existimant, et nonnisi seculo 5. a Brito-Cambria, quorum multi, Anglo-Saxonum in Britannia insulam adventu terrâ, inde in oppositam Aremoricam fugerant, in eandem Brito-Gallia provinciam posthinc quasi restitutam arbitrantur. Sed, ut hac coniunctus opus non est; si apud Cambros vetus Celtica, Romanis in illis, subsistere potuit, cur non in Aremoricâ quoque subsistere potuerit?"

In answer to the inquiry, "Why, if the original language of the Britons could subsist among the Welch, in despite of the Romans, could it not likewise in Bretagne," the proper answer is, that the history of the two countries suffices to show, that it continued always in Wales; but not, that it continued in Bretagne. The very name of the latter implies its occupation by a colony from Britain, the natives of which were never so called, but from the name of the island. No ancient writer placed any tribe of that denomination in the north western part of Gaul. It was called, not Britannia, but Armorica. Cæsar repeatedly enumerates seven states by which it was occupied, though he varies in some of their names. The Veneti, or people of Vannes, the Curiosolitæ of Quimper, the Ossismii of Brest, the Rhedones on the Vilaine, and the Unelli near St. Malo, were five of these states: to which were added (de Bello Gall. ii. 35,) the Sesuvii and the Auleri, or the Caletes and the Semovices, (ib. vii. 69,) to make up the number. For these, and the Unelli, M. de Penhouët substitutes the Namnetes, or people of Nantz, the Brivates, who seem to have been included in the Ossismii, and the Diablintes, whose situation is disputable. The country now forms the five departments of Ile et Vilaine, Cotes du Nord, Finisterre, Morbihan, and Loire Inferieure.

The Welch Archaeology, (published at the beginning of the present century, though little use has hitherto been made of the ancient British documents comprised in it,) best illustrates these fragments of our early history which occur in classical writers. The historical tracts, of which there are 126, vol. I.

pp. 57—75, are in this view peculiarly valuable. They apprise us, that the original inhabitants of Britain consisted of three principal tribes, which successively emigrated thither from Gaul. First, the Cymry, or people of Wales, who crossed the Mor-tawch, or Hazy Sea; that is, northward of the Strait of Dover, but probably near it: secondly, the Lloegrwys, from Gwasgwyn, Gasconne, or the coast southward from the Loire; after whom the Welch still name England, Lloegr, as having been mostly occupied by them; and from whom the recent Cornish descended: and thirdly, the Brython, (or warriors) seemingly a branch of the Cymry, who maintained their ground in the north of Gaul much later than the first colony. These settled north of the Humber, and spread over the Scotch low-lands. They all used the same original language, but with striking diversities between the Welch and Cornish dialects, the latter of which more closely resembled the Bas-Breton.

The Armorican states appear to have been more mercantile than all others in Gaul. They imported tin from Britain; during the interval between the destruction of Carthage and the conquest of Gaul by the Romans; and Diodorus Siculus states that they fetched it from Belerium (St. Michael's Mount), where the Britons collected it for the purpose; having probably been accustomed to the practice, while visited by the Phenicians and Carthaginians. Such intercourse with the Veneti seems to have given occasion to the exertions of the Britons, in alliance with them, against the Romans, as related by Caesar, B. G. viii. 70, 16. The fourteenth Welch triad, which is incomparably the longest, furnishes some details of this transaction. It was conducted by Caswallawn (Cassivelaunus, the elective military sovereign of the Britons,) and by Gwenwynwyn and Gwana, sons of his father's sister; and was draughted from Essyllog, the Netherlands of Galedin, and the allied Bylwenrwyys. The last were the Boulognois, the only people of Gaul whom any ancient writer has called Britanni; being probably a remnant of the Brython, that did not emigrate with the rest. Essyllog was properly the district of the Sikures, but might here be used more comprehensively. Galedin is the Welch appellation for the Netherlands; but the improbability that the Armoricans should have been supported by tribes so distantly situated, might have involved the triad in suspicion, if Caesar had not confirmed so remarkable a fact. "*Socios sibi ad id bellum Osismios, Lexobios, Nannetes, Ambianos, Morinos, Diablintes, Menapios ad socium auxilia ex Britannia, quae contra eas regiones posita sunt, miserunt.*" (B. G. iii. 9.) Only the first named state is ever called Armorican. The Menapii occupied Dutch Brabant, and the Morini resided about Bononia, or Boulogne. This evidence of

precision in the triad, where it might have been least expected, encourages reliance where similar confirmation is unattainable.

The Veneti, having killed the messengers by whom Cæsar summoned them to submit, he depopulated their territory, slaughtering their leaders, and selling the common people as slaves. (iii. 16.) So the triad asserts, that not an individual of the British auxiliaries returned, but that the survivors remained among the Romans in Gasconne; * being, probably sold for slaves, like the Veneti. We certainly should not (from historical evidence) expect, that the Celtic language would be retained unmixed in a country that underwent such desolation, as it was obliterated in every other part of Gaul. Schoepflin, in his eagerness to identify the Bas-Breton with the Celtic, seems to have forgotten both the fact already stated, and another (which is recorded in the same triad) to which M. de Penhouët refers, saying, "C'est à cette époque qu'après le passage en Bretagne d'un prince Breton, qui le premier régna sur nos ancêtres, alors fatigués du joug de Rome, et qui saisirent la première occasion de le secouer." (P. 3.)

Maximus, who usurped the Western empire, A. D. 383, acquired great popularity during his government of Britain, married a noble native named Ellen, and was elected as military sovereign by the Britons, who name him (on that account) a Massen, Wledig. The whole force of the island, conducted by his wife's brother Cynan, Lord of Meiridawc, accompanied him into Gaul, to establish his pretensions to the imperial dignity. Having succeeded, Cynan was rewarded with the sovereignty of the territory, since called Bretagne, and apparently so named from that epoch. No part of his army ever returned to Britain; but it had probably been much diminished in the contest, and might not be sufficiently numerous to produce, alone, any essential difference in the language of the country, which was likely then to be, as in the rest of Gaul, a latinized Celtic. In the next and the two following centuries, however, the proportions of the native and the British population were materially changed, by innumerable fugitives of Cymry and Lloegrwy, especially of the latter, from the victorious and ferocious Saxons. Events which obliterated the dialect of the Lloegrwy in England, suffice to account for the establishment of it in Bas-Bretagne, which might remain, from the time of its desolation by the Romans, less populous than other parts of Gaul. The refugees could not hesitate to apply for shelter to an independent power of their own nation on the opposite coast; and their numbers

* Note. Llydaw, which is the Welsh appellation of Armorica, &c. &c. the party who contributed to the British population of the latter.

doubtless contributed to its permanence, during the subjugation of the rest of Gaul to foreign invaders. Charlemagne, we are told by Asser, acquired the whole of France, except Bretagne. So crowded a population ensured the preservation of their language; but it never extended to Upper Bretagne. That district seems to have been assigned to the native inhabitants: and as it remained alike independent of the Franks, its *Patois*, the *Gallo*, is probably the most genuine representative of the Celtic, subsequent to its change by the dominion of the Romans. When M. de Penhouët asserts, p. 5, "que le Gallo n'offre point de mots du Bas-breton," we do not interpret his expressions as excluding from the Gallo such terms as the Bas-breton has in common with the French language; which are numerous; neither, when these are also common to the Latin, do we conclude that they must have been derived by the Gallic, any more than by the British dialects, from that source. Such terms, in fact, are common to all languages of Southern Europe, the Greek itself not wholly excepted: and they indicate a general mixture of some original language, almost as evidently as the languages of Northern European countries demonstrate their common derivation from the Gothic.

Hence Schœpflin's discovery of terms in the *Patois* of Alsace, that resembled those of the Bas-breton, by no means proved that dialect ever to have been generally used throughout Gaul. It only implied some language to have been so, to which the Bas-breton, and other British dialects, retained affinities. To that language, we have already intimated the Iberian and the Ligurian languages to have belonged; and that, mingled with the Pætonic and the Pelasgic, it probably constituted the Celtic speech. With these also, but more impregnated with Greek, it formed the Latin: and together with the Latin the *langue d'oïl* (our) or French; the *langue d'oc*, or Romanese; and the *langue is*, or Italian. We apprehend it to have formed the substance both of the Ligurian and Iberian languages; but in the former to have become mixed with the Celtic, and in the latter with the Pænic; which, jointly with the Libyan, constituted the Cantabrian language. Of all these, very strongly impregnated with Latin, and partially with Arabic terms, the Spanish and Portuguese languages were formed, the latter of which also had evident accessions from the French. We distinguish those terms which we apprehend to have been derived by all the southern languages of Europe, and by the ancient British dialects, from the same original, as independent of another original language, to which the northern and the southern languages of Europe, in common, are indebted. The latter appears to have been either the *Sanskrit*, or one from which the *Sanskrit* itself was de-

riety. We apprehend it to have belonged to the family of Madai, the only son of Japheth (Tubal perhaps excepted) whose posterity have almost wholly remained in Asia. The Lunar race of Hindustan appear to have descended from him. The Zend and the Pehlavi were dialects of the same language. The Hindoos acknowledge that they received their mythology from the north-west. The Sigynnæ, who in the time of Herodotus nomadised in the same countries where the Zigeuner (whom we call Gypsies) have always most abounded, asserted that they were Medes. They still use a corrupt dialect of the Sungskrit, and are probably correlative with the ancient Singani of Multan, the Saucha-dwipa of the Vedas.

On the grounds that we have assigned, we fully agree with M. de Penhouët, that neither the Bas-breton, nor any other British dialect, represents the ancient Celtic language; but we apprehend both the Welch and the ancient Cornish to have been ingredients in its composition, though in inferior proportion to the Teutonic. We apprehend him to have been misled by Bothart (who, though an excellent Oriental scholar, knew nothing of the ancient British,) and other respectable antiquaries, in his endeavours to derive the Welch language from the Phœnician. We cannot, however, follow at present, either his discussion of this subject, or his more interesting description of ancient monuments in Bretagne. We are glad to perceive the inhabitants intent on researches into these stupendous remains, whether of their direct ancestors, or of remoter date: and we strongly recommend to them, to furnish measurements, plans, and geometrical elevations of the whole. These render invaluable Dr. Stukeley's works on Abury and Stone-henge, while his hypothesis of their Phœnician construction has sunk into merited oblivion. We see no room whatever to doubt the fact recorded in the Welch chronicles, however mingled with fiction, that Stone-henge was erected by the Britons, in commemoration of their chiefs who were assassinated on the spot by the Saxons. The much grander work at Abury is evidently many centuries older, and appears to have been a vast amphitheatre adapted for national assemblies. Silbury Hill was one of its appendages, and probably contained the corpse of its royal founder. We conjecture him to have been Prydain, from whom our island was named.

On early British history, both civil and ecclesiastical, more light is thrown by Mr. Hughes's work, than by any other in our language, though his materials are rather compiled than selected, and are deficient of lucid arrangement. His pretensions are modest, and his principles exemplary. We hope that he will meet with encouragement to execute his purpose of translating all the ancient British historical tracts. If with these, he

collects the Welch chronicles, discriminating the facts as supported by the triads, from the fictions purposely interwoven with them, he will supply an important desideratum in British archaeology. We strongly recommend what he has performed to the candid attention of our readers.

In a brief comment on one of the British triads, (of which we hope to have occasion for ampler discussion from Mr. Hughes's intended version of these venerable documents,) it is said that the Cymry came from the place where Constantinople then stood. *Byzantium* was doubtless meant by the commentator. Nonnus uses this not-infrequent corruption of *Byzantium* in Africa. The triads place the spot in the land of Hâv, or of Summer, (whence, perhaps, Africa,) and call it Deffrobapi, or the headland of Deffro. The principal port, in the territory of *Byzantium*, was Taphrusa, probably *Taphru-ras* (or *rus*) the usual name of an African headland: and the Welch chroniclers describe their ancestors as sailing along the coast, thence westward, till they came away to *Ligustica*. It is manifestly of the Lloegrians, not the Cymraeg colonists, that the chronicles treat: and the coincidence tends to confirm the identity of the Lloegrwya (or Lloegwys) with the Ligures (or Ligyes) who were driven from the estuary of the Liger to Britain, by the Pictones, or Picta; from whom the country adjacent retains the names Poictou and Poictiers; and the people are still called Poictevins.

A rational and critical discussion of the original population of our country, appears to us so congenial with the objects of the British Review, that we will not apologize for having thus far called our readers' attention to the subject. The materials that ought to be condensed and adjusted, to complete the argument, are much too copious for our present use. We hope to find at a future recurrence to the inquiry will not be unacceptable; and shall, therefore, barely attempt the shortest possible connexion of our remarks on the volumes before us, with our introductory general view of European origins. We take the Welch, or Cymry, the earliest colonists of Britain, to have advanced to the north of Gaul, from Spain, and originally from Africa, being probably *Maurusii*, or Mor-wys, and certainly *Cynste* or *Cyneti*. The recent Cornish, or Lloegwys, who followed them to Britain from the estuary of the Loire, came across Gaul, from Italy; whether they passed from the opposite coast of Africa, and were probably Numidian *Massyli*, but undoubtedly *Ligurians*. These tribes, in their different routes, (if not previously,) contracted much diversity of dialect, especially of pronunciation: the Welch having no sibilant sound but that of our sharp *s*; while the Cornish used all the sibilants with which our own language so remarkably abounds; as *s*, *z*, *sh*, *zh*, (like *s* before *z* in *measure*, &c.) and

orig. text: yet the language of both the tribes was essentially the same. The Cymry withdrew to Wales and the north-western counties; and the Lloegrwys occupied the southern and eastern districts. The third colony, called *Brython*, which passed from Flanders to North Britain, we suppose to have been expelled from the Continent by the Belgic German invasion; the Lloegrwys by the Celtic Germans; and the Cymry probably by the yet earlier Thracians, or Pelasgic emigrants. The Brythons spread from York northward to Aberdeen, and were ancestors of the Strath-clywd Britons, who retained their independence till the tenth century. Each of these tribes was subdivided into many smaller, which were often mutually hostile; but a general government among them was established by Prydain, King of the Silures, from whom the whole island was, therefore, called (as the Welch still name it) Prydain. From this name, the Greeks formed that of *Bretannia*; and the Romans, *Britannia*: and both called the inhabitants (of whatever nation) Britons. The name *Albion*, which also the Greeks used, probably originated with the Lloegrwys; as it was that of the Ligurian metropolis in Italy, now *Albenga*.

Gaul seems to have been first, and fully, occupied by Iberian and Ligurian colonies, differing less from each other than both from the Byzacians, who probably deprived them of Cantabria and Gascony. The Celtic invasion from Germany overwhelmed all but the last-mentioned of the districts of Gaul; and by a change somewhat like that which the Saxons afterwards produced in our own country, formed the Celtic nation. A tribe resembling that by which the Lloegrwys had been driven to Britain, subsequently arriving in North Britain, was by them denominated *Picts*; as being evidently Germans, whether *Pictones*, or others. The Welch called them sometimes *Picts*, sometimes *Celyddon*; whence the Romans named them *Caledones*. They seem first to have occupied the north-western coast of Scotland; but afterwards to have removed to the Grampian Hills, to make room for a colony from Ireland, whose alliance with them gave rise to the distinctions of *Caledones* and *Vecturiones*, or of *Southern* and *Northern Picts*. All these colonies, together with the *Corrauld*, (probably *Carini*, from *Sleswick*), who established themselves on the shores of the Humber, preceded the settlements of the Belgæ in Britain.

The Roman conquests in Britain were commensurate with the extent of its primary population. All the Iberian and Belgic inhabitants submitted: and the former, who had previously been harassed by the German and Irish colonists of North

The Chronicle which was composed in the 11th century, by Lloegrwys, suppresses the distinctions of tribes, and the history of Prydain is so purposely apparent.

Britain, became, after being subjugated to Rome, still more subject to their intrusion. The Caledonians, leaving the Orkney mountains to their Irish allies (whose boundary then was Drin Uachtar, in Perthshire), took possession of the eastern low-lands; and were restrained by the wall of Severus, while it was guarded by Romans. The northern (or Irish) Picts, were joined, in the third century of our era, by a party from Ireland, who seized possession of Argyle, retaining the appellation of Scots, by which the inhabitants of Ireland were then commonly known. Early in the fifth century, the Southern (or Caledonian) Picts were subdued by their allies, the Veturiones, or Northern Picts; who afterwards expelled their own countrymen, the Scots, to Ireland. These, however, recovered Argyle about the close of the same century; having in the same time embraced the profession of Christianity, which had recently been spread throughout Ireland, by the ministry of Patrick, a Northern Briton. Another, named Ninian, about the same time, brought the Southern Picts to receive the Gospel. The Northern (then the reigning) Picts were converted by Columba (or Colm) from Ireland, A. D. 565. The Scots becoming united under the same government with them, in 843, it then received the title of the Scottish Monarchy; and the Irish population of North Britain being no longer divided, has since, in general, been called Gaelic; as Gaelic is pronounced the aspirated mutes, though sounded by the Welch, being expressed by the Irish. The ancient British have always called them Gwydeyl. The Gaelic is still spoken throughout the half of Scotland; but the Highland population is now much smaller than that of the Lowland Scots, who are evidently descendants of the Caledonians. The pronunciation of these is still purely German: but their dialect, in other respects, has been much assimilated to English, by their intermixture with Saxons and Normans (of whom, great numbers took refuge from the despotism of the English court, in that of the Scottish monarchs), as well as by the common use of English as the written language.

The Mass-Gothic translation of the Gospel, made by Ulphilas, in the fourth century, hardly differs more than our Anglo-Saxon version of the ninth century, from modern German. The latter, therefore, cannot have varied, in substance, from what it was at the commencement of our era. The Cymraeg Manuscripts, also, which, though published but recently, bear internal marks of antiquity (from the twelfth century upwards, to the probable epoch of the language being first commonly used in writing), are still mostly intelligible to a moderate Welch scholar. They imply, that the dialect of the

Silures, or Southern Gymry, was generally written; and it appears probable, that the colloquial language of the Gymry and the Brython, differed hardly more than the modern dialects of North and South Wales. That of Powys, the third usual division of the principality, in some measure approximated to the ancient Cornish, which was that of the Lloegrwys. Tacitus's comparison of the British language with that of the *Æsty* admits of elucidation from the hypothesis here imperfectly sketched, which it cannot, we conceive, derive from any other. The modern *Esthes*, the undoubted descendants of the *Æsty*, use two dialects of the Fennite (or Moschite) language: one that of Reval, the other that of Dorpat; in each of which a version of the Scriptures has lately been made. The people who use the latter, call themselves and their country by a name similar to that of the Ligurian tribe in Italy, whose capital was named Albion. They extended to the Adriatic, till they were invaded by the Venetians and they might, on that occasion, or afterwards, partly emigrate into Germany, and become attached to the *Æsty*. From Tacitus's representation, the Euganei, or Enganni (as they were called in Italy), appear then to have retained their Ligurian dialect; which he distinguished as having nearer affinity to that of the British Lloegrwys, than to the Celtic at that period. The Dorpatian *Esthes* still call themselves *Eganni*, and their country *Engannia*; and their dialect varies considerably from that of Reval.

We cannot pursue farther our inquiry into the colloquial language of Britain, prior and subsequent to the Roman Conquest; although some light on this much controverted subject might be derived from the published British documents. We cannot, however, conclude, without remarking, that these clearly determine, both the time, and the manner, in which Christianity was first planted in Britain; of which Mr. Hughes has given an authentic and interesting abstract, in his second volume, pp. 19—23. It wholly supersedes the traditions, conjectures, and forgeries, which so long, and generally prevailed, on this most important topic of British history; and by fully establishing the fact, that our country has been constantly favoured with the light of the Gospel from nearly the middle of the first century, calls for our most lively gratitude, and our most diligent endeavours universally to diffuse its benefits.

ART. XX.—MORAL AND RELIGIOUS STATE OF THE EAST.

1. *Travels along the Mediterranean and Parts adjacent, in company with the Earl of Belmore, during the Years 1816-17-18, extending as far as the Second Cataract of the Nile, Jerusalem, Damascus, Balbec, &c. &c. Illustrated by Plans and other Engravings.* By Robert Richardson, M. D. 8vo. 2 vols. Cadell. London, 1822.
2. *Christian Researches in the Mediterranean, from MDCCCLX. to MDCCCXX. in furtherance of the Objects of the Church Missionary Society.* By the Rev. William Jowett, M. A. 8vo. (With two Maps.) Seeley. London, 1822.

EGYPT is undoubtedly to be considered one of the first of the great kingdoms, which were formed after the dispersion of mankind. The colonies, that migrated thence, were the means of civilizing no small portion of the world: and the numerous remains of ancient art, which have recently been brought to light by the enterprising researches of travellers, in addition to the almost imperishable memorials of former times, which have frequently been described, concur to impart a considerable interest to every new work, which professes to give an account of them. Of the discoveries of Mr. Belzoni we not long since presented an abstract to our readers: and though Dr. Richardson's volumes relate in part to the track pursued by that enterprising traveller, yet he has noticed many things which have escaped Mr. B.'s attention; and that portion of his work which relates to the Holy Land is replete with interesting details. The length of time, during which Dr. Richardson resided in the East, and the opportunities he enjoyed as travelling physician to the Earl of Belmore, have enabled him to collect a considerable portion of valuable, and in some respects new information respecting this often described country.

Mr. Jowett's "Christian Researches in the Mediterranean," (which are accompanied by two neat maps,) relate principally, as the title of his volume implies, to the state of religion in the East; and will be found but little inferior to the celebrated "Christian Researches in India" of the late Rev. Dr. Buchanan, of which a copious analysis will be found in a former volume of our journal.* At his suggestion, the Church Missionary Society adopted the plan of sending to the Mediterranean a Literary Representative. Their choice fell on Mr. Jowett, who, during his late visit to this country for the renovation of his health,

* See British Review, vol. II. p. 231-239.

employed part of his time in selecting and arranging the present volume, from the valuable materials which a five years' absence in the Mediterranean and the East had enabled him to collect. A journal of a residence in some parts of the East, by the Rev. James Connor, (while in the service of the society,) is annexed by way of appendix.

In order that we may present to our readers an outline of the information comprised in these volumes, we shall first give an abstract of Dr. Richardson's route, and of such coincident circumstances as are noticed by Mr. Jowett, and shall then present a summary view of their observations on the moral and religious state of the inhabitants of the East.

The Earl of Belmore and his family (including Dr. Richardson) sailed from Southampton on the 21st of August, 1816, and reached Alexandria on the 7th of September in the following year, having seen every thing worthy of note at Gibraltar, Malta, Naples, the principal islands of the Mediterranean, and Constantinople. Dr. Richardson has shown his judgment by confining his lively notices of places, so often and so well described by preceding travellers, within the short compass of twelve pages.

Alexandria, the latest, if not the greatest heathen capital of Egypt, and the first that ever a foreign conqueror planted on its soil, is now in ruins. War has levelled its once stately towers, and broken down its walls; and the wind from the desert has laid it under a heap of sand; so that scarcely a single fragment that now appears, can be referred to its own original. Dr. Richardson perambulated the ancient remains of this once celebrated place, the most interesting of which, perhaps, are the catacombs. The proper entrance to these subterraneous abodes is unknown: the passage by which he penetrated into them has its aperture towards the sea; and seems like the entrance into a grotto.

"On arriving at the spot, we paused a little in the narrow passage to light our torches, and perform the customary prelude ceremony of firing off a musket, and the still more uncommon one of sounding a bugle-horn, to announce to the jackals and bats, the disgusting tenants of these abodes, that they were to be visited by human beings. Then each of us, armed with a lighted candle, and preceded by our guide, crawled along on our hands and feet for about twenty yards, under the horizontal stratum of calcareous rock. The first chamber that we entered into, was about ten feet square, and rather low in the roof; it contained a number of bones, and was pervaded by a damp unwholesome smell. The next chamber that we entered was larger, and higher in the roof, contained many more bones, and sarcophagi cut in the side of the floor for the reception of the dead; and was equally damp with the first. The third chamber was half full

of sand, and showed the entrance into a fourth, which may be called the state chamber; the door of which was adorned with doric pilasters, and a pediment, in the centre of which was a coarse half-finished globe, surmounted by a crescent. This chamber is round, with three recesses, one fronting the door, and one on each hand; but contained no bones, no stony excavations in the form of sarcophagi, and very little sand. The other chambers that we entered were perfectly choked up with sand, and we moved on frequently in contact with the ceiling."

"The form of these chambers, the doors, pilasters, and stone troughs, or sarcophagi, show them to be entirely Grecian; in size and proportion they are fully equal to the Egyptian catacombs, in other parts of the country; but in the fitting up, decorations, or even preservation, they are not once to be named in comparison with the latter." (Vol. i. pp. 19—21.)

An insignificant fortress now occupies the site of the once celebrated light-house, that stood on the extremity of the west side of the northern or great harbour; the wharf contiguous to which presents an active scene of ships building, vessels loading, with heaps of grain and bales of goods piled up along the shore. The population of modern Alexandria consists of about 74,000 inhabitants; who dwell in narrow, dirty streets, in an atmosphere made most oppressively saltry by the constant action of a burning sun upon the uncovered rock and sand which surround this city, wherein the plague rages for nearly nine months in the year.

Embarking at Alexandria on board a *djerm*, (a vessel built expressly for carrying grain, and for the navigation between Alexandria and Rosetta,) the travellers proceeded up the Nile, to Rosetta; whence, transferring themselves and their effects to a *maash*, a large vessel constructed for the carriage of goods and passengers, they sailed to Buhac, the port of Cairo. The inundation of the Nile was now at its ordinary height, and diffused fertility over the parched soil. On their arrival at Cairo, Mr. Salt, the British consul-general, gave them a hospitable reception; and Dr. Richardson availed himself of the opportunity afforded him by a short residence to acquire the knowledge of the most necessary Arabic words,—a task which he recommends to future travellers, for the conveniences which it will enable them to procure, and for the facility with which it may be obtained. His account of Old and New Cairo is drawn up in a lively and pleasing style; but it adds little to the descriptions of former travellers. The bazaars, which are numerous, are neither so commodious nor so large as those of Constantinople and Damascus: each species of goods has its own class of bazaars, which are occupied by Turkish, Arab, Greek, Coptic, Jewish, and Armenian merchants; of whom the first and last-mentioned are generally the most upright and agreeable to deal with.

"The Turks, being masters of the country, are superior to all, both in wealth and dignity, yet the Arabs constitute by far the greatest part of the population, both in Cairo, and throughout the whole of Egypt and Syria, and their language is the vernacular tongue in both countries. Notwithstanding which, and their being of the same religion with the Turks, they enjoy no offices of emolument, and are kept nearly in as much subjection as the Copts or Greeks, though they are at least in the proportion of twenty to one, or more. The Armenians are numerous, and entirely engaged in trade, and bear the character of a respectable industrious people. I entered one of their churches on a week day; it was well attended; their behaviour was devout, and becoming a house of prayer. They are dissentients from the Greek church; they keep Lent rigidly, but eat flesh on Fridays. They deny purgatory, and the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son: they pray for the dead, and rebaptize converts from the church of Rome. The secular clergy must all be married before they are admitted to holy orders, but are not allowed to marry a second time.

"The Armenians are favourably situated in Egypt at present, on account of one of their countrymen being the interpreter, and one of the confidential advisers of the Pasha. This gentleman once had the misfortune to fall under the displeasure of his master, by refusing to lend him money, and was consigned to the executioner, to put him into a sack, and drown him in the Nile. He was met on his way to the place of execution, and saved by the intervention of two intrepid friends, who remonstrated with the Pasha upon the injustice of the sentence, and had it revoked. The worthy gentleman was pardoned, and reinstated in his former office, and loves and serves with fidelity the man who had unjustly ordered him to be put to death.

"The number of Jews in Cairo was differently stated at three, four, five, or six thousand. But I am disposed to think that the highest number is considerably under the truth. They are an industrious people, and are chiefly engaged in small traffic, as in this country; but many, of them being able to read, write, and cipher, are employed in the different offices of government. They have seven synagogues in Cairo; five of which I visited in company with Elias, who had been himself in the employ of the Pasha till the failure of his eye-sight compelled him to relinquish it. In witnessing a circumcision, which is performed by the priest on the eighth day, as prescribed in the Law of Moses, I was astonished to find that the mother carries the child in her arms, and lays him down on the table or altar for the operation. In conversing with them on the danger and impropriety of requiring such a service of the mother, they assured me, that it never was attended with any inconvenience, and that it was a practice that mothers would on no account give up. The latter part of the statement I as readily believe, as I doubt and disbelieve the former.

"The Copts are generally considered as the legitimate remains of the ancient Egyptians, as retaining in their features, and even in their name, proofs of their descent from that great and wonderful

people. Though I must be permitted to say, that neither in their features nor in their complexion have they the smallest resemblance to the figures of the ancient Egyptians that are represented in the tombs at Thebes, or any other part of Egypt that I ever visited. There are about 8000 of them in Cairo; and throughout the whole of Egypt inclusive, about 25,000. Prior to the Persian conquest, Egypt possessed a population of 7,000,000: all of them, it is presumed, Egyptians. That three-and-twenty hundred years of bondage and persecution should have reduced them to their present number, is not so surprising as that they should, notwithstanding all their changes of masters, have remained a distinct people. Latterly, the Christian religion, the strongest cement of society, has knit them together in one bond of union, and placed an insurmountable barrier between them and their present masters. The same distinction obtained, in a certain degree, between them and their Persian conquerors. But this was not the case under the Greeks, who were themselves a colony from Egypt. The Ptolemies repaired their temples, presented their offerings on the same altars, and worshipped the same deities with them. The Egyptians adopted their alphabet, and probably much of their language: their own is now completely lost. They never appear to have amalgamated so well with the Romans, under whose government they made several efforts to recover their independence. After their conversion to Christianity they appear to have formed one sect with the Greeks and Romans, and the national distinction must have been then greatly sunk, and the present Copts are probably a mixture of the ancient Egyptians with those inhabitants of the country, who embraced that religion at the same time with themselves." (Vol. i. p. 87—91.)

The Earl of Belmore was presented to Mohammed Ali, the present Pasha of Egypt, of which interview Dr. Richardson has given an animated narrative.

The following particulars respecting this fortunate adventurer are new to us, and will probably be equally novel to our readers.

"He is a native of Romania, and entered the Turkish service as a soldier of fortune. His spirited and gallant conduct soon attracted the notice of his superiors, and procured him promotion. He joined the army of the Grand Seignior that was destined to act against the Mamelukes in Egypt, who affected to govern that country independently of the Porte. The result is well known; the Beys were expelled from Egypt and Nubia, into the kingdom of Dongala, where they at present reside, with but very slender hopes of ever recovering their former possessions. Mahomed Ali came to be commander and chief of the army, and finally was confirmed in his present elevated situation.

"The first object of the new Viceroy was to establish the internal tranquillity of the country, and to reduce the power of the soldiers, who had become licentious in the extreme; both of which he has completely effected. The traveller may now visit every corner of

Egypt unmolested, he may go, with his money in his hand, from one end of it to the other; no person will take it from him by violence, and murder is almost unknown," (Vol. i. p. 102—103.)

"This intelligent Viceroy, at the age of forty, could neither read nor write; since which he has learned to do both, though, as might well have been expected, [he] is no great proficient in either. This would be an indelible disgrace in modern Europe; but the whole history of the Turkish empire sufficiently evinces that a knowledge of letters is not necessary to govern men. A certain dexterity in managing the horse and arms of a soldier, in firing with precision at a mark, throwing the djerid, playing skilfully with the sword, joined to address and shrewdness in conversation, with a prompt decisive character in action, are qualifications which in these countries open a road to certain promotion; and with all these his Highness of Egypt is amply endowed, and upon these he lives, the boast and terror of his people. He acted the part of an able general in restoring the discipline of the army, in suppressing banditti, and in establishing the tranquillity of the country; but his internal regulations evince him to be an unwise and illiberal governor, and but ill calculated to promote the happiness of his people, or the prosperity of Egypt. He proceeds upon the absurd principle, that men are made for kings and rulers; that all the men, women, and children, all the land, and every thing that it produces, are his property; that his subjects have no rights that they can call their own; they are the menials of his family, bound to serve him—all their labour, and all the produce of the soil are his, for a scanty allowance of food and clothing, which he graciously concedes to them; the ground is all his; and he seems determined to reduce the sheikhs, or master tenants, and fellahs, all to one level, that they may all work to him for hire, and have no ground or property which they can call their own. There is a capitation tax, and a tax upon the water-wheels, and upon sheep, goats, and black cattle, of which by and by he will be the sole possessor. He is the sole merchant in the country; all the trade of it is in his hands. He furnishes the shoemaker with leather, who cuts it and makes it into shoes, and when they are made, carries them to the agent of the Pasha, who pays him so much a day for his labour; the shoes are then deposited in a general store, out of which they are sold to the public, and the Pasha pockets the money that should revert to the industrious tradesman, to feed and clothe his family, and to lighten his labour. The same thing is done in regard to the cloth manufactories. He provides the weaver with the yarn, who, when he has finished his web, takes it to the agent of the Pasha, who pays him at the rate of so much a day for his labour, generally half a piastre, which is threepence of our money; the cloth is then put into a general store, and sold out for the benefit of the Pasha; it is all regularly stamped, and no person can or dare sell it but his agents. Such are the regulations which he wishes to establish universally, and which forcibly evince that one science only will one genius fit. Mahomed Ali may be a good soldier, but he is a wretched governor; a perfect infant in political economy: his regulations may do on a small scale between master

and slave, or under a patriarchal age, but they can never make a great or a happy people; for they are founded on the avaricious and contracted views of an individual whom they are intended to enrich, by impoverishing and degrading to the rank of beasts those whom it is his duty to cherish, and to lift up to the stature of humanity. He may hold the only purse in the country, and be accounted the one-eyed monarch of the blind; but he can never reign in the hearts of his subjects, nor bless the land with joyful abundance.

"But it must be observed, that as all happiness is relative, so is all misery, and the land of Egypt enjoys more advantages under its present master, than it has experienced for many years under any of his predecessors. The canals are deepened, yielding facilities for commerce, and an abundant supply of water for man and beast, and all the important purposes of agriculture. The roving Bedouens are compelled to pay tribute, to live in their tents, and to pasture their flocks quietly along the edge of the desert, without plying from or molesting their peaceful neighbours in the villages.

"He has established manufactures of sugar, gunpowder, saltpetre, indigo, cotton, &c. which are under the direction of properly qualified Europeans; of these he is almost exclusively the sole proprietor, and no person is permitted to found any rival establishment. Having met with considerable difficulty in procuring properly qualified persons to superintend his manufactories, he has sent a number of his own subjects to Europe to study at Genoa, Leghorn, and Milan, the different branches that he wishes to cultivate; some of these have visited England: after a certain period of years, they are to return to Egypt, superintend the operations of the Pasha, and teach their countrymen what they have learned themselves. Some of them are specially devoted to the study of mineralogy; as an examination of the mineral kingdom, the finding of gold and emerald mines, is an object that the ruler of Egypt has much at heart; all his views centre in himself, and in the accumulation of wealth. But the education of the youth is a plan that will probably extend itself, and in the end benefit the country; and science and civilization may yet revisit their ancient seat." (Vol. i. p. 106—109.)


The often described pyramids of Gheesa, or Ghiza, were the principal objects of curiosity, during the author's residence at Cairo: after surveying them, he proceeded with his noble patron on a voyage into Upper Egypt, passing in their way the ruins of Antinopolis, and the village of Alairamoun to Osyout, (by preceding travellers variously called Siout, Sint, and Assiut,) the Grecian Lycopolis, and the present capital of Upper Egypt. In the absence of Ibrahim Pasha, the step-son of the reigning Pasha of Egypt, the travellers were favourably received by the Desterdar Bey, the son-in-law of the latter. Osyout is a large town, finely situated at the distance of about one mile from the western bank of the Nile; it contains about 20,000 inhabitants. Many of the houses are two stories high, but the apartments

are small and ill lighted. The accommodation for the poor consists of a mud wall, frequently destitute of any covering; which incloses a circular space about ten feet in diameter; the streets are narrow and irregular, and deeply covered with sand and dust.

Embarking on board their vessels, the party sailed up the Nile to Kau Alkarab, or the ruined Kau, the Antæopolis of the Greeks, of whose splendid edifices many fragments still remain; thence they proceeded to Ikhmin, (the ancient Chemmis,) which is pleasantly situated on the eastern side of the river, from which it is distant about a mile and a half. It contains about 10,000 inhabitants, of whom 300 are Catholics, 1200 Coptic Christians, and the remainder are Mussalmans. Passing Gizeh, they next anchored opposite the celebrated temple of Dendera or Dandāra, (the Tentyra of the Romans.) It is half an hour's ride from the river: the road to it lies through an uncultivated flat, intersected by several canals from the Nile.

"The scene of ruins is nearly a mile square, and consists of houses of unburnt brick, that have been repeatedly overturned, and at every restoration the new houses have been built on the top of the rubbish of the old; a very uncertain foundation, if the structure were of large dimensions, and reared of heavy materials; but where the huts are small, and low, and composed of sun-dried brick made of cut straw and clay, the solidity of the foundation was not so much an object with the builder as the facility with which he could construct a fabric for his habitation. Hence came many of the large mounds which are found around most of the ancient temples, and the site of ancient towns; they are the result of much havoc and disaster that befel the inhabitants of the land.

"The ruined town of Dandāra has been partly built of burnt, and partly of unburnt brick, and the remains of many small huts crowd the summit of the temple itself, which are, of course, very modern productions. The first thing that attracts the eye of the traveller, on the edge of this black field of ruins, is a small square stone building with four columns; it has an unfinished appearance, and is without hieroglyphics. It is difficult to say for what purpose this edifice was intended; it looks like a porter's lodge, or habitation for the guardian of the precincts of the temple: and I should not have mentioned it at all, had it not been constructed of the same species of sand-stone with the temple itself; and as these must have been brought thither from a great distance, and at a great expense, it is probable that this insignificant fabric was connected with it for religious purposes. Advancing from this, for several hundred yards among the brick ruins, we came to an elegant gateway, or propylon, which is also of sand-stone, well hewn, and completely covered with sculpture and hieroglyphics, remarkably well cut. Immediately over the centre of the doorway is the beautiful Egyptian ornament usually called the globe, with serpent and wings, emblematic of the glorious sun poised in the airy fire.

boon of heaven, supported and directed in his course by the eternal wisdom of the Deity. The sublime phraseology of Scripture, "The Son of righteousness shall arise with healing in his wings," could not be more accurately, or more emphatically represented to the human eye, than by this elegant device. To this, succeed representations of Osiris, Isis, and their son Horus, with processions of priests and people advancing to pay their homage, and present their offerings on their knees. Passing under the gateway, we find the principal devices on each side of the passage to be the sceptre of Osiris, alternating with a figure representing the letter T suspended by a handle, or, to speak more correctly, with a handle attached to it ; it has been called the handled cross, the key of the Nile, and honoured with other designations." (Vol. i. p. 185—187.)

Dr. Richardson is disposed to consider it as the sign or letter *Thau*, mentioned in the Vulgate Latin version of Ezekiel ix. 4; and there intimated, as being the sign of life and salvation to those who received it. Both symbols, indeed, may be accurately enough considered, as representing power and preservation. Some of the female figures are admirably executed, and exhibit a remarkable mildness of feature and expression. The remains of three temples still exist. The largest of these is in a fine state of preservation, and is emphatically termed *the temple* of Dendera. It is minutely described by Dr. Richardson, whose account (as well as his disquisition on the Egyptian deities) will not easily admit of abridgment. We shall only remark that he successfully controverts the commonly received opinion that the splendid sculptures in the pro-naos, which have lately arrived at Paris, are a zodiac; and in this opinion he is supported by some eminent French literati. He had an opportunity of comparing the original with part of the great French work on Egypt; to the elegant execution of which he gives the just tribute of praise, but he pronounces it to be extremely incorrect in every part. Dr. Richardson considers the ceiling at Dendera as a representation of the mythological beings and devices of the Egyptian Pantheon. There are no inhabitants residing on the site of ancient Dendera. The modern village is nearer the river, in the midst of a grove of palm trees: it consists of an assemblage of small huts, built of sun-dried bricks, and contains about a thousand inhabitants.

Resuming their boats the travellers passed Gheneh, (the ancient Coene, or Coenopolis,) situated on the eastern bank of the Nile: it is a town of considerable resort, and the centre of commerce between Upper Egypt, the Red Sea, and the interior of Africa.

155 Large caravans, consisting sometimes of six or eight hundred camels, go from Gheneh to Cossair, carrying wheat, flour, honey, oil, cloth, sugar, lentils, and pottery ware, of which last there is here an extensive manufactory, and bring back in return coffee from Mocca, which is adulterated almost as soon as it arrives, and probably a good deal of it before it leaves the mother country, gums, India shawls, muslins, spices, incense, and many other commodities, which anciently were brought to Thebes, next to Coptos, and now to Gheneh, which is but a poor representative of either, though it contains between six and eight thousand inhabitants, who are comfortably lodged for Egyptians. The warehouses were filled with grain, but the bazars were indifferently provided, except with coffee, the principal goods having been sent off to the markets of Cairo and Oxyout. This is the only place in Egypt where we saw the women of the town decked out in all their finery, to catch the passing traveller. They were of all nations, and of all complexions, and regularly licensed, as in many parts of Europe, to exercise their profession. Some of them were highly painted, and gorgeously attired with costly necklaces, rings in their noses and in their ears, and bracelets on their wrists and arms. They sat at the doors of their houses, and called on the passengers as they went by, in the same manner as we find them described in the book of Proverbs. Nothing could be more hideous and disgusting, than such an array of strumpets: even they themselves seemed conscious of their degradation.

"The pottery of Gheneh is of coarse earthenware, which is turned off with the wheel in the same manner as in Europe. They are slightly burnt, and floated up or down the Nile to supply the natives with drinking and filtering jars, and other vessels for domestic use. The only piece of ingenuity which we saw in the whole manufactory was, the scheme which the man who had both his hands employed in forming the vase upon the wheel, had contrived to hold his pipe, so that he might smoke and work at the same time. This was managed by letting down a rope from a cross bar of wood above his head; the stalk of the pipe was introduced into the loop; and when the man began to work, he took the pipe into his mouth, and, as the wheel drove on, he smoked and turned; all his senses were absorbed; a perfect glutton in clay and smoke." (Vol. i. p. 259—261.)

Thebes, the ancient capital of Egypt, the city of the hundred gates, next received the travellers. Here they were welcomed by Mr. Beechey, the son of the celebrated artist, and by Mr. Belzoni, of whose successful researches we lately presented an abstract to our readers.* Having traversed the valley of the tombs, they explored the tomb then recently discovered by the last mentioned traveller, and proceeded up the Nile beyond the second cataract, seeing every thing worthy of note either in their progress upwards or on their return down the Nile to Cairo, where they arrived in the beginning of March, 1818, after a protracted

* See Brit. Rev. vol. xvii. p. 230—262.

journey, of nearly five months. In the course of this excursion, Dr. Richardson had abundant opportunities of exercising his professional skill. During the whole of his residence at Thebes, for instance, he had not fewer than twenty patients daily, both morning and evening, from all parts of the country; and honourably refused the presents which they brought him in acknowledgment for his services.

"The prevailing diseases in Thebes are affections of the eyes, with a greater proportion of cataracts than I ever remember to have seen in the same population. Dyspepsia, slight hepatic affections, and, what I was not so much prepared for, consumptions, cutaneous diseases, scirrhus and ill-conditioned ulcers; but the most importunate of all the applicants for advice were those who consulted on account of sterility, which in this country is still considered as the greatest of all evils. The unfortunate couple believe that they are bewitched, or under the curse of Heaven; which they fancy the physician has the power to remove. It is in vain that he declares the insufficiency of the healing art to take away their reproach. The parties hang round dunning and importuning him, for the love of God, to prescribe for them, that they may have children like other people. Give me children, or I die, said the fretful Sarah to her husband. Give me children, or I curse you, say the barren Egyptians to their physicians. Of all professions, that of physic is certainly the best to travel with in the Levant: the physician may be sometimes diffculted in getting away from a particular place, where his professional services have entitled him to the esteem and gratitude of the inhabitants! but there is never any doubt of his meeting with a kind and welcome reception; and of hearing many prayers put up for his safety, the efficacy of his prescriptions, and his continuance among them." (Vol. ii. 105, 106.)

In another part of his work he remarks that

"Both Turks and Arabs and oriental Christians are perfect gluttons in physic, and place greater confidence in its wonder-working powers than the more-enlightened people in Europe are disposed to do; but they have been so often gulled by pretenders to the art, that a solitary traveller declaring himself to be of that profession is looked upon with suspicion, and must work his way through lengthened files of gossiping quacks and anile competitors, fraught with legions of nostrums from every country under heaven, against every ailment with which the human body can be assailed, from a scratch of the finger to a scirrhus ulcer or a pestilential boil. But all their clamours are silenced by such an introduction; his prescriptions are received with unlimited confidence, and applications for advice are without end. Crowds of invalids, the halt, the blind, the lame, and the sick of every disease, collected from all quarters of the country, assail him, so that unless he gives his whole time up to them, he will find it impossible to satisfy their demands. It is the hardest of all refusals for a medical man at any time to decline giving advice for the health of a fellow-creature, but more especially so in Jerusalem

The patients seize upon him as if only he stood between them and death; they fall down before him on the ground; grasp his legs, kiss his feet, and supplicate him for the love of God, to look at them and prescribe for their complaints. They rarely present him with silver or gold, but the father, the mother, the sister, the brother, or some friend or relation of the patient stands by with a sheep, a lamb, or a goat, a chaplet of beads, a carved shell, or some other portion of his property to reward him for his trouble. The soul is touched when the body suffers, and any thing for health. Whether he is in his lodgings, walks in the streets, or sits down in the market-place, the physician is equally beset; some needy sufferer finds him out, and comes up under the wings of some favoured Turk, who prefers an unnecessary request in behalf of the invalid: no sooner has he prescribed for one, than another victim of disease pathetically assails him, and thus he is kept in constant employ and hunted, as if by a dog, both over town and country.

"The medical practitioner who travels in those countries and wishes to be useful, which it is hoped every member of the profession does, should take along with him a set of surgical instruments, particularly such as are necessary for operations on the eye, and for laying open fistulous sores; also a chest of medicines well stored with calomel and jalap, bark, the liquor of ammonia, which from the debilitated state of the digestive organs, occasioned by the excessive use of tobacco, he will find of great service; powders for making soda-water and the spirits of nitrous ether, he will find universally called for, and a small quantity of them will be sufficient to secure him the temporary friendship of any great man in the country; he ought also to take opium along with him, which, strange as it may appear, I hardly ever found good in those countries, and he will find the ointment of the nitrate of mercury of great service in the eruptive diseases on which he will often be consulted. Such other medicines as he may have occasion for he will generally meet with in the convents or the shops of the country." (Vol. ii. p. 392—394.)

Travelling much at leisure with his noble patron, our author had abundant opportunities of exploring the various antiquities which presented themselves in their route: and though his descriptions must necessarily be similar to those of Mr. Belzoni, (to the accuracy and fidelity of whose models and engravings he bears honourable testimony,) yet he has furnished many details which that enterprising traveller has not recorded. Without minutely following the author's route, we shall select a few particulars, which we think will be new to our readers.

In the tomb discovered by Mr. Belzoni at Thebes, Dr. Richardson found a tablet exhibiting a human sacrifice to the serpent. Three human beings rest upon their knees, with their heads struck off: the attitude, in which they implored for mercy, is that in which they met their doom; and the serpent opposite erects his crest on a level with their throats, in order to

drink the stream of life as it issues from their veins. The executioner brandishes the ensanguined knife, prepared to sever from the body the heads of the three other unfortunate men, who are lying prostrate, and held by a string behind him. The colours of the painting in this tomb are remarkably vivid, and the performance does not seem to have suffered in any way, either from time or from human violence. In one or two places the colours appear to have run, from having been laid on in too liquid a state; but these were only discernible on the closest and most careful inspection.

At Esneh, the travellers visited the temple, the only remain of ancient art in that place. We extract his description of it, for the wholesome castigation which it gives to the sceptical savans of a neighbouring country. This temple

Stands in the middle of the town; it is built of sand-stone, and is much smaller than the temple at Denderah; but resembles it in the moulding passing down the angles, as if to enclose the whole building in a frame. It enters from the east, and the columns in front, like those at Denderah, are engaged in the wall. There are twenty-four columns in the pronaos, six rows with four columns in each. The columns are all of the same proportion, and the leaves of the springing lotus, like the calyx of a flower, form the capital of each; but no two capitals are the same. The Egyptian taste is variously uniform. The globe, surmounted with serpent and wings, forms the usual ornament over the door, and up the centre of the pronaos. Different devices, resembling those at Denderah, are introduced on the ceiling, between the rows of columns; and between the last row and the wall on each side, are represented what have been called the twelve signs of the zodiac. The figures said to represent the signs are the same with those at Denderah; but the number of stars on the ceiling are much fewer, and the decorations and arrangement are different. Here the ascending signs begin with pisces and end with leo; at Denderah they begin with aquarius and end with gemini, or, as expositors will have it, the beetle. Here the descending signs begin with aquarius and end with virgo, between which and leo there is a sphinx; at Denderah the descending signs begin with capricornus and end with leo. From the summer solstice, here supposed to be in virgo, it has been concluded that this zodiac or ceiling at Esneh is 2145 years older than that at Denderah, where it is in leo, and that it was constructed 6000 or 7000 years ago. Another philosopher, not satisfied with the antiquity ascribed to it in this account, asserts that the zodiac at Esneh was constructed when the summer solstice was in capricorn, which was only 14,000 or 15,000 years ago. I have already stated my reasons for regarding the ceiling at Denderah as a representation of the mythological beings and deities of the Egyptian pantheon. The same observations apply with equal force to that which has been called the zodiac at Esneh. These I shall not, in this place, either repeat or enlarge. But in reply to the charges of

prejudice and superstition which the abettors of the French philosophy have brought against the believers in the chronology of Moses, it may be remarked, that the most undiluted fanatic who kisses a wooden saint for salvation, or presents a golden heart to the Virgin Mary for safety, is not more credulous and absurd in his practice and belief, than are such philosophers. All this the history of human science and opinions sufficiently testify, from the days of Thales and Aristotle, to the days of Locke and La Place. The French philosophers themselves, Barokhart, Visconti, and Dupuis, differ from one another, in no less a period than from 2000 to 8000 years, and cannot state, on sufficient grounds, what they would have the world to believe, or what they themselves believe to be the truth. Yet they would ask mankind to surrender their belief in the chronology of Moses, and believe what? *Esopé ne dit pas*; wise men do not inform us. So far from believing that the zodiac at Esneh was constructed 7000 or 15,000 years ago, I believe that it is no zodiac at all, and that then the world had no existence, there was not a drop of water in the Nile, a grain of sand, a human being, or a vegetable on its banks. Let philosophers prove the contrary if they can from any zodiac in existence. A late admirer of the French philosophy, in treating of the secular variations in the apparent motion of the sun, has the following remark:—The line of the apsides continually moving round, must at one period have coincided with the line of the equinoxes. The lower apsis or perigee in 1750, was $278^{\circ}.6211$ from the vernal equinox, according to La Caille; and the higher apsis was therefore at the distance of $98^{\circ}.6211$. The time required to move over this arch at the rate of $62'$ annually, is about 5722 years, which goes back nearly 4000 before our era—a period remarkable for being that to which chronologists refer the creation of the world. The Devil never sent the bane, but the Almighty, at the same time, sent the antidote; and were the question at issue on the score of probability, we should enter the above as a set-off against all the zodiacs, or mythological documents that the world can produce. But it has long since been decided upon higher grounds, at which philosophers may kick, but which they cannot shake or overturn. We resume the description of the temple.

“The columns, and the walls within the pronaos, are covered with sculpture and hieroglyphics, which are far from being so well executed as those on the temple at Denderah. The pronaos is much filled up with small drifted sand, and the sekos so completely so, that we could only see the top of the door; but could not enter. The sculpture and hieroglyphics on the exterior of the temple are equally defective in execution with those in the pronaos, and a number of Arab huts are so closely built up round the north side of it, that nothing below the moulding can be seen.” (Vol. I. p. 311—315.)

At Assouan, there still remain some ruins of the ancient city of Syene. Dr. Richardson exerted himself in vain to find the tropical well (as it was called), into which the sun is said to,

shine vertically on the vernal equinox, and then to retreat towards the south; and he is of opinion that no such well ever existed.

"Ancient geographers and philosophers have stated the circumstance on the reports of the priests, who were the only learned men of the time; but none of them have condescended to inform us in what part of the town or district it was to be found; and in as far as the tropic is concerned, all of them must have been speaking to a fact which they never could have witnessed; for, from the best and latest observations, the sun could not have been vertical at Assouan for these five thousand four hundred years, a period at which, in all probability, there was no body there to observe it. We did not omit to visit the small stone building which, on what authority I know not, has been called the observatory of Syene, and said to have been built over the mouth of this tropical well. It is situated in the north-west corner of the rubbish, in a sort of appendicle to the ancient town, facing the Nile, a little way up from the quay, near the place where the boats usually harbor. It is certainly a likely place to find water, if the digger chose to go deep enough, but a very unlikely one for any person to make a well. It is but about two hundred yards distant from the river, and the perforation down to its level must be through at least 100 feet of rock. This is not likely to have been a natural well, formed by the bursting of a bubble from the great central fire, and the excavation is not likely to have been made 5400 years ago; neither is the situation likely to have been chosen for an observatory, on account of its being relatively low, nor the building ever to have been employed as such, on account of its size, which is only 33 feet long and 22 feet wide. It is in the form of a temple, and enters from the east, though the building is not quite east and west by compass. The roof is flat, and covered with broad flags, the same as the other temples, with two apertures in it, answering to two chambers below. The apertures run from south to north, the direction of the flags in the roof; their sides are not marked with any notches, nor formed with any particular care, and the apertures are not opposite to, nor appear to have any relation or connection with each other. The door was quite obstructed with the rubbish, so that there was no entering by it; but, a window in the south readily admitting us, we dropped down into the interior of the building, in which there are only two small chambers, divided by a stone wall, with a door of communication. The outside is adorned with sculpture and hieroglyphics, as in the other temples; but there is nothing in the inside but stones and sand." (Vol. i. p. 350—352.)

This edifice does not appear to have been finished: and Dr. Richardson is disposed to think that it was a small fane or chapel, like that of Isis attached to the large temple at Dendera, and that it may have been used for the daily service of the people on the eastern side of the Nile, while the grand temples

in which the principal ceremonies were performed, stood on the opposite island of Elephantina. On landing at this island, Dr. Richardson arrived just in time to witness a corpnagh or wailing for the dead.

"A poor woman of the village had that morning received the melancholy intelligence that her husband had been drowned in the Nile. He had been interred without her knowledge near the spot where the body was found, and she, along with several of her female friends, was paying the unavailing tribute of lamentation to his departed shade. The ceremony, in as far as it fell under our observation, consisted in marching out of and into the house with drawn swords in their hands. After howling and stamping most piteously, they threw themselves down on the floor, as if exhausted, and after a short interval arose and commenced the threnody again as before." (Vol. i. p. 355, 356.)

From the house of mourning, the travellers directed their attention to the adjoining field, which contains a mutilated statue of Osiris, and of a temple that was dedicated to Cneph. The serpent, an emblem of wisdom, is of frequent occurrence among the hieroglyphics: but the interior of this edifice is so besmeared with mud, that Dr. Richardson found it impossible to make out any consistent story from its walls. Contiguous to these ruins are various remains of a larger and more magnificent temple.

The island of Elephantina (which is variously called the island of Assouan, of Arte, and also El Sag) is about two thousand feet in length, by six hundred feet in breadth, and is separated from Assouan by a branch of the Nile, which is about two hundred feet wide. The northern end of it

"Is adorned by palms, orange-trees, acacias, and small gardens well watered. The southern extremity of this small island is bare rock, consisting of red granite; whence were hewn many of those stupendous monuments, the obelisks, &c. and floated down the Nile. The works of art, it is needless to observe, have now been long suspended; but the quarries remain precisely as they were left—the marks of the workman's chisel and wedge as fresh as of yesterday. On the northern end of Elephantina are the ruins of Roman fortifications; and, opposite to them, on the eastern side of the Nile, are ruins of Arab fortifications." (*Jowett's Researches*, p. 139.)

"There are also on the Island of Elephantina, singular memorials of the Roman Troops, which have been quartered here. Many broken pieces of red earthenware, shreds of the potsherd, are found, which appeared to have served as tickets to the soldiers, assigning them their portion of corn. The name of Antoninus was found on some of them. They are written in Greek, and in black; in a running hand, very similar to that which is used in a Greek Letter at this day. They are in small pieces, about half the size of a man's hand;

and each one appears complete, though it is difficult to decipher them. This seems to illustrate Ezekiel iv. 1." (P. 140.)

The whole of this island is exceedingly beautiful, and is at present (as it appears formerly to have been) entirely inhabited by Nubians, who are perfectly black, but without possessing the negro features in the smallest degree: the expression of their countenance bears a strong resemblance to that which is generally found portrayed in the temples and tombs of the ancient Egyptians. The inhabitants of Assouan, who are greatly superior to the Nubians, are of Arab origin, and swarthy, partly from the climate, and partly from a mixture of Nubian blood. Dr. Richardson also observed here several families that appeared to belong to a third race, differing both in complexion and feature from the inhabitants of Assouan and Nubia. Their hue was more of a bronze or reddish brown, resembling mahogany, approaching very nearly both in feature and complexion to that which is called the head of the young Memnon, and to the figures in the lately discovered tomb, in the valley of Biban-el-Melook.

Deer, Dehr, Derr or Dair (so variously is this village denominated by different travellers), is the capital of Nubia, beautifully situated on the east bank of the Nile, and contains numerous remains of ancient structures, the workmanship of which is inferior both in point of taste and execution to those found in many parts of Egypt and Nubia. It was once a Christian settlement; but neither there, nor throughout Nubia, is there a single individual who believes in the name of Jesus.

"It has been for them," Dr. Richardson feelingly remarks "a sad reverse; and the heart bleeds in compassion for their wretchedness, in comparing what they are with what they might have been, if living under the influence of the Gospel, enlightened by its precepts, and governed by its laws. What a blank does the absence of true religion make in the hearts and the establishments of men! One would have thought that the small and fertile vale of Nubia would have been the abode of happiness and peace; but every hand is armed with a spear, every eye is on fire, and man burns with indignation against his fellow-man, whom he should meet with affection, feel for as a brother, and not seek as an enemy whom he would devour." (Vol. i. p. 410.)

Of the temples of Absambul (one of which had not long before been opened by Mr. Belzoni, who calls this place *Ypsambul*) we have a long and interesting description. Proceeding further up the river, the travellers at length reached the boundary of their voyage,—the second cataract of the Nile; the latitude of which the Earl of Belmore, by observation, determined to be $21^{\circ} 57' 50''$ and the longitude $31^{\circ} 27' 19''$ east. The surrounding coun-

try is rock and sand; from the cairn or tumulus of a much venerated Moslem Sheikh, Abdallah Gadi, which stands on the summit of a lofty mountain, the travellers had an extensive view of this far-famed cataract.

As far as the eye can reach, he sees the river broken into a number of separate streams by rocks and islets springing up in its bed. Some of them are covered with shrubs and verdure; others lift up their bare rocky heads, and contrast beautifully with the sheets of water that reflect the sun-beams between them. It appears as if the river were here issuing from a marshy source, and the traveller is almost convinced that the origin of this mighty stream is not to be sought for any farther. There is no fall of water within the whole range of vision; and the term cataract must be interpreted here, as in the former instance at Assouan, to import merely an obstruction to the navigation and equable current of the river. On the large island at the entrance of the cataract, and which is called Djenezoff, there are the remains of a ruined village, built upon a considerable eminence, probably the ruins of a former village. (Vol. i. p. 450, 451.)

While the ship's carpenter was chiseling the names of the party on one of the rocks, the travellers ascended the summits of several others, in order to view the cataract in different directions; and from the most elevated of them, they enjoyed the most uninterrupted and extensive view of the interesting scene which they had travelled so far to contemplate; it is thus described by Dr. Richardson:

Throughout the whole field of vision we saw the river divided by innumerable rocks and islands, in the manner already described; yet, from the mountain-top, we could easily trace a main current wheeling its way among the rocks and islands, so as to preserve the continuity of one principal stream throughout. Here and there, where it passes over a rugged or uneven base, the current is slightly dimpled, and a feeble rushing may be heard; but there is no phenomenon that can be called a waterfall within the whole sphere of vision, and the neighbouring inhabitants would be more puzzled to hear it at all, than to avoid being deafened by the roar of its cascade.

Following the course of the river, which is south, and a little westerly, the prospect is bounded by two lofty mountains that cut in upon its course nearly at right angles; they are merely the contiguous portions of the same mountain range, with a passage for the river between them, and it would, perhaps, be more correct to say that the river had cut through them, than that they cut in upon the river. On each side of the river the whole prospect is one vast desert of rock and sand. The rock in some places is table-shaped, in others pyramidal; the sand is of that light species of yellow quick-sand that glides from under the feet on the slightest pressure, and seems to be formed from the disintegrated sandstone rocks with which the whole scene is covered. We perceived one solitary hut at a small distance, on the river's edge; but I have no doubt that there were several others.

close at hand, from the number of individuals that we saw in the course of the day. From this lofty station we moved to a rocky point near to the brink of the river; but the view was neither so interesting, nor so extensive as that which has been already described. Perceiving here the names of some of our English friends sculptured on the rock, we proceeded to engrave our own, as a memorial of our visit, and to tell the future traveller that we had been there before him. Having finished this piece of lithography, we set out on our return to the vessel, highly gratified with our day's excursion." (Vol. i. p. 453, 454)

"The rock here is still sandstone; granite may exist, but we saw none of it: the proportion of quartz in the sandstone in some places is very great; it is frequently pervaded by veins of pure quartz in small masses of about an inch square. The pebbles, of which there is a great profusion scattered about, are chiefly flint, Egyptian jasper, agate, and bloodstone; the specimens of the latter are very rare." (Vol. i. p. 455.)

A considerable portion of Dr. Richardson's second volume is devoted to a description of the antiquities of Thebes, from which we select the following passages relative to the celebrated Statues of Memnon.

"These two statues are nearly equal in size, they are about fifty-two feet high, and forty feet asunder; the throne on which they rest is thirty feet long, eighteen feet broad, and between seven and eight feet high. They look to the east, are on a line with each other, and apparently directly opposite to the temple of Luxor. If there be any difference in size, the one on the south is the smaller of the two. It appears to be of one entire stone. The face, arms, and front of the body are greatly disintegrated from the effects of human violence. Not a lineament of the countenance remains. The back seat and pedestal are very entire. The head-dress is beautifully wrought, as also the shoulders which remain uninjured. The massy hair projects from behind the ears like that of the sphinx, and it seems like Jove, as if it would bow its head, and welcome you to Thebes. There is a row of hieroglyphics down the back, but no inscription or hieroglyphics on the pedestal. The sides of the throne are highly ornamented with the elegant device of two bearded figures tying the stem of the flexible lotus round the ligula. The statue is in a sitting posture, with the hands resting upon the knees. On the outside of each of the legs there is a small statue, with a spiked crown on its head, and the arms down by its side. It stands up in front of the pedestal, and reaches a little above the calf of the leg, nearly to the knee. The legs of the statue are divided, and between the two feet there is another small statue that reaches nearly to the calf of the leg.

"The northernmost of the two statues, which appears to be that of the vocal Memnon, is in the same posture with a similar figure between the feet, and on each side of the legs. It has been broken over above the haunches, which was reported to Strabo to have been the effect of an earthquake. The head, in his time, with the disrupted

half of the statue, was lying beside it on the ground. The other half was sitting in its original position, which it still retains. The part that had been broken off is since carried away. The sitting and remaining part has since got another, though I believe few people will think it a better half, built upon it in regular courses of common cut sandstone. Four courses form the body and part of the neck, and one forms the head and the remaining part of the neck. It is entirely fashioned like the upper part of the other statue, with tablets of hieroglyphics, with the goose and egg over the back between them. The carved drapery on the arm has not been attempted, nor is the stone susceptible of such elegant workmanship as that which adorns the shoulder of its more fortunate neighbour. Upon that part of the ancient statue which still remains, namely, upon the side of the throne, the ornament of the two bearded figures tying the lotus round the stalk of the ligula, with the accompanying hieroglyphics, are as fresh and distinct as on the other. Both the statues are attired in the same drapery, which is that of a male, and as far as we could judge, the drapery on both has been the same.

"But what characterizes this as the statue of vocal celebrity are the numerous inscriptions both in Greek and Latin, in verse and prose, with which the throne, legs, thighs, and body of it are covered; all of them attesting that the writers thereof had heard the heavenly voice of Memnon, at the first hour or before the second. Feeble indeed at the first, but afterwards becoming strong and powerful, like a trumpet. We searched with eagerness for the name of the illustrious geographer quoted above, but if ever it was there it is now among the many illegibles, that no human eye can decipher. Julia Bomilla, Cecilia Treboulla, Pulitha Balbima, and many others, attest that they heard the voice of the Memnon; when along with the Emperor Hadrian, and his Royal Consort Sabina, whom they seem to have accompanied in his tour throughout the country. One person writes, I hear (Audio) the Memnon; and another person, I heard the Memnon sitting in Thebes, opposite to Diospolis; implying as if that were more particularly the name of the western part of the district, now called Thebes, and Diospolis that of the eastern.

"Resolved to try our fortune, and to give the Memnon an opportunity of being equally vocal to us as he had been to other travellers, Lord Corry and myself set out one morning at peep of dawn, and arrived at the foot of the statue about half an hour before sun rise. We remained till he was an hour above the horizon, and though the god of day shone out as bright and cloudless as ever he did on the son of Tithonus, no grateful salutation of welcome was echoed in return, all was still and silent as the grave. The voice had departed from Memnon, and the vivifying ray touched the mute and monumental statue in vain. The report of his former vocality, however, still prevails in the country, and the Arabs call it Salamat, or the statue that bids good morning. The two statues they also call Shamy and Damy." (Vol. ii. p. 39—48.)

"A complete fac-simile of these inscriptions may be expected from Mr. Salt. Some of them there was great difficulty in restoring. One

complains, in mournful verse, of the injury done to the statue by Cambyzes, who, when he conquered Egypt, mal-treated many of the ancient monuments. This invasion may probably be alluded to, 200 years before, in Isaiah xix. 1, where it is predicted, *the Idols of Egypt shall be moved*. Another copy of verses acknowledges, with gratitude, the rebuilding of the statue, after its mutilation by Cambyzes." (P. 135.)

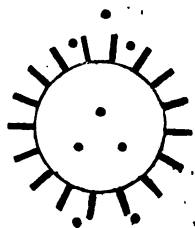
The material of which these statues is composed, is a quartzose sand-stone, highly crystallized, and with a considerable tinge of iron. The smooth glossy surface of their original polish still remains on them in many places. Considering the countless ages during which they have pressed their yielding bed, it cannot seem surprising that the pedestal, on which they rest, should have sunk considerably into the earth : but this subsidence is more apparent than real, for the annual inundation of the Nile contributes to accumulate the mud around their base. These two venerable statues evidently stand, one on each side of an avenue, and have been followed by a series of other colossal statues, the upper half of one of which still presses the soil, guarding the approach to a temple, whose ruins lay buried on the edge of the cultivated ground, till Mr. Salt uncovered them, exposed to view a number of statues and sphinxes, and traced the foundation and columns of a magnificent temple to which they belonged. Belzoni continued the researches so auspiciously commenced, and brought up the handsome statue of black granite now deposited in the British Museum.

When the Egyptians are not occupied in the labours of the field, they employ themselves in opening and plundering the tombs of their ancient countrymen of every article that can tempt the European traveller to make it his own. While the men are thus engaged, the women are busied in the pristine occupation of tending the flocks. During Dr. Richardson's journey along the edge of the desert, he not unfrequently met with mothers and their children seated beside little flocks of goats or sheep, hardly more numerous than themselves. On the approach of a stranger

"The adult females drew their dark woollen veils over their faces, leaving only a small opening for their darker eyes to look abroad. If he chose to bid them good morning or good evening, they might or might not return his salutation. It was by no means to be reckoned uncivil though they did not. The younger part of the group usually made up, and the silencing the dogs was an usual prelude to their demanding a baxiss,* which they generally did with much importunity. But the flocks in Thebes being very few, the weeding of the crops, the superintendence of the domestic concerns, and the car-

* Or Gratuity.

rying of water for the uses of their families, comprise the more general occupations of the softer sex. Their only education is to perform the lowest offices of domestic drudgery, to work nets for their hair, bracelets for their wrists, or string beads for their necks. The beads are generally of glass, and uncut agate, of which they wear an ungraceful profusion. Their nails are dyed red; the backs of their hands, their arms, chin, and several parts of the face are tattooed in small patches, of a pale blue color. The devices are generally circular, and filled with dots. On the outside, or to speak technically, dorsal aspect of the right forearm, a little above the wrist, both sexes generally have tattooed the Tirsi Moslimin, or Moslem shield, an amulet engrained in the skin, in the form of the shield of the Prophet, which is perfectly competent to ward off, or quench all the fiery darts of the devil and his angels. The Christians are tattooed with the sign of the cross, the holy sepulchre, the holy family, or some favorite saint. Confidence is half the battle. How happy are they who have their shield in their heart, and trust in their God, while they do their best themselves, giving amulets and images alike to the dogs! Marriages are consummated at the early age of twelve, or fourteen. The man must husband his earnings to purchase himself a wife; and I mention for the information and comfort of poor, bashful, despairing bachelors, that the price of a wife in Thebes is thirty piastres, or fifteen shillings British money. Reading or writing, or mental improvement, are to them unknown. I don't believe that the first woman in Thebes knows one letter of the alphabet. There is a school at Luxor for teaching the boys the knowledge of letters, and a little arithmetic, and a discourse is delivered in the mosques every Friday by one of the Shieks; but it is seldom that females are allowed to participate even in this small gratification. Their want of consequence and degradation in society strikes an European with horror. In the whole of the villages that occupy the site of this ancient capital, from which proceeded the first conquerors and civilizers of the world, where science first reared her venerable head, where was the oldest library on record, and where books were called the medicine of the soul, though still possessing a population of eight or ten thousand beings, there does not exist one person that merits the appellation of a lady, an instructed man, or a gentleman." (Vol. ii. p. 121—124.)



There are no antiquities of any importance at Gaza, whose population is estimated at between two and three thousand: but of ancient Askelon, one of the proudest satrapies of the Philistines, there are considerable remains. At present, however, there is not a single inhabitant within its walls, and the prediction of the prophet Zechariah is literally fulfilled,—“The king shall perish from Gaza, and Askelon shall not be inhabited.” (Zech. ix. 5.)

Modern Jerusalem, which exhibits a respectable appearance,

though of an irregular shape, is about two miles and a half in circumference: it is surrounded by a lofty embattled wall, which is entered through six gates. Its population is computed by Dr. Richardson at twenty thousand souls, five thousand of whom are Musulmans, five thousand Christians, and ten thousand Jews. The Musulmans reside chiefly around the mosque, erected on the site of Solomon's temple; the Latin, Greek, and Armenian Christians dwell chiefly in the vicinity of their respective convents, which occupy the higher and western parts of the city, and the Jews reside principally on the edge of Mount Sion.

"The Armenians are a strong good-looking race of people, highly dignified in their deportment, civil and industrious. There are many of them settled in Jerusalem in comfortable circumstances. Their houses are well kept and well furnished. On visiting them the stranger is received with a warmth unusual even among the Greeks, and it is the more agreeable for being sincere. He is treated with coffee and a pipe of tobacco, a glass of liquor, cakes, biscuits, and different kinds of sweetmeats which are handed to him by the mistress of the family, her daughter, or servant; all being usually in attendance, although there should be only one guest to be served. They take the cup or glass from him when he has done with it, and kiss his hand as they receive it. They pour water on his hands for him to wash after he has done eating, and give him a towel to dry them, on receiving which, they again lay hold of the hand and kiss it, and then retire to their station with the servant near the door. Mother, daughter, and man-servant are all alike candidates to take the cup and kiss the hand, and, in point of etiquette, it matters not to which of them the guest delivers it. They seldom sit down in his presence, and never without much intreaty, even though the state of their health should be such as to render it improper for them to stand; afraid that by so doing they should be thought deficient in respect to their visitor. In judging of national manners, the great difficulty is to find an undisputed standard to which we may refer all points of difference; but I think I may safely say, that we manage these things much better in England, and that any system which would induce the Orientals to treat their females with more respect, and introduce them into public society, would go a great way towards converting them to Christianity and every good work, and till then they are likely to remain ignorant and uncultivated. The eye of the person whom we love, and whose approbation we are anxious to merit and possess, has more influence upon our conduct than a thousand precepts. The Armenian ladies have a sedate and pleasant manner, with much of the Madonna countenance; their eyes are generally dark and complexion florid, but rarely enriched with that soft intelligent expression which characterises the eye of the Greek or Jewish female.

"The Jews reside chiefly on the edge of Mount Zion, and in the lower part of the city, which, in the language of Scripture, is called the daughter of Zion, near to the shambles, which are most dread-

fully offensive: in passing them on a summer morning a person is almost afraid to draw his breath, the inhalation of the vapour produces such a deadening effect upon the whole system.

“Many of the Jews are rich and in comfortable circumstances, and possess a good deal of property in Jerusalem; but they are careful to conceal their wealth, and even their comfort, from the jealous eye of their rulers, lest by awakening their cupidity, some vile, indefensible plot, should be devised to their prejudice. In going to visit a respectable Jew in the holy city, it is a common thing to pass to his house over a ruined foreground and up an awkward outside stair, constructed of rough unpolished stones, that totter under the foot; but it improves as you ascend, and at the top has a respectable appearance, as it ends in an agreeable platform in front of the house. On entering the house itself, it is found to be clean and well furnished, the sofas are covered with Persian carpets, and the people seem happy to receive you. The visiter is entertained with coffee and tobacco, as is the custom in the houses of the Turks and Christians. The ladies presented themselves with an ease and address that surprised me, and recalled to my memory the pleasing society of Europe. This difference of manner arises from many of the Jewish families in Jerusalem having resided in Spain or Portugal, when the females had rid themselves of the cruel domestic fetters of the East, and, on returning to their beloved land, had very properly maintained their justly acquired freedom and rank in society. They almost all speak a broken Italian, so that conversation goes on without the clumsy aid of an interpreter.

“It was the feast of the Passover, and they were all eating unleavened bread; some of which was presented to me as a curiosity, and I partook of it merely that I might have the gratification of eating unleavened bread with the sons and daughters of Jacob in Jerusalem; it is very insipid fare, and no one would eat it from choice. For the same reason I went to the synagogue, of which there are two in Jerusalem; although I only visited one. The form of worship is the same as in this country, and I believe in every country which the Jews inhabit. The females have a separate part of the synagogue assigned to them, as in the synagogues in Europe, and in the Christian churches all over the Levant. They are not, however, expected to be frequent, or regular in their attendance on public worship. The ladies generally make a point of going on the Sunday, that is the Friday night or Saturday morning after they are married; and being thus introduced in their new capacity, once a year is considered as sufficient compliance, on their part, with the ancient injunction to assemble themselves together in the house of prayer. Like the votaries of some Christian establishments, the Jewesses trust more to the prayers of their priests than to their own.” (Vol. ii. p. 259—263.)

The Jews are stated to be the best cicconni in Jerusalem, because they generally give to places their ancient names, which is not done by the guides and different interpreters belonging to the convents. The Turks are great talkers; and those of the higher classes, though grave and solemn in their conversation,

are at the same time no enemies to cheerfulness. During his residence here, Dr. Richardson was a frequent guest with Omar Effendi, *Capo Verde* (or Head of the Green), to whom he had rendered considerable assistance in his medical capacity; and through his friendly offices he obtained permission to visit the *Haram Schereef*, or celebrated mosque,—a favour never before offered to any Christian, with the exception of M. de Hayes, the ambassador of Louis XIII, who did not avail himself of the permission. Of this far-famed edifice we have a minute description, as well as of the reputed holy places (the identity of which Dr. Richardson very properly gives up): but for these, as well as his remarks on the scriptural topography of Jerusalem, we must refer to his interesting but in some instances negligently written volumes. We select a few particulars respecting the celebrated city of Damascus.

The streets are narrow and irregular, and consequently well shaded from the sun; the shops abounded with fruits and vegetables; and in every quarter of the town great abundance of iced water, mixed with the juice of figs or currants, was exposed for sale. The shopkeepers are described as being so extremely civil to strangers, that, if they have not the articles desired, they will, unsolicited, accompany them to the place where they can be suited, and will not leave them till they are satisfactorily supplied. In Damascus, as in Cairo, each class of commodities has its appropriate bazaars; and among them are bazaars for swords and military accoutrements; but the Damascus blades are no longer held in that estimation by which they were once distinguished for their admirable temper. Constantinople regards her own manufacture of swords as the best; and Cairo, Aleppo, and Bagdad severally put forth a claim to the same distinction. The bazaars of Damascus, however, are better lighted, and have a more elegant as well as more airy appearance than those at Cairo or Constantinople: and those for ready-made clothes form an agreeable lounging place, where the traveller is certain of seeing a constant crowd of Turks, Bedoween Arabs, Druses, and Syrian Christians, passing and re-passing in their different costumes.

Damascus is celebrated in the east for its Cafés, whither the inhabitants resort to smoke and sip coffee. Those in the interior of the city are mere smoking houses; but those on the banks of the river Barrady are remarkably well adapted to the climate; which, being extremely warm at certain seasons of the year, are formed so as to exclude the rays of the sun, while they admit the breeze, and gratify the eye with the delightful sight of luxuriant vegetation, and the ear with the rushing sound of artificial cascades.

" These cafés are all constructed of wood, and consist of a high pavilion roof, supported with wooden pillars, and partially covered with mats, evergreens, and creepers. They are far from being elegant or expensive; but they are cool, and admit an agreeable and softened light, that forms a charming contrast with the intense glare of the sun glancing upon the waters, or reflected from the whitened walls of the houses of the town. The floor is of wood or earth, most generally the former, and is regularly watered. All round are high raised broad bottomed wooden seats like sofas, for the frequenters to sit on after the fashion of their country, and smoke, drink coffee, talk, and enjoy themselves.

" As a place of public resort, I must confess these cafés appeared to me both dull and uncomfortable, and the company generally of a very ordinary description. There are no public papers, no magazines, no reviews, and nothing to keep up a general, or a national interest. Sometimes a person, like a hawker, reads or recites a tale, that may chance to be listened to; it by no means follows as a matter of course. They are commonly remarkably still and silent, and seem, as if being over-fatigued, to go thither to indulge in a little repose. Each person as he enters calls for a hooka, and a cup of coffee, which are immediately brought to him. There are no long pipes in the cafés, at Damascus, and the hooka is such a hideous and unwieldy instrument that nothing but the most determined resolution to smoke could make it all tolerable. In these words I am not to be understood as abusing the elegant smoking apparatus, usually known in this country by the name of hooka, which, with its handsome arguil and snake, deserves to be spoken of in terms of commendation, as far at least as appearances are concerned; but a most infamous substitute to which the cafétiers of Damascus have unwarrantably given the same name. It consists of a head that somewhat resembles the hooka, and a small bit of hollow cane, about two feet and a half long, stuck into the side of it for a shaft. It has no amber mouth-piece, and is lighted in the same way as the hooka, but the stalk is too short to let it rest on the ground, and it is so difficult to draw, that the novice in smoking is obliged to keep pulling, and balancing, and making such efforts as greatly to endanger the safety of his brain, and respiratory organs: and all for what? to obtain a whiff of tobacco through a drop of dirty water. There is nothing so absurd that fashion will not reconcile us to, nor any thing that a man disposed to be idle will not do to fill up his time; or an active man, in want of employment, to have the sensation of doing something. These are, perhaps, the best apologies that can be offered for men indulging in such a revolting and abominable practice. Were it imposed on them as a task by their superiors, it would be considered as an act of intolerable oppression, and would be denounced as the source of half the diseases to which the votaries of this horrible species of smoking are liable; but, as they have taken it up of their own whim and caprice, to regale their leisure hours, they hail the hour that lets them loose to the enjoyment, as the greatest consolation, and pay their money with the greatest pleasure for permission to suck poison and stupefaction.

through dirty water, from the end of a stick; but they say, it is good for the sight, it is good for the head-ache, it is good for the belly-ache, it is good for the digestion of food, and for removing the sensation of hunger; in short, it possesses every excellent quality that fancy chooses to give it, and no more. To see the ease and comfort with which such a person smokes the hooka, or the long pipe, a stranger who had never seen the operation, nor knew its virtues, would say at once, "that man is enjoying himself:" but were he to enter one of the cafés in Damascus, and see a hundred, or two hundred people balancing this immense thing like an ass's head, on the point of a small cane, and sucking and pulling away at it with such eagerness, he would certainly conclude that these people were either demented, or that they inhaled life and felicity in the draught which cost them so much trouble to obtain, and would as certainly laugh at their folly when he learnt what they were doing, and what were its effects. The gardens round Damascus are private property, and answer better to the description of what we call orchards in this country than gardens. They abound in fountains and summer-houses, and furnish a delightful retirement under the shade of the walnut, the citron, the orange, and the pomegranate. The principal ones lie close upon the town, on the west, between it and the mountain Salehiyyeh, but they are scattered through the whole of the plantation around Damascus, which extends over a circumference of certainly not less than twenty miles. The town itself is nearly in the centre of the plantation, and is about six miles in circumference. Nothing can be more delightful than such an extensive shade in such a country. The environs of Damascus are cool, and refresh the eye with a continual verdure. Riding or walking, or reposing among these plantations is the most gratifying of all enjoyments to a native of the country. Hence the grateful eulogies that have been bestowed on her gardens and her pleasant fields. She has been called, noble, Sham Schereeff, the beautiful, a perfect Eden, a terrestrial paradise; and when we consider these epithets as applied to it by the enthusiastic Arabs, the thirsty inhabitants of Mecca and Medina, who had never seen any thing of the kind before, we may believe that the authors of them really spoke as they felt." (Vol. ii. p. 474—478.)

The total population of Damascus is estimated at 150,000 persons, 12,000 of whom are Christians, of different sects and denominations. Many Jews also reside here, who enjoy more security than in other parts of the east; all the money transactions of the Pasha (and indeed of the country) being managed by two Jews, who are brothers, men of intelligence, and possessing a considerable influence over their ruler, Ahmet Pasha, whose confidential advisers they are, and who is represented as being a very amiable and intelligent man, though unhappily his means of information are very limited.

In the course of his volumes, Dr. Richardson has incidentally noticed the state of morals and religion in the east;

but as these topics are more fully discussed in the Christian Researches of Mr. Jowett, we shall, in the remainder of this article, principally avail ourselves of the results of his inquiries.

The Latin, Greek, and Coptic churches are the principal Christian communities in the countries bordering on the Mediterranean. Of these, we are best acquainted with the character, doctrine, and discipline of the Romish Church, from the ancient intercourse and constant rivalry between Protestants and Roman Catholics.

1. The *Latin Church* has two convents at Cairo, the one *della Propaganda*, which extends its jurisdiction over the convents in Upper Egypt: the other, *della Terra Santa*, is in immediate relation with the superior convent at Jerusalem. The former, as its name implies, is in connection with the college *de Propaganda Fide* at Rome: it is possessed of a small library, consisting chiefly of Polyglott Bibles and Lexicons, with some books of travels. Their best books are said to have been taken away by the French during the time they had possession of Cairo. The members of this society have made but little progress, of late years, in propagating the faith of the Romish Church: they have, however, a school for the education of children,—principally those of Coptic parents who have embraced the tenets of that church. The convent *della Terra Santa* is a capacious edifice, belonging to the Franciscan Order, with much accommodation for Christian travellers; who, in the present exhausted state of the funds of this establishment are, very properly, allowed to pay both for their apartments and maintenance. There is a small library also attached to this convent, consisting of theological books and lexicons in different languages.

Of the total number of Latin Christians in the east, it is impossible to form a correct idea. Dr. Richardson states that there are about 1500 in Cairo; according to other travellers, there are about 800 at Jerusalem, 1200 at Sour, a town erected on the ruins of ancient Tyre, between 6 and 7000 at Acre, 3000 at Symrna, 4000 in the island of Scio, a few hundreds at Beirout, and (occasionally) 5 or 600 at Alexandria. Among all these Christians, there is a deplorable scarcity of the Scriptures; and Mr. Jowett is of opinion that it is principally by diffusing them throughout the east, that we can expect to conflict with error and promote the cause of sacred truth. Mr. Connor, who was at Jerusalem during the passover of 1820, has given an interesting account of the ceremonies of the Greeks and Latins in the church of the Holy Sepulchre. It is a capacious building; in the middle of which, under the great cupola, stands an edifice of considerable size, containing the supposed tomb,

over which are suspended forty-four lamps, always burning. Of these twenty-one belong to the Greeks, thirteen to the Catholics, six to the Armenians, and four to the Copts. Between the sepulchre and the sides of the church is a large space, open to all; the chapels of the different communions being in the sides of the church. Mount Calvary (or, rather the eminence which is so denominated), is within its walls: the ascent to it is by a flight of steps, and on its summit are two small chapels belonging to the Greeks, the largest of which is the most splendid and richly ornamented. We extract two or three passages relative to the ceremonies of the holy week.

“On Palm Sunday, (March the 26th) I went to see the Ceremony of the Latins. After a considerable time had been spent in singing before the door of the Sepulchre, the Deputy Superior of the Latin Convent (the Superior himself being in Cyprus) entered the Sepulchre, with some Priests, to bless the Palm Branches that lay there. When this was done, he left the Sepulchre; and, sitting on an elevated chair, received the palms, which had been blessed, from the hands of the Priests. These came forward first, and knelt, one after the other, before the Deputy Superior, receiving from his hand (which they kissed) a branch of the consecrated palm. When this part of the ceremony was concluded, the crowd pressed forward to receive THEIR palms. The confusion and tumult were excessive. The Turks, with their sticks and whips, did all they could to restrain the impetuosity of the people; and had it not been for their great activity, the Deputy Superior would certainly have been overwhelmed by the crowd. When the palms had been distributed, and the confusion had, in some measure, subsided, the Priests and some others walked three times in procession round the Sepulchre, with lighted candles, incense, elevated crucifixes, and palms. They sang as they walked. When the Procession was ended, an altar, splendidly ornamented, was placed before the door of the Sepulchre, and Mass was performed.

“On Good Friday there was a grand Procession and Ceremony of the Latins, in the evening. It commenced with an Italian Sermon, in the Catholic Chapel, on the flagellation of Christ. From this place they proceeded to the Chapel, where, they say, Christ's garments were taken from him: here was another Sermon in Italian. They then ascended Mount Calvary; and passed first into the Chapel which marks the spot where Christ was nailed to the Cross: the large crucifix and image which they carried in the Procession was here laid on the ground, and a Spanish Sermon was pronounced over it. When this was finished, the crucifix was raised, and moved into the adjoining Chapel of the Elevation of the Cross: here it was fixed upright behind the altar: a Monk, standing by, preached for twenty minutes, on the Crucifixion. The Sermon was in Italian; and when it was concluded, two Monks approached the Cross, and, partially enveloping the body of the image in linen, took off, with a pair of pincers, the Crown of Thorns from the head, kissed it, and laid it on a plate: the nails were

then drawn out from the hands and feet, with the same ceremony. The arms of the image were so contrived, that, on the removal of the nails which kept them extended, they dropped upon the sides of the body. The image was then laid on linen, and borne down from Calvary to the Stone of Uncion, the spot where they say Christ's body was anointed; here the image was extended; and was perfumed with spices, fragrant water, and clouds of incense: the Monks knelt round the stone, with large lighted candles in their hands: a Monk ascended an adjoining pulpit, and preached a Sermon in Arabic. The Procession then went forward to the Sepulchre, where the image was deposited, and a Sermon preached in Spanish. This concluded the Ceremony.

"On the Easter Day of the Latins, which is the Palm Sunday of the Greeks, Armenians, &c. I went to the Church early, and found it excessively crowded. Most of the people had remained there all night. The Catholic, Greek, and Armenian Processions were long and splendid. In all the Processions to-day, except that of the Catholics, Palm Branches were carried, and also Banners with the various scenes of the Passion painted on them. The people were very eager to sanctify their Palms, by touching the Banners with them, as they passed.

"On the Greek Good Friday, I went to the Church, with the intention of spending the night there with the Pilgrims, and of viewing the Ceremonies. The Turkish guard at the gate was particularly strong; and they admitted none who did not chuse to pay twenty-five piastres (about 16s. 8d.) The Firmân which I obtained at Acre from the Pacha, who is Guardian of the Holy Sepulchre, saved myself and servant this expence. It is a general belief among the Greeks and Armenians, that, on Easter Eve, a Fire descends from heaven into the Sepulchre. The eagerness of the Greeks, Armenians, and others, to light their candles at this Holy Fire, carried an immense crowd to the Church, notwithstanding the sum which they were obliged to pay. About nine at night, I retired to rest, in a small apartment in the Church. A little before midnight, the servant roused me to see the Greek Procession. I hastened to the gallery of the Church. The scene was striking and brilliant. The Greek Chapel was splendidly illuminated. Five rows of lamps were suspended in the dome; and almost every individual of the immense multitude held a lighted candle in his hand. The Procession and subsequent service around the Sepulchre were long and splendid.

"I was awakened early in the following morning by the noise in the Church; and, on proceeding to my station in the gallery, I found the crowd below in a state of great confusion. Some were employed in carrying others on their backs, round the Sepulchre; others in dancing and clapping their hands, exclaiming in Arabic—'This is the Tomb of our Lord!' Sometimes a man passed, standing upright on the shoulders of another; and I saw, more than once, four carried along in this manner, a little boy, seated, forming the fourth, or topmost: others again were busy in chasing one another round the Tomb, and

shouting like madmen. Whenever they saw in the crowd a man who they thought could pay them, they seized and forcibly carried him, in their arms, two or three times round the Church. The whole was a most lamentable profanation of the place ! The same happens every year. The noise and confusion increased, as the moment appointed for the apparition of the Fire approached. At length, the Turks, who had not hitherto interfered, began to brandish their whips, and to still, in some measure, the tumult. About noon, the Governor of Jerusalem, with a part of his guard, entered the gallery. The eagerness and anxiety of the people were now excessive. They all pressed toward the Sepulchre, each person holding a bundle of tapers in his hand. The Chief Agent of the Greek Patriarch, and an Armenian Bishop, had entered the Sepulchre shortly before. All eyes were fixed on the gallery, watching for the Governor's signal. He made it, and the Fire appeared through one of the holes in the building that covers the Tomb ! A man lighted his taper at the hallowed flame ; and then pushed into the thickest of the crowd, and endeavoured to fight his way through. The tumult and clamour were great ; and the man was nearly crushed to death, by the eagerness of the people to light their tapers at his flame. In about twenty minutes, every one, both in the galleries and below, men, women, and children, had their candles lighted. Many of them put their lighted candles to their faces, imagining that the flame would not scorch them : I perceived, however, by their grimaces, that they speedily discovered their mistake. They did not permit these tapers to burn long ; reserving them for occasions of need. The power which they attribute to those candles that have been touched with the fire from heaven, is almost unbounded : they suppose, for instance, that if, overtaken by a storm at sea, they throw one of these candles into the waves, the tempest will immediately subside. They are chiefly valued, however, in consequence of the superstitious notion, that, if they are burned at the funeral of an individual, they will most assuredly save his soul from future punishment. To obtain these candles, and to undergo a second baptism in the waters of the Jordan, are the chief objects of the visit of the Greek Pilgrims to Jerusalem." (App. p. 433—437.)

The total number of Pilgrims, who visited Jerusalem in the year 1820, was 3131. Let us hope that the exertions of the British and Foreign Bible Society in the diffusion of the Scriptures, which the pilgrims will in future be enabled to purchase at the very gates of the sepulchre and carry home to their families and friends, will tend progressively to inspire a purer and more exalted spirit of devotion !

2. The Greeks constitute by far the largest body of Christians in the islands of the Mediterranean, as also throughout the east. Mr. Jowett had very considerable intercourse with the Greek bishops, and has communicated much curious and interesting information concerning the doctrine and discipline of the "Or-

thodox Church" (as she styles herself); but as we not long since presented an account of them to our readers,* we shall confine our attention to such particulars as may serve to complete our abstract.

The Greeks have three services in the day; one, about four o'clock in the morning, called *Ὠρθρος*, or the *early* service; the second, a *liturgy* (which is the principal service), takes place about six or seven o'clock; and in the evening, *vespers*. Although these services are performed, generally, every day, they are but little attended, except on Sundays or the great festivals. They have three liturgies, composed by Chrysostom, Basil, and Gregory: that of Chrysostom is used throughout the year, except during Lent, when the larger one, of Basil, is read; and, for a few days, that of Gregory. But that, which falls most heavily on an English ear accustomed to the simple and devout liturgy of our church, is the perpetual performance of divine worship in a language not understood by the people. It is surprising how, under such circumstances, their attention can be kept up. To diversify a long service, there is always something new bringing forward, such as changing the dresses and the readers. How short, in this country, does the time of public worship appear, when the understanding is informed by means of a *known* tongue, and the heart is interested by infinitely affecting truths!

Mr. Jowett visited Smyrna twice, in 1818, and in 1819. The population of this city is said to be 120,000; of whom 60,000 are Turks, 40,000 Greeks, 3000 Latins, 7000 Armenians, and 10,000 Jews. Of Protestants, there are very few. In consequence of the Turkish notion of predestination, not fewer than 30,000 persons died of the plague in 1814: though the Turks constitute numerically the largest portion of the inhabitants of Smyrna, they are gradually wasting away, through depopulating vices; while the Greeks, on the contrary, feeling it a duty to marry early, generally have large families, and are consequently upon the increase. In the college at Smyrna there are 250 or 300 pupils, who are under the care of nine masters. Its interest is supported by two brothers, of the name of Economus,—one a presbyter, the other a physician. During one of Mr. Jowett's visits here, he one day witnessed the funeral procession of a Greek of some consequence, over whom Economus, the presbyter, was to preach a funeral sermon in the adjoining Metropolitan church.

"I went with him," says Mr. Jowett. "It was very affecting, to see the corpse lying in an open coffin, with the ordinary dress of life;

* See British Review, vol. xviii. pp. 73--102.

that is, the loose flowing Greek robes; on his head, the kalpac, a large and cumbrous head-dress; commonly worn; and the face exposed. The sight made me shudder; and so did the indifference, which habit has produced on the minds of the bystanders.

"Economus preached a Sermon of twenty minutes' length. He spoke of the dead in an Attic style of compliment, under the title of *οι παύσαντες*. He concluded his Sermon, by breaking out into that awful Service which the Greek Church has for the dead, and in which the Congregation in a murmuring voice joined. It is an invitation to relatives and friends to bid their final adieu:—

"Come, Brethren, and let us give the last embrace to the deceased, thanking God! He hath left his kindred—he is borne to the grave—no longer heeding the things of vanity, and of the burdensome flesh. Where now are kindred and friends? Now we are separated: Whom let us pray the Lord to take to His rest!

"What a separation, O Brethren! What woe, what waiting on the present change! Come then, let us embrace him who a little while ago was with us. He is consigned to the grave—he is covered with a stone—his abode is with darkness—he is buried with the dead! Now we are separated: Whom let us pray the Lord to take to His rest!

"Now all the evil and vain festivity of life is dissolved: for the spirit hath left its tabernacle—the clay hath become black—the vessel is broken, speechless, void of feeling, dead, motionless: Whom consigning to the grave, let us pray the Lord to give him rest for ever:

"Truly, like a flower, and as a vapour, and as morning dew, is our life. Come then, let us look down narrowly into the grave. Where is the comeliness of the body, and where is youth? Where are the eyes, and the beauty of the flesh? All are withered like grass—all are vanished. Come then, let us fall before Christ in tears.

"Looking upon the dead laid out, let us all take account of our last change; for this man is carried forth, as smoke from the earth—as a flower he is withered—as grass he is cut down—swathed in a winding-sheet—covered with earth: Whom, leaving, now to be no more seen, let us pray to Christ that He will grant to him eternal rest.

"Come hither, ye descendants of Adam? Let us behold committed to the earth one who was of our likeness—all his comeliness cast away—dissolved in the grave—food for worms—in darkness—covered with earth!

"Come hither, Brethren, to the grave; and see the ashes and dust of which we were formed! Whither now go we? And what have we been? What is the poor, or the rich; or what is the master of the free? Are we not all ashes? The beauty of the countenance is wasted, and death hath utterly withered the flower of youth: &c. &c.

"The embracing of the dead, then, and during the reciting of this Service, takes place: for, as soon as the Priests departed, many came, and, laying their hands on the two sides of the open coffin, kissed the cheeks and forehead of the deceased, with much emotion. When a Bishop dies, and is laid out in this manner in the Church, all the Congregation throng to perform this ceremony.

"The corpse is now carried out into the Church-yard. A slab lifted up, discovered to our view that the whole Church-yard is hollow under ground. The body was put into a meaner wooden coffin, and lowered into the grave. I did not observe that they sprinkled earth upon it; as we do; but, instead of this, a Priest concluded the ceremony by pouring a glass of water on the head of the corpse. I did not learn what this meant; but it brought to my mind that touching passage in 2 Sam. xiv. 14: *For we must needs die; and are as water spilt on the ground, which cannot be gathered up again.*" (P. 38—40.)

Besides the principal college above noticed, there are six or eight Greek schools at Smyrna, each having about 25 or 30 scholars: they give 60, 80, or 100 paras (from 15 to 25 pence) a month, according to the book they are reading; beginning the alphabet for 60, and being advanced to 100 when they arrive at the psalter.

During Mr. Jowett's residence at Smyrna in 1818, he visited what were, previously to the present commotions, two of the most celebrated Greek colleges, those of Haivali and Scio. As Haivali has since suffered from the brutal excesses of the Turks, we shall subjoin a few particulars relative to the college of Scio. The city of Scio was built by the Genoese, and is far superior to any in the Levant. The houses are of well-wrought stone, spacious and high, and the streets tolerably clean. There are five professors, and 14 masters. The number of students is between 5 and 600, about 100 of whom are foreigners. The Sciotes have sent three of their countrymen to study at foreign Universities, one to Paris, another to Vienna, and the third to Padua. The course of instruction embraces the subjects of theology, grammar, Latin, French, Turkish, painting, logic, metaphysics, rhetoric, moral philosophy, ancient history, mathematics, arithmetic, algebra, geography, mechanics, optics, experimental philosophy, and chemistry. The following is the method of classical instruction pursued at Scio.

"The Master first reads so much of the author in hand as he intends to explain. After the reading, he construes the passage aloud, making remarks of a critical nature on each word in the text. After this interpretation and these remarks, he goes again over the sense of the writer, in the way of paraphrase, using common Greek words, and modern synonymous phrases. He then draws three lots; and the Scholars, on whom the lots fall, repeat, one after another, the paraphrastic explanation which they heard from him; and, afterward, all in the class write it down. When they have all written this explanation, the Master draws a fourth lot, and corrects the written exercise of that Scholar on whom this lot falls, publicly noticing the errors and his correction of them; after which that Scholar reads aloud his corrected exercise, by which all the rest correct their errors. After this correction, the

Master adds further critical illustrations, which they write down and shew to him on the following day." (P. 76, 77.)

It seems, therefore, from this statement that the study of the Greek classics was pursued at Scio, with some accuracy. The island of Scio contains 62 villages, with a population of about 130,000 persons; these villages produce almost as many sorts of wine, one of which, called Homer's wine, is peculiarly excellent. The common labouring people are stated to be very industrious.

Leaving Scio, Mr. Jowett proceeded to Athens, and thence to the small island of Hydra, which at the present juncture has acquired peculiar importance. The character and circumstances of this island will appear from the following extract from his journal:

"Hydra, like many other towns built on the barren and mountainous parts of Islands of the Archipelago, glitters to the eye, at a considerable distance, with its white houses. On a nearer approach, this town discovers itself to be one of the newest and neatest in these parts. The state of the streets we had no opportunity of examining, as we were in quarantine; but the aspect of the town is very imposing. It is built on a steep ascent, and sweeps to the right, between an inner concave line of mountain, and a hill standing in the fore-ground.

"We spent rather less than an hour at the barrier, during which I collected a little information. There are about 3000 houses; and probably not less than 20,000 inhabitants, all Greeks. There were fourteen ships in harbour. It is said that the people have 200. They correspond, at present, chiefly with Malta, Leghorn, and Trieste. The Island is so entirely barren, that it is indebted to the Morea for vegetables and live-stock. It is in the Diocese of the Bishop of Damala. The harbour is deep water, but small; so that, in bad weather, they are sometimes obliged to run to the opposite coast. The town is built of substantial native stone. While we were there, they were giving notice, by loud cries, that they were going to blow up some rock; and, a minute or two after, we witnessed the explosion. The houses have generally two stories, and are very well built and white-washed, so as to have a handsome appearance; street rising, by a rapid ascent, above street. Our pilot says, that, sixteen years ago, there were not above 300 houses on the island. During the late war, the people rapidly rose, by carrying corn from Odessa to Spain for the use of the army. Some are very rich indeed. They build very fine vessels, and trade as far as the West Indies. They are attempting a School." (P. 83—85.)

The common people, in general, among the Greeks, understand much of the Gospels, when read, except that of St. John, which, treating of "high matters," seems to be considered safe only in the hands of the learned. In the countries visited by Mr. Jowett, sermons are rarely delivered, and are harangues rather

than discourses. Laymen are sometimes, though very rarely, permitted to preach to the people, and only on moral subjects, not on articles of faith.

"Many persons, respectable for their rank and station, do not well understand Ancient Greek. A Gentleman, who was shewing me a Greek Psalter, observed that the language appeared to him very sublime, so far as he could enter into it; but, though he had been obliged to learn it in his youth, he could not enter much into it. In fact, as soon as boys at School have learned the first book, answering to our Spelling-Book, they are put into the Psalter; which they are required to commit to memory, because it is used in the Churches, though they have very little comprehension of the meaning. How inveterate is the prejudice against the most natural and efficient mode of learning! The great body of the people, in consequence of this mode of instruction, cannot understand the Prayer-Book, nor the Epistles; nor of the Gospels any thing more than the general drift of the historical parts and of the Parables." (P. 87, 88.)

3. The *Copts* have been generally considered to be the legitimate remains of the ancient Egyptians, as retaining in their features, and even in their name, proofs of their descent from that great and wonderful people: but, for the reasons above stated,* Dr. Richardson is of opinion that they are rather the descendants of the Grecian colonists, who were amalgamated with the ancient inhabitants of that country. Twenty-three centuries of bondage and persecution have reduced their numbers, while the spirit of contention and heresy has almost extinguished the Gospel among them. The Copts are, generally, very poor. The head of their church is the patriarch of Alexandria, who (they pretend) sits in the chair of St. Mark the Evangelist, to whom they ascribe their conversion to Christianity, and whose relics they were accustomed to exhibit in the ninth century. The Coptic patriarch may be regarded as the head of the Abyssinian church; since he always appoints the Abuna, who is the highest ecclesiastical dignitary in that country. Mr. Jowett gives the following account of their mode of celebrating divine worship.

"On Sunday, we went to the Coptic Church. Episcopacy and the Patriarchal Dignity are here exhibited in humble guise. The Church is in the Convent: the approach to it is by winding avenues, narrow, and almost dark; on each side of which were seated, on the ground, the sick, the poor, the halt, the maimed, and the blind, asking alms, and scarcely leaving room for our feet to pass. Escaped from this scene, we entered the Church, which was well lighted up with wax tapers. There is a recess for the Communion Table; where a Priest,

* See p. 456 of this volume.

standing by himself, had already begun the Service, in the Coptic Language. Next to this was a considerable portion, latticed off, for the Patriarch, Priests, and chief persons; and, behind these, the remainder of the Church was occupied by a moving mass of people. The building seems to be about thirty feet square. We were squeezed into that part where the Patriarch and the Priests stood; and I could not help feeling how inevitable contagion would be in such a situation, if the Plague were in Cairo. I noticed, with grief, the irreverent behaviour of the Congregation: they could not at all hear the Priest, nor did they seem interested. Some little boys were standing laughing and trifling in the presence of the Patriarch; and though one of the Priests reproved them, it seemed to make but little impression on them. We were all standing; and many, as is their custom, leaning on crutches. Some blind old men near me took great pleasure, when joining in the responses at one part of the Service, accompanied by the clangor of cymbals: this kind of performance was by no means musical: the Coptic is the only Church wherein I have witnessed this custom, which accords literally with the words of the Psalmist, *Praise Him with the loud cymbals*. At length the Patriarch read, from a beautiful large manuscript, in Arabic, the Gospel for the day. He made several mistakes: a little Boy once, and at another time an Old Man standing by, corrected him: nor did the circumstance appear to excite the least surprise or confusion. The attention of the people was peculiarly fixed during this portion of the Service: it seemed to me that they understood and valued it. Here also, as in the Coptic Church at Alexandria, I remarked that the Old People, occasionally, with a low voice, accompanied the reading of the Gospel. *Who shall say that Christ was not present—dimly seen, perhaps; yet felt with secret reverence and affection! Thou hast a little strength, and hast kept my Word.*" (P. 112—113.)

Dr. Richardson states, from the information of the patriarch himself, that the congregation were provided neither with Bibles nor Prayer-Books, for use in the church or for study at home; but that they knew the responses by memory, having been taught them in their infancy, which was quite sufficient for all the duty they had to perform. What we call family worship, appears to be scarcely known in these countries. The Armenians are few in number, not exceeding 100 or 150 at Cairo, and 50 or 60 in Upper Egypt, where they exercise the office of bankers to the government. They are under the care of a bishop, who, by courtesy, is styled the Armenian Patriarch.

4. The *Abyssinians* are, by their creed and discipline, properly connected with the Coptic church; but, in consideration of their very peculiar circumstances, and of the high degree of interest which attaches to that people, Mr. Jowett has given a large portion of his volume to their history and confession of faith, as well as to the history of the Ethiopic translations of the Scriptures. We have room only for a few particulars.

"The Church of Abyssinia claims high veneration for its antiquity. It was about the year 330, that this country received the Gospel, through the teaching of Frumentius, who was ordained the first Bishop of Abyssinia by Athanasius, then Patriarch of Alexandria. For nearly fifteen hundred years has Christ Jesus been worshipped by that nation. From Frumentius to Simeon (A. D. 1613) they count Ninety Abunas." (Ludolf. Hist. lib. iii. 7.)

"Of this long period it is remarkable, that, for nearly 1200 years, the Christians of Abyssinia have withstood the encroachments of their Neighbours the Mahomedans. Separated only by a narrow sea, and strip of territory, from the very gate of Mecca, this Christian Church has flourished, like an oasis in the desert; while an immense mass of nations, to the North, the East, and the West, has been desolated by Mahomedan Usurpations.

"The attachment of this people to the Religion of their Ancestors has been, with much reason, attributed to the circumstance, that Christianity was introduced into this country, not by force or treaty, but by knowledge and conviction. Hence it is, that both Rulers and Subjects have ever united in their defence of the Faith; and Abyssinia exhibits the solitary instance, in Africa, of Christianity surviving as the National Religion." (P. 171—172.)

The connexion of the Abyssinian church with that of the Copts in Egypt, involves a point of material consequence. The faith of both these churches is tainted with heresy: nor is it probable that the Abyssinian church will easily be emancipated from the Monophysite error, since, not only does their *Abuna* (the sole bishop of their nation) possess almost absolute power, receiving his authority immediately from the patriarch of Alexandria; but it is by a special canon prohibited, that the Abuna should be a native of Abyssinia,—and though styled a patriarch, he has not the power of making or establishing metropolitans. With regard to the ancient faith of the Abyssinians, in all points of substantial importance, it is scarcely possible to cite a confession superior to that of their Emperor, Claudius: the modern creed, as developed in the refined and subtle expositions of Mark, the present patriarch of Alexandria, (fortified with numerous anathemas,) the intelligent Christian must read with sorrow. But for these, as well as for Mr. Jowett's suggestions for the encouragement of Abyssinian learning, and his speculations concerning a mission to Abyssinia, we must refer our readers to his very interesting volume. No anathemas can restore this church. The circulation of the Holy Scriptures, and the faithful and affectionate administration of the truths and ordinances of the Gospel, are the healing balm which must be applied to her festering wounds.

Concerning the Jews, and the qualifications of those who would attempt their conversion, Mr. Jowett has offered some valuable facts and hints. But we must hasten to the concluding division of his volume, which treats of the Mohammedans.

The causes of the continued *prevalence* of the tenets of the false prophet of Arabia are ascribed by Mr. Jowett to the *profound ignorance* of the nature of the human heart, in which the Mohammedan religion leaves its votaries,—the *want of right moral feeling* which accompanies inveterate and universal ignorance,—the vices which their creed cherishes, and to which, generally speaking, the climates inhabited by them are conducive,—the cunning, fraud, and extortion which universally prevail under their governments,—and the chilling despotism by which they are all characterized. The causes of the continued *depression* of Christianity in Mohammedan countries, are—ignorance, more especially of the Scriptures,—declension from the fundamental doctrines of Christianity,—intolerance,—the schisms and feuds of various sects of professing Christians, in the East,—and their gross superstitions and idolatrous customs.

No Mussulman dares become a Christian, even if he were so disposed from conviction; for, by embracing the Christian faith, he would incur a forfeiture of life and property, and would be immediately deprived of both. Mr. Jowett has recorded one instance of a Christian, who had embraced Islamism, recanting his apostasy and suffering martyrdom at Smyrna; (pp. 20—22;) and, with deep regret, we state the fact which he has also recorded, that there are not unfrequent instances of Christians even of Englishmen who have renounced their Saviour!

The length to which this article has extended, constrains us to terminate here our notice of these “Christian Researches,” referring our readers to the author’s important observations on the causes of the deplorable apostasy just noticed, and on the measures to be adopted for extending the influence of Christianity among the various bodies of men inhabiting the territories visited by him, as well as on the necessary qualifications of Labourers in those parts of the Christian vineyard. These suggestions will be read, we are assured, with the deepest attention by all who take an interest in the spiritual welfare of mankind, and especially by the members of that association which has the honour of employing Mr. Jowett in its service,—we mean, the Church Missionary Society; with whose objects and plans our readers are doubtless well acquainted. Opposed and calumniated, the Society has arisen superior to all the assaults of its antagonists; and the benefits which have actually been conferred by the labours of its missionaries and schoolmasters in various parts of the world, especially on the western coast of Africa, authorizes its friends, and the friends of mankind, to form well grounded hopes of increasing success in the great work of evangelizing the heathen nations of the world.

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